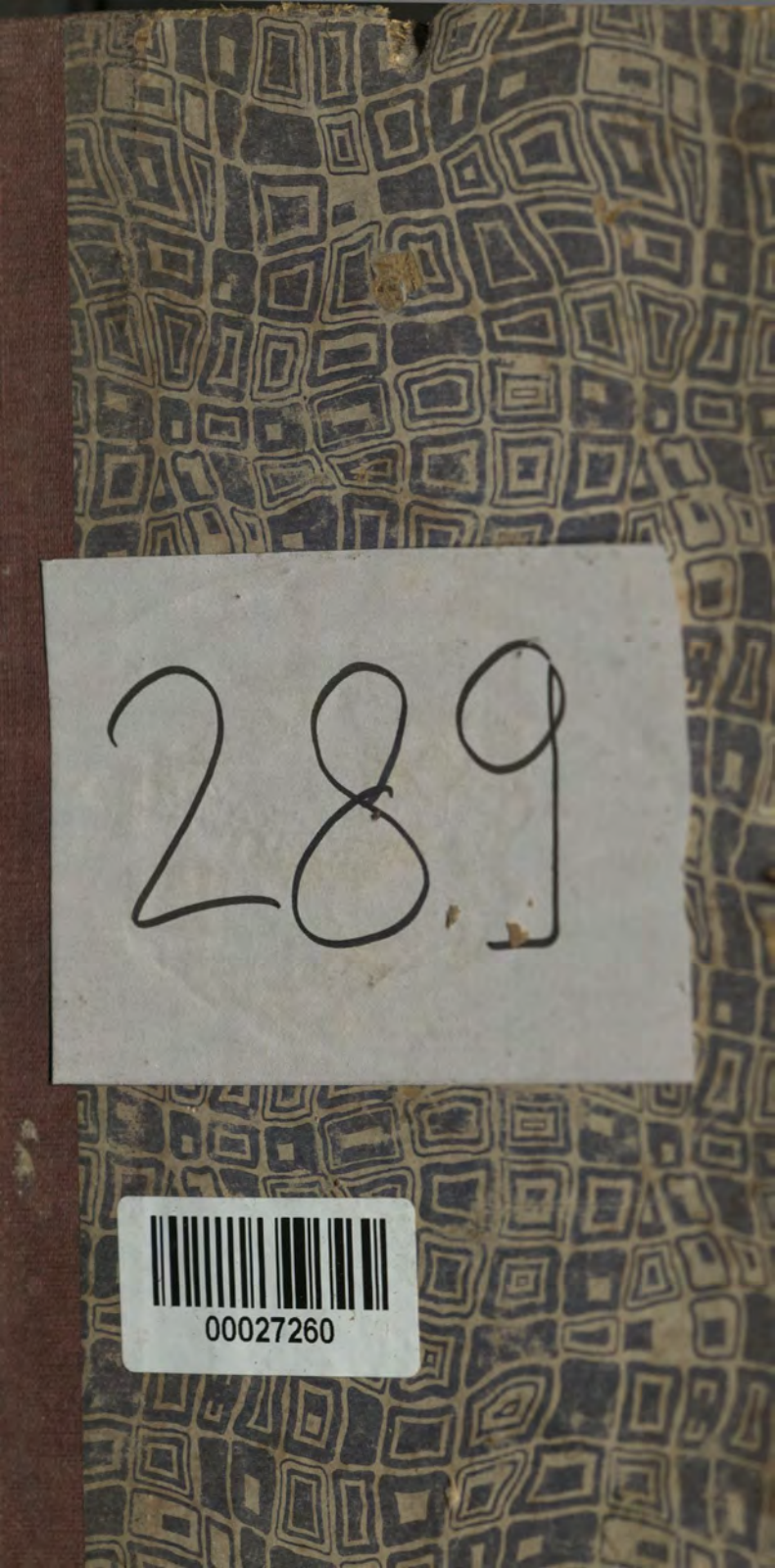
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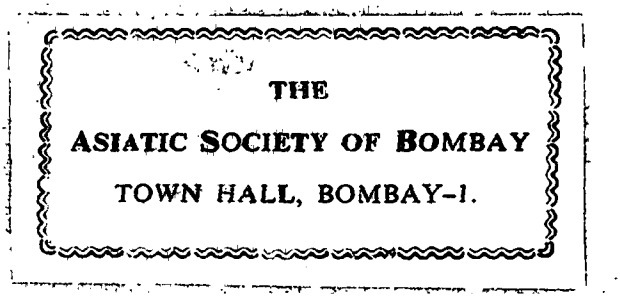

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REPORT

OF

THE COMMITTEE

OF

THE SOCIETY

FOR THE

MITIGATION AND GRADUAL

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS,

READ AT

THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 25th day of JUNE 1824,

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THAT MEETING.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE,

FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS;

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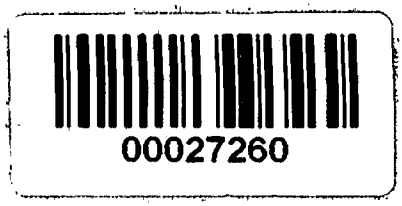

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REPORT,

&c.

THE Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions held its first Meeting on the 31st January 1823, and soon after commenced its operations.

After a lapse of sixteen months, it seems incumbent on the Committee, to whom the conduct of its affairs was then delegated, to render to their constituents an account of the manner in which they have discharged their trust.

It will be proper to bring to the recollection of the Subscribers the precise objects for which the Society was instituted. They are clearly expressed in the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted at its first Meeting, viz.

"That the individuals composing the present Meeting are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of Slavery which prevails in many of the Colonies of Great Britain, a system which appears to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice.

"That they long indulged a hope, that the great measure of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, for which an Act of the Legislature was passed in 1807, after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of

Negro bondage in the British Colonies, but that in this hope they have been painfully disappointed; and after a lapse of sixteen years they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the Abolition to remedy.

"That under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon by the most binding considerations of their duty as Christians, by their best sympathies as men, and by their solicitude to maintain unimpaired the high reputation and the solid prosperity of their country, to exert themselves, in their separate and collective capacity, in furthering this most important object, and in endeavouring by all prudent and lawful means to mitigate and eventually to abolish the Slavery existing in our Colonial possessions.

"That an Association be now formed, to be called 'The Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions;' and that a Subscription be entered into for that purpose."

Your Committee having been appointed to carry these objects into effect, proceeded to diffuse, as widely as possible, information respecting the nature and effects of Colonial bondage. Mr. Wilberforce's "Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies," and Mr. Clarkson's "Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving their Condition, with a view to Emancipation," were circulated to a large extent. And it was a source of satisfaction to your Committee, that, in taking the field against Colonial Slavery, they were thus enabled to proceed under the conduct of the same veteran Champions who had first led the battle against the African Slave Trade, and who had pursued it to its final extinction. To these invaluable works were added various others, illustrative of the injustice and inhumanity, as well as the impolicy, of Colonial Slavery. The effect which they produced was considerable; and in a short time numer-

ous Petitions were addressed to Parliament from all arts of the country, praying for the gradual extinction of Negro bondage.

On the 15th May, 1823, the subject was brought before ie House of Commons by Mr. Buxton; and after a long nd interesting debate, which has been published by our Committee, the following Resolutions, proposed by Ir. Canning as an Amendment to Mr. Buxton's Motion, ere unanimously adopted by the House, viz.

1st. "That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave Population in His Majesty's Colonies.

2nd. "That through a determined and persevering but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may *prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by* other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

3rd. "That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

4th. "That these Resolutions be laid before His Majesty."

As these Resolutions, thus proposed by Mr. Canning th the declared sanction of His Majesty's Government, d with the acquiescence also of the whole body of West dians in Parliament, recognised explicitly the very nciples on which your Committee proceeded, and inted unambiguously to the very consummation at ich they aimed; it was thought right by the Mover, those who acted with him, to concur in adopting them; re especially as His Majesty's Ministers, in proposing take the work of reform into their own hands, signified ir intention of carrying into early effect many of the

specific measures of improvement which had been contemplated by your Committee.

In their Circular Address of August 1823, giving a detailed account of these proceedings, your Committee, while they expressed their satisfaction that the Government and Parliament should have so clearly recognised the principles embodied in these Resolutions, could not refrain at the same time from expressing their regret, that the proposed plans of reform, instead of being made the subject of Parliamentary enactment, should have been referred to the deliberation and decision of the Colonial Authorities. This circumstance tended greatly to damp the hopes which the favourable disposition of His Majesty's Ministers was calculated to inspire. Past experience seemed to discourage the hope of effectual cooperation, on the part of the Colonists, in any plan which had in view the termination of Slavery.

The Committee, therefore, as well as the advocates of their cause in Parliament, distinctly stated their apprehensions, that this mode of proceeding would lead only to delay and disappointment. They were of opinion, indeed, that in no way were the alarms on the subject of insurrection, which had been so industriously raised, more likely to be realized, than by submitting the meditated mitigations of the Slave system to discussion within the Colonies, instead of transmitting them thither in the shape of laws to be obeyed. And even if such a reference should produce no positive evil, they feared that it would at least be fruitless of any substantial good.

The event has seemed to justify these apprehensions. The instructions of His Majesty's Government on this subject to the Colonial Authorities, as contained in Lord Bathurst's circular letters of the 28th May and 9th July 1823, were framed in an unexceptionable spirit of moderation, and were directed to objects of the very highest importance; and had they been carried into effect, would have produced a most beneficial effect on the condition of the Slaves. These instructions, however, honourable as

they were to the Government, were met in some cases by refusal, and in others by menaces of resistance. In a few of the smaller Colonies, they have been treated with less of outward disrespect; and a disposition has even been professed to comply with His Lordship's suggestions; but your Committee have not heard that any legislative measures have yet been adopted for carrying them into effect. It is to be presumed, that had such laws been enacted, they would have been laid before Parliament without delay. The Slave Law of St. Vincent, passed in 1820, has been represented, indeed, as containing great improvements, and as having even anticipated most of Lord Bathurst's suggestions: but on examining it, this statement will be found to be altogether erroneous: it proves to be nearly a transcript of the last consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica; and, like that law, it leaves the great evils of the Colonial system untouched *.

Even in those Colonies where the power of making laws is vested immediately and wholly in the Crown, the reforms proposed by His Majesty's Government, having been submitted to the previous consideration of the local authorities, experienced the same opposition and delay as in the Colonies possessing legislative Assemblies of their own.

It was no more than might have been expected, that while a chance remained of dissuading or deterring the Government from perseverance in its purposes of reform, the proprietors of Slaves filling offices in the Colonies would not be sparing of their objections, nor the White population in general of their clamours and alarms. And even if Governors or public bodies, acting in the Colonies, were perfectly well disposed to carry those reforms into effect, they would still find that the delegation of legislative power on topics so delicate was a burden hard to be sustained. An imperative order would relieve them from embarrassment; whilst a discretional authority could not

* See for an account of the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica, the Appendix to the Debate of May 15, 1823, p. 148, &c.

be exercised, in opposition to local prejudices and passions, without sacrifices of a very painful kind.

The proceedings of popular Meetings in some of the Colonies, and the calamitous events in Demerara, too clearly illustrate the danger of such a mode of proceeding.

And while this danger was obvious, it seemed no less obvious, that if the supreme power of the State had at once authoritatively prescribed the course to be pursued, there would have been no ground to apprehend any inconvenient results. To suppose that the Slaves would rebel against the Government, because it had taken measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition, would be absurd and irrational. Was there any thing, for instance, in the gift of Sunday as a day of rest; or in the mitigation of corporal punishment; or in the removal of restraints on manumission; or in the admission of their evidence in Courts of Justice, which could have a tendency to promote discontent and insurrection among the Slaves?

Had the mode of authoritative enactment, therefore, been adopted, instead of that of mere recommendation, the probability appears to be, that the effect would have been submission on the part of the Planters, and gratitude on the part of the Slaves. The cause of the mischief which actually occurred in Demerara, though grossly misrepresented at first, is now clearly ascertained. The evidence on the trial of Mr. Smith the Missionary, and on that of the Slaves implicated in the insurrection, shows that the proximate cause of that unhappy event was the delay of the Colonial Authorities in giving publicity and effect to the measures of grace recommended by His Majesty's Government. The Slaves learnt that the supreme authority of the State had transmitted certain Regulations for their protection and comfort, the benefit of which they were led to apprehend was withheld from them by the opposition of their masters. The expected good was also, it may be presumed, magnified by the mist of secrecy in which it was enveloped. It was supposed by some to

be a gift of freedom, and the unfortunate men imagined that the oppression under which they groaned was no longer warranted by law.

On the whole, little doubt can now be entertained, that not only has much evil arisen from having submitted the proposed reforms in the Slave system to Colonial deliberation, but that no substantial good could reasonably have been expected, or is to be looked for in future, from such a course. In the Mother Country alone can laws on this subject be effectually, and at the same time safely, made.

To the whole of this reasoning, however, it has been speciously objected, that the mere enactment of laws by the Mother Country would not secure their execution in the Colonies; and that if the Colonists, to whom the execution must be confided, are decidedly adverse to their object, they must necessarily become as inoperative as the various meliorating Acts already passed by the Colonial Legislatures, and which, it has been admitted, have proved, from the first, little more than a dead letter.

The Committee are ready to admit, that, in existing circumstances, there is much force in this objection. If the administration of justice in the Colonies is to remain in its present state; if Governors, and Judges, and Fiscals, and Attorneys General, are to be still left to depend on the Planters for their salaries and emoluments; and if moreover many of those functionaries should be allowed to continue, as now, considerable Slave owners, and therefore swayed by the combined force of interest and prejudice to favour existing abuses, it must in that case be conceded, that the best laws are likely to prove useless.

In reply, however, to this very formidable argument against the legislative interposition of Parliament, it might easily be shown that there are many measures which Parliament might adopt, with a view to ameliorate the state of Slavery, which would not require, in order to give them effect, the concurrence of either Colonial Magistrates or Colonial Juries.

But the objection admits of a still more comprehensive

answer; namely, that it is a part of the general plan of improvement which the Government contemplates, to reform the executive and judicial administration of the Colonies. The strong and decisive reasons which previously existed for rescuing Governors, Judges, and other public functionaries, from a state of dependence on the favour of Colonial Assemblies, and for excluding from those offices the proprietors of Slaves, have been amply confirmed and illustrated by the transactions of the past year. But when a salutary change shall have been effected in these important points of Colonial policy, there is no ground to apprehend that laws enacted by the British Parliament, and armed with proper sanctions, will not prove effectual to their object.

For many years it was a standing argument against the measure of abolishing the Slave Trade by an Act of Parliament, that it would be impossible to carry that Act into effect, in the Colonies, against the feelings and interests of the whole community. But the execution of the law was, in this instance, committed to the Vice-Admiralty Courts, which were wholly independent of the Colonial Authorities; and West Indians not only do not deny that the law has been effectual, but they affirm that it has never been violated.

If then, on their own admission, it has been found possible, by the simple expedient of committing the execution of the law to independent tribunals, to give effect to a measure which was so universally obnoxious to the Colonists as the abolition of the Slave Trade, Parliament need not to be deterred from passing laws for the mitigation of Slavery, by a fear of their proving inoperative, while it has the power, by contemporaneous provisions, of giving to the Courts of Justice, and to the public functionaries, that independence which will go far to secure the due execution of its enactments, and without which no enactments can be of any use.

It has been contended, however, that the British Parliament has no right to interfere with the internal concerns

of the Colonies, at least of those which have Legislative Assemblies of their own. But even if the right of interference were not essential to the very notion of supremacy in the Parent State; if it were not expressly reserved to Parliament in the very declaratory Act which renounces the right of taxation; if it had not been acted upon in a multitude of instances, from the first formation of our Colonies down to the present time; and if it were not recognised by every Statesman and every Jurist, the reason and the moral necessity of the case would still be decisive. We give to the Slave owners a monopoly of our markets at an annual cost of at least a million and a half; and we employ our fleets and armies to keep their Slaves in subjection. We involve ourselves, therefore, directly as well as indirectly, in the guilt of every oppression which it requires force to maintain; and yet the Colonists would deny to this country the liberty of controlling and correcting the system it thus upholds.

A threat, indeed, has been held out, that if Parliament should attempt to legislate for the Slaves, Jamaica would renounce her allegiance. But no one who is acquainted with the circumstances of that island, will consider such a threat as deserving of serious notice. Its execution might be shown to be absolutely impossible*. It will be recollected, too, that threats of the same kind were as loudly uttered on former occasions, and that with the weak and timid they had their effect. They were employed to prevent the abolition of the Slave Trade. The moment, however, that that measure became the law of the land, the previous violence of the Colonists (those of Jamaica included) was hushed, and in a short time the current of feeling was so changed, that the Colonists and the Colonial Authorities seemed to vie with each other in applauding the very measure which they had so recently denounced, and even threatened to resist, as ruinous to their interests and destructive to their rights. The Committee do not allude to this rapid change of sen-

* See Note I, at the end of the Report.

timent and conduct for any purpose of reproach; but they adduce it as an important fact, which affords strong ground to expect a similar result in the present case. The day, they trust, is not far distant when Slavery will find as few advocates within the British Dominions, as the Slave Trade finds at the present moment.

The efforts which have been made to introduce a reform of the Slave system, have been encountered on this, as on former occasions, by the most alarming anticipations of insurrection in the West Indies, which has been represented as the natural and necessary consequence, not merely of Parliamentary interference, but even of public discussion in this country, respecting the condition of the Slave. But what are the facts of the case?

It will be recollected, that last year when the question of Slavery was first agitated in Parliament, its agitation was strongly objected to by the West Indians, both at home and abroad, on the ground of this apprehended danger. And yet so little were the Colonists themselves affected by the consideration, that their own newspapers, over the conduct of which they possess a complete controul, have ever since been filled with the most violent declamations on the subject. Those very discussions, which, when they took place in this country, were denounced as sure to produce the most disastrous results in the West Indies, have been uniformly republished and circulated in the newspapers of the different Colonies, although these are the only sources of intelligence which commonly meet the eye even of the White population, or to which the other lasses, whether free or Slaves, who can read, have access. Nay, the instructions of Earl Bathurst himself, which embodied the proposed reforms of the Slave system almost in the form of a Mandate from His Majesty, were published at length in the Colonial Journals, accompanied by acrimonious and inflammatory comments, and, in some cases, by an avowal, on the part of the Planters, of a determination to resist to the utmost the benevolent intentions of the King and the Parliament towards their Slaves. And these various inflammatory

publications took place in the West Indies, long before the specific nature of Lord Bathurst's instructions was known either to your Committee or to the British public, to whom they were first communicated through the medium of the Colonial press. It is surely too much, then, for the West Indians, under such circumstances, to object to the public discussion of Slavery in England, as pregnant with danger to the peace of the Colonies. For if there was any ground for the apprehensions of danger which they profess to entertain, it is too obvious a conclusion to have been overlooked by them, that that danger was immeasurably enhanced by transferring the same discussion, only conducted in a far more vehement and inflammatory style, to the very region and atmosphere of Slavery. The mischief in question also, if mischief there were, was in this case incurred without any rational object. In this country public discussion is necessary; for *how otherwise is the public attention to be engaged*, or the expression of the national sentiment to be called forth? How are even the Ministers of the Crown themselves to be enabled to pursue their own liberal views on this great subject,—beset as they are by the solicitations and remonstrances of Colonial Proprietors and their adherents, powerful in Parliamentary influence, and acting with concert and perseverance,—if the friends of reformation are to be silent, and to depend on the moral strength of their case alone, unaided by the public voice? This less obtrusive course had been pursued for many years prior to the formation of this Society; and what was the result? What was done for the unfortunate Slaves, subsequently to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in any of the Colonies, even in those in which the whole legislative power rested with the Crown? Shall we then pronounce public discussion in this country to be unnecessary?

In the Colonies, however, no similar necessity for public discussion, through the medium of the press, can be alleged to exist. There no difference of opinion appears to be entertained on this subject; none at least dares to

show itself. The Planters resident in the Colonies seem all agreed that Slavery ought to be maintained for ever. To agitate the question *there* is, therefore, most needlessly and gratuitously to provoke the evil they affect to dread. At least, while they thus act, they ought not to tell us, at the same moment, that by agitating the subject at the distance of four or five thousand miles, we are exciting insurrection, conflagration, and massacre.

Besides, if the events passing at so great a distance were likely to produce an injurious effect on the slaves, for example, of Jamaica, how has it happened that the existence of Hayti, almost within their view, should have hitherto exercised no perceptible influence upon them? Such a result might fairly have been anticipated; and yet it does not appear that the vicinity of Hayti, with all its insurrectionary lessons, (whatever the recent ceaseless and vehement agitation of the question of Slavery in the Colonial Journals may have effected,) has ever produced any material sensation among the Slaves. It is therefore obviously going too far, to represent mere discussion in this country as calculated to endanger the public tranquillity and to excite insurrection among them.

But we are told that plots and seditious conspiracies have occurred in Jamaica; and that these have proceeded from the rash and misdirected efforts of this Society. But, not to mention the exaggeration to which fear, even when honest, almost always gives rise, and which is sure to be increased when, as in the present case, interest, passion and prejudice add their united influence; it may safely be affirmed that, in every case where plots and conspiracies have really occurred in that island, it would be much more rational to ascribe them to the inflammatory publications of the Colonial Journalists, to the intemperance of the Parochial Meetings, and to the loudly avowed determination of the Planters not to act on the recommendation of His Majesty's Government for improving the condition of their Slaves, than to the proceedings of a Society of which the Slaves could not know

any thing but through channels wholly under the controul of their masters.

In point of fact, however, the Committee have as yet seen nothing to convince them that any such evils have occurred in Jamaica. Ten or twelve Slaves, indeed, have been tried and executed in that island as conspirators against its peace. But your Committee are not aware that any one *overt* act of rebellion has ever been proved, or has even been alleged to have taken place there.

Some persons of colour, subjects of His Majesty, have also been seized and forcibly transported from the island as conspirators, without a trial, and without the specification of any offence. These men, born in Jamaica, and possessing property there, were forcibly torn from their wives and families, and exiled as felons, without any adequate cause being assigned for this outrage. They have since made their way to England, and are at this moment seeking redress for their wrongs, and the reparation of their ruined fortunes.

As for the rumoured conspiracies in other islands, namely, in St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Dominica, there has not only occurred no act of violence to justify the belief of them, but there has not even occurred, as in Jamaica, the trial or condemnation of a single Slave for entertaining rebellious purposes, or for that crime peculiar to the West-India Statute Book, of "imagining the death of a White man."

No political manœuvre, however, is more easy or safe than pretences of plots in societies like those of the West Indies. During every period of the Slave Trade controversy, they were resorted to as convenient means of defence against the proposed abolition of that traffic. It would have been strange, therefore, if there had been any dearth of them at a time when such alarms were likely to be regarded as the best expedient to avert the deprecated reformation of a system in which almost all the Colonists supposed their interests as well as their character to be more or less involved.

One conspiracy, indeed, though of a most shallow and inartificial texture, appears to have been actually formed, and one insurrection has most calamitously taken place, namely, that of which the public has heard so much,—the revolt of the Slaves in Demerara. In that Colony there were some peculiar predisposing causes to such an event, arising from the pre-eminent harshness of the Slave System prevailing there, and from the religious persecutions to which, in addition to all their other sufferings, many of the Slaves were subjected in the course of the last year. While the irritation produced by this state of things was at its height, the Negroes learnt that His Majesty had instructed the Colonial Government to adopt certain measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition. Instead of experiencing, however, the expected alleviations, there is reason to fear that they found the hardship of their state rather increased than diminished. However this may have been, it was natural that they should be anxious to obtain clearer information on a subject which to them was of extreme importance. It seems to have been chiefly with this view that, on the 18th of August 1823, the Slaves of a particular district agreed to strike work; and, in order to secure themselves against the vigorous measures of repression which they reasonably anticipated, they forcibly seized such arms as they could procure on the plantations, and confined in the stocks several managers and overseers. The arms, however, appear to have been seized chiefly to prevent their being turned against themselves; and it is the testimony of Governor Murray himself, writing on the 26th of August 1823, when affairs had already assumed a "peaceable aspect," that he had "not heard of any Whites having been deliberately murdered by the misguided Slaves." On one plantation where the Whites resisted, two of them were killed. But it does not appear that, except in this instance, the insurgents took the life of a single individual, or that they demolished a single house, or set fire to a single cane piece.

And even in the excepted case which has been mentioned, the Committee are credibly informed that several of the insurgents were killed by shots from the house before they returned the fire, and that when they had succeeded in entering the house, they spared the lives of the master and mistress, who fell into their hands, (the latter of whom had been slightly wounded,) and did not afterwards inflict on them the slightest personal hurt.

Here, then, we have a servile insurrection, divested of almost all those acts of rapine and bloodshed by which such events have usually been characterized; an insurrection much more analogous to those tumults which occasionally occur among workmen in this country, when they conceive themselves to have been aggrieved by their employers, than to a traitorous conspiracy or rebellion of Slaves.

The case, however, was otherwise viewed in Demerara. Notwithstanding the moderation and forbearance, previously unexampled, with which the refractory Slaves conducted themselves, seeking neither to take away life nor to destroy property, their insubordination was visited with a tremendous vengeance. How many hundreds were slaughtered without resistance in the field, or hunted down by the Indians, who were called in to pursue them in their flight into the woods and swamps; how many on being taken were shot without the ceremony of a trial, or have since been executed by the sentence of Courts Martial; and how many more have had the flesh torn from their quivering limbs by cruel whippings, to the extent even of a thousand lashes, we have not accurately heard. But if the irregular proceedings and refractory conduct of the Slaves in this instance; if their impatience to know what were those alleviations of their condition which the reported benevolence of their Sovereign really designed for them; could only have been expiated by such a prodigality of blood, what can we imagine would have been the nature and extent of the punishments to which they would have been subjected, had

they added to the crime of insubordination those of conflagration and massacre?

The limits of a Report will not allow the Committee to dwell on the circumstances attending the trials of those unhappy persons: they appear to them to have been conducted with an extraordinary disregard of the customary forms of judicial proceeding. The public, however, has a fair opportunity of appreciating the spirit in which justice was likely to be administered to these Slaves, by the ample details published respecting another trial, that of Mr. Smith, the Missionary, upon which such a flood of light has been thrown by the recent discussions in the House of Commons. In the case of that deeply injured individual, who, as a White man, came within the pale of Colonial privilege, every recognised principle of law and justice was grossly and openly violated. And if, in his case, which it must have been known would attract considerable notice as well as excite deep interest in this country, and in which a man of talents and information, aided, for a part at least of his trial, by Counsel, had to defend himself from charges utterly groundless; if, in such a case, all those principles have been so palpably and flagrantly outraged; what measure of fairness and impartiality was to be expected in the case of wretched and ignorant Slaves, standing pinioned before their judges, unacquainted with the English language, uninformed of the specific charges against them until they were placed at the bar, and wholly unaided by legal advice? This is indeed a most affecting consideration.

It is obviously impossible for the Committee, in this Report, to enter into an exposition of Mr. Smith's case; nor is it now necessary. It is one, the enormity of which early riveted the public attention, and which, having been brought under the consideration of Parliament by an honourable gentleman, Mr. Brougham, one of the Vice Presidents of this Society, eminently qualified to exhibit its real nature, has produced throughout the coun-

try one concurrent sentiment of indignation and abhorrence. It would be vain for the Committee even to attempt to pay to that distinguished Senator, and to his honoured associates in the task of vindicating the fame of this traduced and persecuted Missionary, the tribute of praise to which they are entitled. Their efforts will live in the hearts of a grateful people, who have to count it among the blessings of the highest order with which Providence has crowned their lot, that they number among them men, so richly endowed, who are willing to devote their superior powers and attainments to expose oppression, and to vindicate in every corner of the British Empire the reign of law and justice and humanity.

The Committee cannot, however, entirely quit this subject without marking in the strongest manner the detestation they feel, in common with the community at large, of the cruelty and injustice of which that excellent individual Mr. Smith has been the victim; and expressing also their deep and cordial sympathy with his afflicted widow, for whose benefit they trust that an ample Subscription will be raised by the public.

It would be unpardonable not to add a tribute of applause to one most respectable and meritorious Colonist of Demerara, the Rev. Mr. Austin, a Clergyman of the Church of England, who, though connected with the Government as its Chaplain, and employed by it on a Commission of Inquiry, one main object of which was to find matter of inculpation against Mr. Smith, was so far from lending himself to the work of persecution that, becoming convinced of the innocence of that devoted Missionary, he fearlessly gave an upright and honourable testimony in his favour; and afterwards, with singular courage and generosity, opposed himself to a torrent of popular rage and prejudice, in order to prevent, by the avowal of his undisguised opinion, the effusion of innocent blood.

In these transactions, and in others which have occurred elsewhere, your Committee have the pain to recognise not merely a disregard of the ordinary rules of law and

of the principles of justice, but a spirit hostile to the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the Negro population, and especially to their religious instruction.

This spirit has, if possible, been still more strongly marked in the island of Barbadoes than even in Demerara itself. Your Committee here allude to the shameful outrages and persecutions which the Methodist Missionary, Mr. Shrewsbury, experienced at the hands of the White population of that island, and which are likely to become the subject of parliamentary investigation.

The circumstances which have been alluded to have certainly tended to damp still more the hope of any effectual concurrence on the part of the West Indian Assemblies, or other Colonial bodies, in the work of reformation. The Committee are most happy at the same time to be able to point out many exceptions to this too prevalent disposition. Many individual proprietors, as well as some of the Colonial Assemblies, seem actuated by a different spirit, in regard to religious instruction, from the inhabitants of Demerara and Barbadoes; and the desire to impart the blessings of Christianity to their Slaves appears to be extending itself among them. May it increase more and more, and may its effects be more generally manifested!

Your Committee will now proceed to lay before the Meeting the proceedings which have taken place in Parliament on this momentous subject during the present Session.

The following reference was made to it in His Majesty's Speech at the opening of the Session:

"His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you that he has not been inattentive to the desire expressed by the House of Commons in the last Session of Parliament, that means should be devised for ameliorating the condition of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.

"His Majesty has directed the necessary information relating to this subject to be laid before you.

"His Majesty is confident that you will afford your

best attention and assistance to any proposition which may be submitted to you for promoting the moral improvement of the Negroes, by an extended plan of religious instruction, and by such other measures as may gradually conduce to the same end.

"But His Majesty earnestly recommends to you, to treat the whole subject with the calmness and the discretion which it demands.

"It is a subject perplexed with difficulties which no sudden effort can disentangle.

"To excite exaggerated expectations in those who are the objects of your benevolence, would be as fatal to their welfare as to that of their employers; and His Majesty assures himself you will bear in mind that, in the correction of a long-standing and complicated system, in which the fortunes and the safety of large classes of His Majesty's subjects are involved, that course of proceeding is alone likely to attain practical good, and to avoid aggravation of evil, in which due regard shall be paid to considerations of justice, and in which caution shall temper zeal."

On the 16th of March the papers alluded to in the King's Speech were laid before Parliament; and on that day Mr. Canning in the House of Commons, and Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords, delivered a detailed statement respecting the proceedings and intentions of Government on the subject of Colonial Slavery. An Order of the King in Council was laid upon the table, prescribing various measures of reform which it had been determined to institute, with as little delay as possible, in the island of Trinidad. As it is professedly the model by which all ulterior measures of Colonial reform are to be regulated, it would have become the duty of your Committee to examine at length the nature and effects of the various provisions of this Order in Council, if the present occasion would have admitted of their doing so. But although the details of this examination must of necessity be reserved for another opportunity, the Committee

would now briefly state that the proposed regulations appear to them to be founded on right principles, and to constitute important practical improvements of the existing system; not, however, without many defects, which the Committee hope may, on a proper representation of the case, be remedied. In the mean time it is satisfactory to remark the unequivocal admission of the general correctness of the statements, promulgated by the Committee on the subject of Slavery, which this measure implies. Upwards of a year of strenuous controversy has passed since the system of colonial bondage was brought into discussion in Parliament. Every assertion which the opponents of that system ventured to make, has been keenly contested. The King's Ministers have had the opportunity of weighing the conflicting testimony of the adverse parties, as well as of ascertaining, by official investigations, the true state of the case; and though they have pronounced no express decision on the various points in controversy, they have adopted resolutions, and issued orders and instructions, which virtually admit the existence of most of the evils with which the system was charged.

If the Reforms, however, prescribed by this Order in Council were confined to Trinidad, not more than about a fortieth part of the Slave population in the British dominions would be benefited. But it is the declared intention of His Majesty's Ministers to extend the same system to St. Lucie, Demerara, Berbice, and the Mauritius; and also, as far as it has not been already anticipated, to the Cape of Good Hope. These six Colonies comprehend a population of about 220,000 Slaves. But even after these have become the subjects of this amended system, there will still remain about 600,000 Slaves, residing in Colonies which have local legislatures, whom the proposed reforms by Royal Authority will not reach. It seems to be the present purpose of His Majesty's Government to proceed with these Colonies in the way of recommendation and example. The Trinidad Order in

Council is to be presented to them as a model for their imitation, and they are to be invited to copy it. When the Committee, however, look back to the history of the last 36 years, or even to the transactions of the last 12 months, they find it difficult to indulge a hope that the Assemblies will accede, in any effectual way, to such improvements as these; or that they will concur in such further measures for the gradual abolition of Slavery itself, as His Majesty's Ministers have it in contemplation hereafter to adopt. Indeed it cannot be expected that the Colonists should willingly promote an end which they continue loudly and peremptorily to declare to be absolute ruin to all their interests. And certainly the success which they seem to think, though we believe on no just ground, has attended their clamours, is not likely to check, but rather to encourage, that spirit of resistance which they have manifested, and which nothing but a fear of incurring the displeasure of Parliament, and calling into action its compulsory powers, is likely effectually to restrain.

What measures His Majesty's Government will adopt in case of that continued resistance which your Committee anticipate, it remains to be seen. In the mean time their language implies that they mean to wait in the expectation of soon finding in the Assemblies a more respectful and complying disposition.

The Committee will most sincerely rejoice should this expectation be realized. The condemnation, however, of the benevolent purposes of Government, continues to be too loud and indignant to justify the hope of the early and effectual co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. And let it not be forgotten that the delay thus produced, to the length of which there is no express limit, is of itself a great evil. Besides the dangers to be apprehended from suspense and agitation, the nation contracts additional guilt by the unnecessary postponement of those reforms, the moral obligation of which has been unequivocally admitted. The delay is also a real calamity to the great mass of the Slave population. Your Committee

can discover no good reason for withholding from the Slaves in the other islands the same alleviations, at the least, which have been granted to those in Trinidad. They can see no good reason, for instance, why women should still continue liable to be shamelessly exposed and flogged in Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c.; why the driving whip should be still employed *there;* why marriage should still be without any legal sanction in *these* Colonies; why facilities should not be given *there* also to manumissions; and why the exclusion of the evidence of Slaves should continue to be upheld *there* in all its rigour, making it confessedly impossible to give to apparently protecting laws their just effect.

The friends of Colonial Reform are accused of impatience and precipitation. They are told that an evil which is the growth of ages cannot be cured in an hour, and that the termination of Slavery, in order to be safe, must be very slowly progressive.

But admitting this proposition, the duty is so much the more urgent to commence the necessary work without delay; and it has not even been pretended that what may be safely done in Trinidad or Berbice, is altogether unsafe in St. Vincent's, Barbadoes or Jamaica.

The argument for delay, which has been drawn from the alleged inveteracy and antiquity of the evil to be cured, appears however to your Committee to have no force whatever when applied to the case of infant or unborn Slaves, or even to Colonies of recent formation. What indeed, in the oldest Colonies, constitutes the obstacle to Emancipation, but the effects produced by the habits of Slavery on the character of the individual who has been long subjected to it? To prepare the Slaves for the proper use of freedom, is not more difficult because Slavery has existed for ages, than if it had first begun at their birth. It is idle therefore to talk of Slavery being an ancient institution, or of its having been known in all ages and countries, as if these circumstances augmented the difficulties or the necessary delays of its termination

in the Colonies of Great Britain. So to reason against those who chiefly aim at the freedom of the rising generation, and of children yet unborn, is altogether irrelevant and misplaced. If there really exist any evils for the cure of which a single generation is not sufficient, let them be pointed out; and in the mean time be it recollected, that the difficulty of curing a moral malady, when inveterate, is clearly the strongest argument, not for delay, but for speed, in checking its further progression.

Another argument, which has been most strongly insisted upon by West Indians and their advocates, has been, that little in the way of industry is to be expected from the voluntary exertions of emancipated Slaves. It would of course be impossible to discuss at large, on this occasion, the comparative advantages of Free and Slave labour; but this is in fact rendered unnecessary by many of the publications of the Society which are already in the hands of the subscribers. If any one point in political science is more clearly established than another, it is, that free labour is more advantageous than slave labour; and this very point may, as your Committee conceive, be irrefragably established by the very example which has chiefly been relied upon as proving the contrary, namely, the case of St. Domingo.

"The sugar exported from St. Domingo, previously to the emancipation of the Slaves," say the West Indians, "was 160 millions of pounds; but since free labour has been established, that island does not manufacture enough for its own consumption." The inference intended to be drawn from this fact is, that the emancipation of Slaves will tend to diminish if not to destroy production. But what is the real state of the case with respect to St. Domingo? In the first place, it is not true that St. Domingo does not grow sugar for its own consumption. In the year 1822, besides satisfying its own demand, a certain quantity, indicated by the figures 652,451, was exported thence, chiefly to France. It is not clear whether this quantity is intended to specify pounds or hundred weights;

but whether it be the one or the other, it proves that there is an excess of the article over the island demand. But this is not all.

The French officers, General La Croix and Colonel Malenfant, who were present in that island between 1795 to 1802, and who have published their observations upon its state during that period, have concurred in affirming that under the government of Toussaint Louverture St. Domingo, though the Slaves had all been emancipated, rapidly recovered its prosperity. There had been a great destruction of labourers, and those chiefly of the most efficient description, in consequence of the desolating wars that had taken place; and the army necessarily occupied many hands. Yet, making due allowance for these circumstances, it is doubtful whether either the produce of the soil or the profit of the planter was inferior to what it had been at any former period.

In 1802 a French army landed in St. Domingo, and a war of extermination followed. Few, if any, sugar-works escaped the general devastation; and considering the circumstances in which that island has since been placed,—that it is still liable to be invaded by France, and that its independence, which it has enjoyed *de facto* for upwards of twenty years, is still unacknowledged by a single European power;—it surely could not have been expected that any individual Haytian should have set about re-erecting sugar-works. To do so would not only require considerable capital, but it would be exposing the capital so employed to the imminent risk of total loss. To frame permanent erections, would also have been inconsistent with the preconcerted plan of defence, against an invading force, adopted by the Haytian Government, which is to deprive that force, as much as possible, of all the means of shelter.

But independently of these considerations, has the price of sugar, as compared with other articles of tropical production, been such, since the year 1804, as to present any strong temptation to the Haytians to engage, under their

peculiar circumstances, in the expensive erection of sugar-works? Has sugar been so profitable an article during the last twenty years, as to induce the freemen of Hayti, unaided indeed, but also, be it remembered, unfettered as they have been in their proceedings by Metropolitan mortgagees, to encounter the various formidable risks which its culture and manufacture must have occasioned?

The first object with the liberated Haytians naturally was, to cultivate such articles as were required for their own subsistence and comfort. In this object they have succeeded. The island abounds with provisions. Food is as cheap and as abundant in Hayti as perhaps in any other part of the world.

Another consequence arising from the emancipation of the Slaves in Hayti, has been such a rapid increase of the population, as not only to repair the waste arising from their cruel and exterminating wars, but to raise their number considerably above what it had been at any former period; and this whilst, in the British Colonies, the population has been rapidly decreasing.

But is it true, as has been insinuated, that Hayti raises no exportable produce? Or is sugar the only article, the large export of which is an unequivocal sign of industry? Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton, Ginger, Pimento, Hides, Mahogany, and Logwood, require, indeed, no expensive erections like sugar; but they require, no less than sugar, the exertion of industry. Now, that of such articles Hayti exports a very considerable quantity, is manifest from the following facts. The tonnage of the United States employed in the trade of Hayti, in the year ending September 1821, was stated in the official returns to Congress for that year to amount to 50,000 tons; and the value of the imports into the United States from Hayti, in the same year, to amount to 2,246,237 dollars, or upwards of half a million sterling; the exports from the United States to Hayti being nearly of the same amount. This was of course wholly independent of the trade of that island with

other parts of the world; and it was at a time also when the dissensions within the island itself, and the increased danger of invasion arising from those dissensions, served greatly to paralyse the efforts of industry. Since the whole island, however, has been united under one head, and somewhat greater security has thus been given to property, its increasing commerce affords the best proof of increasing industry and prosperity. From the official returns of the commerce of Hayti for 1822, it appears that the value of its imports in that year, notwithstanding the armies it maintains, and the sense of insecurity still necessarily arising from the non-recognition of its independence by France, amounted to upwards of thirteen millions of dollars, or nearly three millions sterling, a sum which it is believed is more than double the value of the merchandize imported into Jamaica for the consumption of that island. For these three millions sterling, payment, it is obvious, must necessarily have been made in the produce of Haytian labour.

But St. Domingo is by no means the only instance which might be adduced of the undoubted efficacy of the same moral motives in the minds of Negroes, when emancipated from the cart whip, which are found universally to operate on those of Whites. The case of Guadaloupe during its seven years of freedom; the case of Sierra Leone; that of the numerous free Blacks, and People of Colour in Jamaica, Trinidad, Grenada, and our other Islands, who, notwithstanding their civil and political degradation, have grown rapidly in numbers and in wealth; the case also of hundreds of thousands of emancipated Slaves, spread over the continents of North and South America; all concur in proving, if proof were necessary, the aptitude of the Negro race to acquire habits both of industry and of civil subordination.

If this be denied, let the examples be exhibited of bodies of Negroes who, after having been emancipated from the yoke of Slavery, have made *no* advance in the scale of social improvement; and if, as the Committee believe,

no such examples can be produced,—and all our past experience has been of an opposite kind,—is it reasonable to resist or discourage the progress of emancipation among the Slaves in our own Colonies, on the bare apprehension that they will abuse the liberty which may be conceded to them, to purposes of disorder and rapine; to the destruction of property, the overthrow of civil rule, and the extermination of their White brethren? The instance which has been chiefly relied upon to support this view of the case, namely, St. Domingo, furnishes, when justly considered, a most satisfactory confutation of it. But into that question, after the able elucidation of it by Mr. Stephen * and Mr. Clarkson †, it will be unnecessary now to enter.

Hitherto, unfortunately, the whole question of emancipation has been viewed as a question involving possible benefits indeed to the *Slave*, but injury if not ruin to the *Master*. Those, therefore, who have advocated the cause of emancipation, have been regarded as actuated by a hostile spirit towards the Planters, or at least as totally regardless of *their* interests, and insensible to *their* dangers. Such, most unquestionably, are not the views and feelings of your Committee. Although their urgent and irresistible motives to exertion in favour of the African race be the inherent and incurable injustice and inhumanity of Slavery, universally acknowledged when Whites are the subjects of it, but equally true when the Negro is its victim; and although they believe that emancipation, while it is called for by every moral and religious as well as political obligation, will prove an unspeakable blessing to the Slaves; yet they are persuaded that the masters will be proportionably benefited by the change. Supposing only that freedom is *willingly* conceded by the master and not

* See his Crisis of the Sugar Colonies, his Opportunity or Reasons for an Alliance with St. Domingo, and his History of Toussaint Louverture.

† See his Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves with a view to Emancipation.

extorted by force, your Committee are satisfied that, in a pecuniary point of view, the result would be still more advantageous to the higher than to the lower classes of society. If there be any one axiom in political science, your Committee repeat it, which is more impregnably founded than another in the nature of things, and which is more satisfactorily confirmed by the experience of ages, it is this,—that the labour of the Freeman is more profitable, not only to the State but to the capitalist who employs him, than the labour of the Slave. Has the English Lord or the Livonian or Esthonian Noble less reason than the Villein or the Serf himself to rejoice in the emancipation of the labouring classes, which has taken place in those countries respectively, though at very distant periods of time? On this whole subject so much light has recently been thrown, among others, by Mr. Adam Hodgson in his Letter to M. Say, and by Mr. Cropper in his various pamphlets, as to leave nothing to be said upon it beyond what is to be found in their writings. The conviction produced by those writings in the minds of your Committee, has been strengthened by a consideration, not only of the argument from analogy, but of the peculiar circumstances of Colonial proprietors. And your Committee conceive that, under these circumstances, the conversion of their Slaves into a free peasantry would more effectually relieve them from their almost universal state of pecuniary embarrassment, than all the bounties and protecting duties which they at present enjoy.

But while your Committee feel persuaded of the superiority of free over slave labour, and of the advantage which would result to the master himself, both as a landowner and a capitalist, from the substitution of the former for the latter; let it not be supposed that they are desirous of shrinking from their share of the burden of any loss which this great measure of policy may cause to individuals. They admit that the existence of Slavery is a national crime; and that the nation, in getting rid of it, should take care that no individual shall sustain an

undue portion of the loss which may thereby be incurred. But, on the other hand, the Planters, to entitle themselves to a fair indemnity, ought willingly and cordially to co-operate with the Nation at large, in bringing this great moral and political evil to the earliest possible termination. Of such cooperation, however, judging from the past, the Committee are forced to confess that they dare not indulge any very sanguine hope. At the same time they readily admit, that there is a wide distinction to be taken between many enlightened West Indians residing in England, and the great body of planters, agents, managers, and overseers, who form the White population of the Colonies; who there engross all power, civil and political, to the exclusion of every other class; and whose dominion over the Slaves has no effectual limit, but is, to all practical purposes, absolute and uncontrolled. It is natural that men in the possession of such unmeasured despotism (and what mind is strong enough to resist its malign influence?) should eagerly endeavour to maintain their preeminence, and should resent and resist, to the utmost of their power, every attempt, however just and expedient, to abridge their authority, or to prevent its abuse; and still more the purpose of reducing them to a state of subjection to the same laws, the equal protection of which it is proposed to extend to the Slaves. . . . . .

It is not a little remarkable, as illustrating the distinction which has been adverted to between the Planters resident in Great Britain and those resident in the Colonies, that the same resolutions of the Legislature, and the same measures of Government, which have spread the flame of dissatisfaction and almost of rebellion among the Whites from one end of the Antilles to the other, should have been generally assented to and acquiesced in by every West Indian in Parliament.

The Committee at the same time cannot advert without regret to the doctrines advisedly maintained and promulgated by the West Indian body resident in this country, in the Resolutions which they adopted at a Meeting held

on the 10th February last, and in which they assert a right of property in the Negroes, their fellow men and fellow subjects, as absolute and unqualified as that which is possessed in any inanimate chattel.

Herein, indeed, consists that ineffaceable distinction between the two parties, which discourages the hope of compromise or cooperation. Your Committee, and all who take their view of the subject, may not only consent to delay, but may consistently recommend it, as affording the best means of ensuring to the injured Negro race the full benefit of their intended deliverance. They may, and they do, most earnestly wish to accomplish this great end with the smallest personal risk and the least immediate disadvantage to the Slave owner. They may cheerfully submit to their share of any loss which shall be proved to be incurred by the change; but they cannot yield one atom of their principle, That *nothing* can justify the making one man a Slave, or even the retention of one man in Slavery, longer than the real benefit of the Slave himself, viewed in all his circumstances and relations, may require. Every step to be taken ought to conduce to that end, and will be more or less valuable in proportion to its tendency to accomplish it with the least possible delay and danger. The mitigation of the enormous evils incident to the servile state is, in itself, a real and a great good—undeniably so; but it is yet chiefly important as preparing the Slave for the fullest enjoyment of his imprescriptible right, Liberty, by raising his condition, meliorating his moral feelings and habits, and affording the means of opening his mind to a sense of the duties as well as the blessings of his new situation. To grant this amelioration, not as a means but as an end to be rested in—to concede as a favour that they shall be less worked and better fed, more conveniently lodged and more fully clothed, may, perhaps even somewhat instructed, but all without any reference to eventual liberty either for themselves or their children—is, in the opinion of your Committee, a determination to go on for

ever sinning against man and God—denying or refusing to acknowledge the eternal distinction between the rational and the brute creation—an insult upon humanity, and a mockery of justice—and is at the same time no less absurd than it is criminal.

It is impossible also not to regret, that while the leading West Indians in this country have assented to the Resolutions of Parliament, and have professed to acquiesce in the plans of His Majesty's Ministers, they have not employed their influence more effectually with their own servants and dependants abroad, in obtaining from them a similar assent and acquiescence. If this, however, be not ere long accomplished, Parliament will of necessity be driven to consider what means it possesses, independently of the Colonists, for carrying into effect its wishes with respect to Colonial bondage.

The first and most obvious means has been already adverted to, namely, that of direct Parliamentary interference. It seems to your Committee (they say it with deference) the clear right, and, that right established, the imperative duty, of Parliament to undertake itself the work of Colonial reform, and to carry it on steadily, and perseveringly to its consummation. Any doubts on the question of right, which specious analogies may have been employed to raise, or which Colonial clamour and menace may have served to strengthen, had already been solved in a work entitled "Reasons for establishing a Registry of Slaves," published by the African Institution in 1815; and they have been anew fully obviated by the discussion on the subject which has been introduced into that luminous work, on the legal condition of the Colonial Slave, with which Mr. Stephen, in compliance with the request of your Committee, has recently favoured the public.

The right of Parliamentary controul over the Colonies had indeed been long settled in point both of law and precedent. But it is now made manifest, as your Committee conceive, that every consideration, not only

of right, but of expediency; not only of sound constitutional principle, but of regard to the well-being of the Master as well as the Slave, concurs in recommending the course of Parliamentary interposition in preference to every other.

But if it should be thought unadvisable, by those with whom rests the decision of the question, to adopt this least exceptionable method of terminating the acknowledged evils of the Colonial System; and should it be practically conceded that the local Legislatures may persist in maintaining a system diametrically opposed to every principle of the British Constitution; there is still another remedy for those evils, to which all will allow that the authority of Parliament is perfectly competent, and in which its power may be exercised without infringing any alleged rights of the Colonial Assemblies. The Committee refer to the abolition of those bounties and protecting duties which have been granted by Parliament to what is actually the produce of Slave labour, in preference to that of Free labour; by means of which bounties and duties alone, the system of Slavery is upheld, and without which it would of itself cease.

There is now an almost universal admission that the Slavery which exists in our Colonies is contrary to justice and humanity, and repugnant to the principles of Christianity. Indeed that *that* species of Slavery and Christianity cannot co-exist, is the undisguised and avowed opinion of those who best know its real nature, the Planters of Demerara. But has it been sufficiently considered by the people of England, in what degree every individual amongst them is instrumental in upholding this condemned system? Every man, woman and child in Great Britain consumes more or less sugar. By means of bounties and protecting duties, the price of that article is enhanced to the consumer to the extent of at least a penny a pound, which on the whole consumption amounts to one million and a half of pounds sterling. The people of Great Britain, therefore, are

thus made to pay to the West Indies at least a million and a half more for their sugar than they would pay for it, if they were at liberty to procure it from other parts even of our own dominions *. And it is this very million and a half, and this alone, actually paid out of their pockets, which for years past has supported, and which to the present hour does still support, the Slavery they reprobate. Is there then, surely the people of this country have a right to ask, either reason or justice in, thus compelling millions who abhor the oppression and condemn the impolicy of Colonial Slavery, to continue to pay a heavy tax, not for the privilege of abolishing it, but for a forced participation in the crime of supporting it? Is it not a grievance against which they ought, and may be expected, universally, and then of course successfully, to remonstrate?

The subject of the sugar duties, it has been intimated, is to undergo revision in the ensuing session of Parliament. There will then be an opportunity of making known the public feeling respecting it. And should the result disappoint their wishes, let it be recollected that it will still be in the power of every individual to give them effect, by renouncing the use of sugar grown by Slaves, and preferring to it the produce of free labour.

Let it not be imagined that these observations have been made in any spirit of hostility to the West Indians. The Committee, it is true, are opposed to their present system. But they, in common with every friend of humanity and of his country, would rejoice if the course of events in the Colonies, and the manifest disposition of the Colonists to co-operate with Government in the work of reform, should obviate every existing ground of difference; and the Committee are fully convinced that an enlightened view even of interests purely West Indian would speedily bring about this co-operation.

The Meeting will recollect that an attempt was re-

* See Note II. at the end of the Report.

cently made to establish a West India Company, with a capital of four millions, for the express purpose of purchasing West Indian mortgages. Your Committee saw in this project a design, which was soon afterwards avowed in Parliament, to multiply the number of those who, from participating in West Indian speculations, would feel themselves interested in upholding Colonial Slavery. Many evils, indeed, appeared to your Committee as likely to flow from it, and above all an aggravation of the sufferings of the Slaves, and the indefinite protraction of the period of their emancipation. They are therefore happy to say that the scheme has been abandoned.

The argument on which the advocates of the proposed Company appeared mainly to rely for obtaining subscriptions, was, that it would prove beneficial to the Slaves by affording additional pecuniary resources to their masters. As the same argument has been employed to reconcile the public to the continuance of bounties and protecting duties on West Indian produce, it seems proper briefly to advert to it. The subject will be found ably treated in various publications already in the hands of the members of this Society. Suffice it for the present to remark, that to enhance the value of produce grown by Slave labour, must tend to enhance the value of the Slave, and to render his manumission more difficult. It must also tend to postpone those economical reforms which are essential to his improvement. A high price of produce naturally has the effect of giving an impulse to the exaction of Slave labour. A low price of produce leads to a directly contrary result. To establish this point satisfactorily in argument, though it would not be difficult, would on this occasion occupy too much time. A single fact, however, may be stated, which will serve to illustrate the truth of the general principle maintained by your Committee.

The Bahama Islands are the poorest and least productive of any of the West Indian Colonies. They raise

scarcely any exportable produce. Their productions are chiefly confined to cattle, live stock, and provisions. Hence the pecuniary resources of the proprietors are generally small. In the Bahama Islands, however, the Slaves are far better off than they are in any other British Colony. They are better treated, more lightly worked, and more abundantly fed. The common allowance of food is from two to three times as great as in the Leeward Islands. The consequence is, that the Slaves in the Bahamas have increased at a rate which would have doubled their population in about twenty-two or twenty-three years, but for the cruel drains which have been made from them to cultivate the sickly swamps of Guiana, where numbers of them have perished.

Demerara, on the other hand, is the most productive Slave Colony belonging to the Crown. But the Slaves are certainly much worse off there, than in the far poorer islands of the Bahamas. The treatment of the Slaves is more severe in Demerara than in any other Colony; the quantity of labour exacted from them is greater; and their general condition still more degraded. What is the consequence? Instead of increasing, as in the Bahamas, so as to double their numbers in twenty-three years, they decrease at a rate which would unpeople the earth in less than half a century.

It is impossible to explain this fact on any hypothesis which is consistent with the argument, that bounties and protecting duties and West India Companies tend, not to the injury, as the Committee maintain, but to the benefit of the Slave.

The apprehensions excited by the proposal to form this West India Company, had led to an intention of forming a Company for the manufacture and introduction into this country of sugar grown by free labour. This project is for the present suspended; but the inquiries to which it gave birth are likely to lead to important results.

By calculations accurately made and drawn from authentic sources, the Committee have satisfied themselves,

that the capital required to cultivate sugar in the East Indies is very small, as compared with that which is necessary in the West; and that a most advantageous return may be expected from capital so employed.

The Committee will not dwell longer on this subject at present, as it is intended to lay a full view of it before the public.

The Committee have hitherto confined their observations almost entirely to the *Slave* population in our Colonies. The condition, however, of the free Blacks and People of Colour has been forced by various circumstances on their attention, and they feel strongly convinced that it is of the utmost importance to the safety of the West Indies, and to the general interests of the empire, no less than an act of justice in itself, to secure to them the full enjoyment of the rights of British subjects.

The Committee must postpone for the present any detail of the facts on which this opinion is founded. They hail, however, with satisfaction, the beginning of a more just and politic system, with respect to this part of our Colonial population, in the islands of Grenada, Antigua, and St. Kitt's; and they trust that the example there set will be generally followed.

The Committee have already intimated, that they are not aware of any material improvements having taken place during the last year in the Slave Code of any of our Colonies. Professions of an intention to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves have been made by some of the smaller islands; but the Committee are not apprized that in any instance those professions have yet been carried into effect. As to what the state of the Slave actually is in point of law, it stands now completely developed in the elaborate and masterly work of Mr. Stephen, which has lately been given to the public, and for which he is eminently entitled to the gratitude of this Society.

The Committee are also anxious to express their obligations to Mr. Clarkson, who has been passing a year

of active and useful exertion in the service of the Society, and is now meditating fresh efforts to promote the cause which has employed his life.

A Bill for the consolidation and amendment of the laws abolishing the Slave Trade, has received the Royal assent. It was brought into Parliament by Dr. Lushington, and carried through it by his exertions, supported by His Majesty's Ministers. The most valuable new provision which it contains, and one intrinsically of the highest moment, is the abolition of that cruel inter-colonial Slave Trade, which had been permitted to survive the general abolition. No Slave can now be transported from one Colony to another, but by the express license of His Majesty's Government on grounds to be laid before Parliament; and even this power of licensing such transfer will cease in three years.

It may be proper here to state, that there have been formed in different parts of the kingdom no less than 220 associations in aid of the objects of the Society, and that more are still forming.

The number of petitions for the amelioration of the condition of the Slaves, and the gradual extinction of Slavery, presented at the close of the last session, amounted to 225. Those presented in the present session have amounted to nearly 600.

Your Committee cannot conclude without reminding the Meeting, that the cause they have undertaken cannot be efficiently conducted without considerable expense; and that therefore liberal contributions are essential to its success. Whatever funds may be placed at their disposal will be husbanded with care, and employed to the best of their judgement in promoting their great object:—an object which, the Committee believe, under the blessing of God, is to be attained by firmness, activity, and perseverance on the part of the friends of humanity and justice.

Confiding as they do in the upright intentions and concurrent views of His Majesty's Ministers, however they

may differ with respect to some of the means of carrying their common purposes into effect, the Committee have at present no specific measures to propose to the adoption of their friends, beyond that general vigilance which the large interests involved in the question call for, and those occasional efforts which may be required to obviate any attempts made to mislead the public mind through the medium of the press. With this exception, their part seems to be to wait the course of events, and to be guided in their future proceedings by the circumstances which may arise. It would argue insensibility, however, to the goodness of Providence, if they were to close their Report without expressing their gratitude for the progress already made, and for the brighter prospects which they trust are opening upon them; and without declaring their firm and settled conviction, that a cause resting on such principles is absolutely certain of eventual success.

NOTES.

NOTE I. page 9.

THE following observations on the threat of Jamaica to renounce her allegiance, are extracted from one of our public journals, and seem entitled to attention.

"The West Indians have always strongly insisted upon the danger which is likely to arise from discussions in this country respecting Slavery. If their fears were sincere and well founded, we should, *without doubt*, witness a corresponding conduct on their part. We should see them studiously *avoiding*, at least in their publications in the West Indies, not only all violent and inflammatory statements, and all angry controversy on the subject, but as much as possible all allusion to it. Whatever danger there may be in discussions respecting slavery at the distance of 5000 miles, must be greatly enhanced when those discussions are transferred to the Colonial Newspapers. The flame being thus brought into more immediate contact with the inflammable matter, combustion is much more likely to follow.

"But, although the conduct of the West Indians has sufficiently proved that the alarm which they have laboured to excite of danger from discussion in this country is groundless, and is in fact nothing more than an expedient to frighten us from stirring the question at all, we are gravely told of another danger which is still more formidable and imminent. The danger is, that if Parliament should attempt to legislate for the Colonies, Jamaica would renounce her allegiance, and throw herself into the arms of the United States. It is not alleged, indeed, that the great West India proprietors in this country would sanction any such proceeding; but then it has been said that the agents of these proprietors, and all the incumbered planters of that island, would eagerly seize the opportunity, the former of ap-

propriating to themselves the estates of their employers, the latter of disembarrassing themselves of their load of debt to the merchants of England. But is it possible that such a bug-bear, such a mere phantom as this can have frightened a single individual within His Majesty's dominions?

"The Whites are the only part of the population of Jamaica who can have any inducement to pursue the apprehended course. Their whole number has never been estimated at more than 25,000, men, women, and children, of whom there may be nearly 5000 capable of bearing arms. These form little more than one-half of the militia of the island. The other half consists of the free Blacks and people of Colour, amounting, exclusive of about 500 or 600 Maroons capable of bearing arms, to about 4000 men. The King's troops stationed in the island amount to about 3000 men. The slaves form a population of 340,000.

"There is in the first place a manifest absurdity in supposing that the United States, with which we are in a state of profound peace, would listen to any overtures from the rebellious planters of Jamaica; more especially when the ground of their revolt is a determination to resist the wishes of the Parent State for the mitigation and extinction of slavery. And even if America were inclined to listen to any such overture, she knows too well the worthlessness and expensiveness of such a possession, to incur, for its sake, the risk of a single month's expense of a conflict with Great Britain.

"But even if we were to admit that America would favour this transfer of allegiance on the part of the Planters of Jamaica, yet how is it to be accomplished? If the 5000 Whites of that island were all confederate in the design, which could scarcely be the case, yet would they have no domestic difficulties to encounter? Would the King's troops look tamely on, while His Majesty's authority was set at nought, and these men were rising in rebellion against him? And would the Slaves be quite passive under such circumstances? But of all the classes none would be more decidedly opposed to such a step than the free Blacks and People of Colour. They have hitherto been treated with much indignity by the Whites, although they are rising daily in numbers, in opulence, and in respectability. A petition for an extension of their civil privileges has recently been rejected by the

Assembly of Jamaica. The transaction respecting the free men of Colour, Lescesnes and Escoffery, has aggravated their distrust of the Whites. *Their* concurrence in any such scheme is therefore hopeless; and without their concurrence the scheme is impracticable. But they would not only not concur in such a scheme, they would be strongly opposed to it. Many of the men of Colour of Jamaica are enlightened by education, and are possessed of very accurate information with respect to all that is passing around them. They know perfectly well, that their main hope of rising from their present state of depression is to be found in the humane and liberal feelings of the Parliament and Public of Great Britain. The boasted liberty of the United States, they are perfectly aware, is the exclusive property of the Whites. In the Slave States of America the people of Colour are as much depressed as they are in Jamaica; while their chance of emerging from this state of depression is much smaller. The Legislation and Government of South Carolina or Georgia, for example, are entirely in the hands of Slave-holders, as is also the Legislation of Jamaica. But then there is this essential difference between the two: in the former, the Slave-owners experience no controul from the general Government with respect to their provincial proceedings: they are wholly independent, and are responsible only to themselves. In Jamaica, on the contrary, the Acts of the Legislature must be submitted to the negative of the King; the public functionaries are also amenable to him for the manner in which they perform their duties; and, above all, they and their whole proceedings are subject to the revision of Parliament. The people of Colour know all this full well; they would therefore regard it as a great evil to be transferred to the United States, and would to a man firmly unite in resisting any movement which tended to that result. But independently of these considerations, the position of Hayti with respect to Jamaica is also to be taken into account. Those know little of the deep and painful apprehensions with which the Whites of Jamaica look to the vicinity of that formidable State, who entertain the notion that it can have seriously entered into the mind of any man amongst them to break with this country. To clamour on the subject may be very politic, and it has doubtless answered its purpose if it has made any of our Statesmen to hesitate in their course. But to conclude from the loudness of the cla-

mour that it is indicative of any serious intention to carry the scheme into effect, would show an extraordinary ignorance of the facts of the case, as well as an utter disregard of all the lessons of experience."

NOTE II. p. 33.

This statement has been questioned, but without reason. The bounty accruing to the West Indians, from the mode in which the drawback on refined sugar is regulated, amounts to upwards of six shillings a hundred weight, making of itself, without taking into account the effect of the protecting duty, a bonus to the West Indians of 960,000*l.* on the 160,000 tons of their sugar consumed in this country, besides the bounty paid on what they export. In the debate which arose in the House of Commons on the Sugar Duties, on the 13th of May last, it was contended that the real bonus to the West Indians did not exceed three shillings a hundred weight. This statement has been abundantly disproved, both by Mr. Whitmore in his speech on that occasion, and by Mr. Cropper in several of his pamphlets. If, however, any doubt could still be supposed to rest upon the subject, it would be completely dissipated by a letter, dated the 11th of March 1824, addressed by Mr. George Hibbert, the Agent of Jamaica, to his constituents there, and which has been published in the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of that island of the 1st of May 1824. In that letter, Mr. Hibbert remarks as follows:

"In relation to the alleviation of our commercial distress, it will not surprise you, perhaps, that when Mr. Hume stated in the House of Commons the subject of the reduction of the sugar duty, the members in our interest did not support him. This arose from a previous assurance from His Majesty's Ministers, that a reduction of the sugar duty could not possibly take place without at once depriving us of all the advantage which we now enjoy in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugar, which, *taken altogether, is little, if at all, short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight;* and without also denying us all that they were ready to concede in regard both to the duty on

rum, and to the regulations under which it is collected." "Under the consideration of these alternatives, the Standing Committee judge it better not to urge, *in the present session*, a reduction of the sugar duty."

Whatever, therefore, may have been asserted in debate, it is clear that, in private, it is fully understood, and has been deliberately agreed and settled, that the West Indians enjoy, from the mode in which the drawback is regulated, *a gratuitous bounty of six shillings* on the hundred weight of their sugar consumed in this country, as well as on that which is exported; by which last the price of the whole is necessarily regulated.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD

AT THE FREEMASONS' HALL, IN GREAT QUEEN-STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS,

On the 25th day of June 1824.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

IN THE CHAIR.

THE Report of the Committee, of which the substance is inserted above, having been read,

The Honourable AGAR ELLIS said, that he had heard with very great pleasure, in common with the whole of this large assembly, the Report which had just been so well read; and he hoped, and indeed he sincerely believed, that the endeavours of this Society in the cause of freedom and humanity were likely to be from day to day productive of fresh benefits. This year, he admitted, it could not be said that every thing had occurred which we might have wished; but he had not the smallest doubt that the cause of justice and religion and humanity in which they were engaged, would ultimately triumph over every obstacle. He felt most deeply interested in the proceedings of this Society, and earnestly hoped and trusted that its endeavours would be crowned with the complete success which they deserved. He concluded by moving,

"That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Committee of the So-

ciety, for the Report now read; that it be referred to them to consider the propriety of printing and circulating the substance of the Report; and that they be requested to continue their valuable services."

Mr. STEPHEN.—The first sentiment that must have been produced by the reading of the Report, is that with which the Committee have so properly concluded,—a sentiment of gratitude to the Author of all good; for it is among the best of the blessings he confers on us when he enables us on right principles to be his instruments in his beneficent works; and great, I trust, will be the benefits conferred on the unfortunate Slaves of the Colonies by those measures noticed in the Report, to which, without presumption, we may consider ourselves to have contributed.

The institution of the Society, Sir, was at a time when the prospects of the friends of humanity, in regard to the oppressed African race, were, I think, more than usually darkened;—when a large portion of those hopes which we had conceived from the abolition of the Slave Trade had proved to be delusive;—and when there seemed to be an insensibility, or at least a total inattention, of the public mind to those great national duties that we owe to our Colonial Slaves—duties plainly flowing from the same sacred principles with those of the abolition itself. We had waited in vain during the long and disheartening term of years that had elapsed since the Slave Trade was abolished, for those reformations within the Colonies, to which that great measure, in the judgement even of those who were the least sanguine, was likely to give rise. But the case is happily altered. Recent as the institution of this Society is, much has since been done, although certainly much more yet remains to do. We ought to feel, therefore, what is so properly expressed by our Committee,—gratitude to Divine Providence for having succeeded thus far.

I the rather premise these remarks, Sir, because, among

the artifices of our enemies—their multiplied and illiberal artifices—one is to represent us as a discontented set of people, who are not satisfied unless they attain at once all their objects. We are accused of not being thankful, for what our rulers have already done in this great cause, or content to suffer the work to remain in their hands; and in short of being precipitous, rash and unreasonable in our practical views. Sir, for my own part, I feel, and think it right at the outset to express, much gratitude to His Majesty's Ministers for their recent conduct. When the Society commenced its labours, nothing, we may fairly say, had been attained towards the mitigation of Slavery. The friends of the poor Negroes had, on the contrary, found themselves baffled in every attempt, and had not so much as the promise of a better course of things, not even in those Colonies over which the Crown itself has full legislative power. But we have to thank the Government now, not only for better prospects, but for some very interesting and important objects already obtained. Among these, let me congratulate Your Royal Highness and the Meeting on one, which the Report properly notices in terms of commendation and joy,—I mean the approaching termination of the intercolonial Slave Trade; a branch of that horrible commerce not less opprobrious, not less merciless, than the African Slave Trade itself, but which has hitherto been permitted to subsist between the British West India Islands. Within the last twenty-four hours, I believe, His Majesty's assent has been given to a Bill for consolidating the Abolition Acts, containing this most important clause,—That hereafter (with a qualified limitation for a period only of three years) no Slave shall be liable to be transported by the authority of his master from the island in which he is settled to any other part of the world.

I could have wished indeed that the interdiction had been immediate: but we have great reason to hope that the effect will be the same; because during that period the practice is not to be permitted in any case without

the special license of His Majesty's Government; and I have too good an opinion of our Ministers, and especially of the very respectable Statesman who presides over the Colonial department, to believe it possible that this licensing power will ever be drawn into exercise; because I well know that no grounds for it in any case can possibly be alleged and proved, such as in the mind of an upright, humane and liberal man will justify those cruel transportations. Your Royal Highness, I doubt not, will feel with me, that if we had yet gained nothing more, this is a reformation of most essential and vital importance. It not only secures the poor Slaves from one very cruel and calamitous species of oppression, but facilitates and encourages their further protection and relief, by the authority of the local legislatures under which they live. It will not now depend on the will of the master, whether a humane and liberal exercise of that power which a Colonial Assembly possesses in a particular island, shall confer any real or lasting benefit on the Slaves within its jurisdiction, or shall not even deteriorate their lot. Hitherto the meliorated condition of a Slave, by the law of the particular colony he lives in, might actually prove to him a curse instead of a blessing, by leading to his removal for ever from his family and native home; for the prices of Slaves will be found to be the highest where their condition and treatment are the worst; and with an unfeeling and tyrannical master it might become a motive for the transportation to another colony where the laws are less humane, that his own power would be there more unlimited, and on his own narrow-minded views could be used to greater advantage. An island consequently that had advanced in the course of humane improvements much before the rest, might not only have lost the just reward, in the preservation and increase of its labouring population, but have increased the opposite evil. This measure, therefore, was necessary to pave the way for future improvements. Considering the number of petty legisla-

tures which at present exist in the Colonies, the work, if referred to them, must at best be conducted with no uniform or equal progress: but now, whenever any good is obtained for the Slaves, that good will be secured; the poor subjects of it, at least, will not have to exchange a milder for a more aggravated slavery, and be exiled for ever from their native homes, their families, and all that endears life to them, because their value may be greater in another Colony where the master's power is less restrained, and where oppression has produced its usual consequences, a great mortality among the Slaves, a deficiency in their numbers, and a large advance in their price.

This however is not the only measure for which we ought to be thankful. The Government has at length entered on a work which I lament its having deferred so long. It has begun to legislate upon wise and humane principles between the Masters and Slaves of those Colonies in which the power of legislation rests exclusively in the Crown. It is highly important, not only for the good immediately to be produced in the conquered Colonies where this power exists; but because, as an example and a precedent, it cannot fail to operate beneficially for our cause on both sides of the Atlantic; here, by pledging the Government and Parliament to express practical principles and specific measures of reform applicable to Colonial Slavery at large; and on the other side, by teaching the Assemblies of such Colonies as possess the power of internal legislation, that Government and Parliament are in earnest, and that the non-interposition of the supreme legislature may be expected if reformation is longer withheld.

But, Sir, while I think it right at the outset—while I think it just and wise, to give this merited praise to His Majesty's Ministers for what they have already done, I certainly feel great dissatisfaction at the position in which our cause is still left in those Colonies where a concurrent power of interior legislation (I say

a concurrent power, for the claim of an exclusive one is too preposterous to deserve an answer) rests with the Assemblies. In those islands, I lament to say, nothing has been gained hitherto for their unfortunate Slaves, or nothing of any real value; much less any advances towards those measures that have been recommended to them from Parliament and the Throne. This opposition of the Assemblies, indeed, could be no disappointment. We knew from long experience that their concurrence in any effectual reforms was hopeless. And yet we are blamed for not being satisfied with a reference to them. It is said that we are impatient; that we do not make the proper allowances, or give the necessary time; that we have to deal with an old and inveterate evil; that we have to grapple with long-established systems and prejudices, and ought therefore to make allowances for the Assemblies, and bring them by good temper on our side to a more rational and a more liberal way of thinking.

Now, Sir, when thus accused, I think it highly important that all the friends of our cause should have brought home to their recollection the experience we have had on this subject. If it had been a new thing to recommend to the Colonial Assemblies by the executive Government, at the instance of Parliament, supported by the personal influence of the leading Proprietors in this country, reformations of their Slave Laws—if such an expedient had never been attempted before—or never failed before—there might then be some reason for contending that the concurrence of the Assemblies ought to be long and patiently waited for, before we called upon the Government or Parliament to interpose in a direct and compulsory way. Sir, it is perhaps not known to all, or perfectly within the recollection of many who hear me, what powerful solicitations on this subject have formerly been addressed to the Assemblies in vain. I have therefore brought into the room a book containing a collection of Parliamentary Papers on the Slave

Trade, from which, with Your Royal Highness's permission, I will read two or three passages, to show how fully the experiment for which we are desired to wait, was tried at a former period, and what was its result.

As far back as the year 1796, the West India Committee, as it is called, a body formed of the most eminent and influential Colonial Proprietors in this country, and chiefly Members of Parliament, earnestly recommended to the Assemblies reforms of their interior system. It was on the 14th December 1796, that the Committee entered into resolutions confirmatory of a Report of a Sub-committee of its own body, and unanimously requesting Mr. Charles Ellis to make a motion, which the Sub-committee had approved of, on the subject of the Slave Trade, and the situation of the Negroes in the islands. The form of the motion, which was afterwards made by Mr. Ellis, and supported by the whole Colonial party in Parliament, and unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, was for an Address to the Crown, praying that His Majesty would graciously recommend to the Governors, Councils and Assemblies of the West India Islands, "measures such as should regulate and controul the importation of Slaves from Africa; and by obviating the causes which had hitherto impeded the natural increase of Negroes already in the islands, should render that trade less necessary, and ultimately lead to its termination; and further, *with a view to the same effect, the adoption of every measure which might conduce to the moral and religious improvement of the Negroes, and promote their happiness, by securing to them the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law.*"

An Address in these terms was carried up by the Commons to the Throne early in April 1797; and soon afterwards the late Duke of Portland, then His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted circular instructions to the Governors of all the West India Islands, requiring them at the earliest opportunity to communicate the Address of the House of Com-

mons to the respective Councils and Assemblies, and to recommend to their particular consideration and attention the important objects specified therein.

But the West India Committee did not trust to the Royal and Parliamentary influence alone. They added, what was likely to be of greater efficacy, confidential earnest solicitations from the members of that body, and from the Colonial Agents in this country, to the leading Proprietors resident in the different islands, imploring them, for the sake of the Slave Trade, for the preservation of which they were all then earnestly struggling, and which they deemed essential to the very existence of the Sugar Colonies, to comply with the recommendations of the Crown. The better to impress this powerful consideration, the secret deliberations of the Committee, and the motives on which Mr. Ellis had been requested, as its organ, to move the Address in Parliament, were confidentially disclosed; and as the correspondence was afterwards brought to light and printed by authority of Parliament, (a discovery not I presume at all foreseen by the writers,) I am enabled to read to you from these Parliamentary documents some of the arguments that were used.

The Report of the Sub-committee contained the following reasons for the measure it recommended.

1st. *That the repeated discussion of the abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament may produce consequences of the utmost danger to the Colonies; and that if an Act for this purpose should ever pass the British Parliament, it will be fatal to them.*

2nd. *That the question of abolition will continue to be agitated year after year, and as often as the forms of the House permit; and that neither the House of Commons nor the country in general will suffer it to rest, till some steps have been taken which may afford them reason to believe, that every regulation has been adopted which is consistent with the safety of the Colonies.*

3rd. *That many persons of great weight and character,*

though conscious of the danger to be apprehended from the measures proposed by Mr. Wilberforce, have supported, and will continue to support them, because no mode of conduct at all compatible with their ideas of humanity has been proposed as an alternative.

4th. *That, on the other hand, many persons who have hitherto opposed the measures of Mr. Wilberforce, will feel themselves under the necessity of submitting to them, unless some plan of regulation shall be brought forward.*

5th. *That there is reason to believe, that besides Mr. Wilberforce's Bill, there will be proposed some more specious plan of moderate reform and gradual abolition, which will meet with very general support; and that it is of the utmost importance that such a plan should be anticipated, because the West India Proprietors, from their local knowledge, are the only persons to whom the formation of it can be safely intrusted.*

6th. *That consequently, for the joint purposes of opposing the plan of Mr. Wilberforce, and establishing the character of the West India body, it is essential that they should manifest their willingness to promote actively the cause of humanity, by such steps as shall be consistent with safety to the property of individuals, and the general interests of the Colonies.*

The members of the Committee enforced these arguments by their own individual opinions and remarks. The late Sir William Young, for instance, a proprietor of great eminence, and one of the most strenuous opponents of the abolition, thus wrote to his friend, the President of Antigua:

"*I cannot omit the declaration, that on every ground of past experience in Parliament, from the first agitation of the question I advert to, and from all speculation on the future that my mind can reach, it appears to be indispensably necessary to take some steps in our Colonies by legislative provisions, touching the situation of Negroes in respect to society, and to promote a natural increase of their popula-*

tion, and thus not only stop for the present, but gradually supersede the very pretensions at a future period, to a measure of direct abolition of the Slave Trade by the Mother Country, a measure which would blast the root of all our settlements of property—change the foundation of every bequest, loan and security—turn every mortgage into an annuity on the lives of Negroes—institute a general system of foreclosure, and, depreciating our estates, preclude all immediate resources, and ruin every interest."

Here, Sir, I cannot resist the temptation to remark by the way, how clearly these papers refute another charge which our opponents have the confidence to make against us. It is alleged that the present call by Abolitionists for the reformation and gradual termination of Slavery, is new, and inconsistent with their former professions—that we are asking that which pending the abolition controversy was not in our contemplation, or was a latent purpose which we unfairly concealed and disclaimed; yet here we find it expressly noticed, as one of the arguments for this memorable interference on the part of the West Indians themselves, that some specious plan of moderate reform and gradual abolition was expected to be brought forward at that period. And what, Sir, was the cause of their not being then brought forward in Parliament, when, as the Report itself states, they would have met with very general support? What, but the measure thus imposingly brought forward by the West Indian gentlemen themselves? They then held forth what the Report speciously suggests, that interior regulations could be safely made by the Assemblies alone; and as experience had not at that period shown that the most powerful appeals to those bodies would be fruitless, it would have been impossible for the friends of reformation, after such an interposition of the West India Proprietors in this country, to take the work out of their hands. The measure in that respect produced the effect desired by its authors. It effectually for a long time frustrated the hopes and the plans of

Mr. Wilberforce. It left him no other course to take, as far as related to the mitigation of Slavery in our Colonies, but to fall in with the views of the Committee, to support Mr. Ellis's motion, and patiently wait the event.

It is too much, as Your Royal Highness will feel, after this, that the same Colonial party should impute to my dear friend here (Mr. Wilberforce), as an inconsistency, his not having at that time called upon Parliament to perform its duties more directly towards the Slaves, and his making that call now, when it is plain there is no other resource.

It is not, however, for the sake of repelling this idle charge of inconsistency, or *breach of faith* as they have the absurdity to call it, against Mr. Wilberforce, that I have troubled Your Royal Highness and this highly respectable audience with the extracts I have read; it is for the more important purpose of showing how well justified the Society is in not suspending its efforts from any reliance at this period on the Colonial Assemblies. It is not merely by their recent conduct, in their contemptuous rejection of the Parliamentary Resolutions of the last session, and the solicitations of His Majesty's Government founded upon them, but by their resistance of that still more powerful influence which was employed in 1797, that we are taught to despair of any effectual mitigation of Slavery from this new reference to them.

We were then, as now, supported by the voice of Parliament and the Crown; and the whole body of the Colonial Proprietors in England, collectively and individually, did their utmost in our favour. It was the measure not of their enemies, as they affect to regard us, but of their fellow Planters, their agents and partisans; and it came recommended to them by arguments far more influential than any that can now be used. To defeat Mr. Wilberforce in his efforts for the abolition of the Slave Trade, was the great object, the inviting reward of their compliance, on which the West India Committee, as I have shown, then relied, but which can be held out no

more. The alternative of reform by Parliamentary legislation was then denounced, and reasonably expected. But this argument, I fear, has lost all its credit. What reason, then, have we to hope that the Assemblies will now be more compliant? They now even venture to deny the authority of Parliament; which their most zealous partisans at that time were far from disputing. The Committee, as we have seen, questioned the safety of interior regulations by Parliament, but by no means its right to make them.

That the measure then brought forward by Mr. Ellis, at the instance of the Committee, and all the powerful persuasions which accompanied it, were utterly fruitless, is beyond dispute. Some ostensible laws, indeed, passed in some of the Colonies; but that they neither were, nor were meant to be, enforced, has since been clearly proved. Without treading on any doubtful or debatable ground, let us advert to the two grand branches of reform which Mr. Ellis's address and the instructions of the Duke of Portland pointed out as the most essential, namely, the religious instruction of the Slaves, and their protection from oppression by law.

The instructions to the Governors were anxiously particular, especially as to religious improvement, and even pointed out the encouragement of Missions as one of the best means for that purpose. "*As the instruction of Negroes* (said His Grace) *is of the utmost consequence, it would be important to know whether the Legislature of the island has in view any particular modes of effecting this purpose; and what species and degree of encouragement it would be disposed to hold out to such Missionaries as might be found properly qualified for that purpose, and would undertake that duty; either by enacting that such Missionaries should procure in favour of the estate where they are employed, certain privileges, immunities and advantages, or in what other manner their services should be rewarded by the island. This would lead to the general establishment of the Christian religion among the Negroes, and would es-*

tablish marriages; it would restrain promiscuous intercourse, and impress their minds in a simple yet forcible manner with the great truths of morality."

Now, Sir, we too well know that during twenty-seven years that have since ensued, these suggestions have almost every where been entirely fruitless, and treated with utter disregard. No public provision whatever for the religious instruction of the Slaves, no means of reclaiming them from Pagan ignorance, and teaching them even the first elements of Christianity, have any where been supplied. The total neglect of the Royal and Parliamentary recommendation in this respect, is undisputed and avowed. As to the Missionaries, instead of public encouragement, they have met in most of the Colonies active opposition and persecution, as well as contempt. Destruction of their meeting-houses, expulsion by unrestrained and unpunished popular outrage, trial by Martial Law, and condemnation in one instance to an infamous death on the most false and frivolous pretences;—such are the rewards that these pious self-devoted men have received in our Sugar Colonies. Unless this be encouragement, I know of none that any West Indian Assembly has given to them.

Then, Sir, with regard to the other grand branch of reformation recommended by the Address of 1797, the "*securing to the Slaves the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law*"—in what manner has this been accomplished? Their legal protection is every where a mere sound. Abstaining from every ground that has been or can be disputed, and assuming only what the Assemblies and their partisans admit, rules of evidence are still inexorably maintained in every Colony, which avowedly render fruitless in general every law that exists to protect them from violence and oppression. It is not, as Your Royal Highness knows, by us only; it is by the Judges and Magistrates of the Colonies, and even by some of their legislative bodies themselves, that the rejection of the evidence of Slaves against White men is

stated to be (what no thinking and impartial man indeed can doubt it must in general prove) a fatal bar to their protection by law, and a source of impunity to the white perpetrators of even the most heinous crimes against them.

Among a multitude of authorities that might be cited to this effect, I will confine myself to one; the testimony of the late Sir William Young, one of the members of the West India Committee of 1796, and the Secretary of that body, the strong terms of whose letter to his correspondents in Antigua I have read to you. He had afterwards to record in a most decisive and impressive manner the failure of his own persuasions; for about fifteen years after, in the year 1811, being then Governor of Tobago, he had officially to answer inquiries consequent on an Address of the House of Commons as to the measures that had in consequence of the former addresses been adopted for the legal protection of Slaves; and I beg leave to read from another Parliamentary document part of the answer he gave:

"*I think the Slaves have by law no protection. In this, and I doubt not in every other island, there are laws for the protection of Slaves, and good ones; but circumstances in the administration of whatever law render it a dead letter. When the intervention of the law is most required, it will have the least effect; as in cases where a vindictive and cruel master has dared to commit the most atrocious cruelties, even to murder his Slave, no free person being present to witness the act. There appears to me a radical defect in the administration of justice throughout the West Indies, in whatever case the wrongs done to a Slave are under consideration; or rather, that justice cannot in truth be administered, controlled as it is by a law of evidence, which covers the most guilty European with impunity; provided that when having a criminal intent he is cautious not to commit the crime in the presence of a free witness.*

"*On small plantations there is but one free person, the resident Manager, and no Slave can appear against him. In the back yard of a jobber of a small gang for hire, in the*

workshops or outbuildings of each artisan or petty tradesman, and within every house, the greatest cruelties may be exercised on a Slave without a possibility of conviction. I should consider it (he adds) *as inconsistent with the respect and deference I bear to the sagacity and wisdom of the august body for whose use this Report is framed, to idly enlarge it with the enumeration of humane laws for the protection of Slaves; all rendered nugatory by the conditions of evidence required in their administration.*"

Such was the case as stated by Sir William Young in 1811; and such it still undeniably is, with no alteration worthy of notice, in all our Sugar Colonies. Such also the Planters intend it shall continue; for in the late speech of Earl Bathurst in the House of Lords, in which His Lordship stated what had been done and recommended by His Majesty's Government towards the mitigation of Slavery, he added that all the measures but one had been concurred in by the West Indian Proprietors in this country; and that single exception, if His Lordship was correctly understood, was the admission of the evidence of Slaves against free persons. Let us admire the consistency of these gentlemen in supporting, as they for the most part did in the late Parliamentary investigation, the proceedings against the Missionary, Mr. Smith. The evidence of Slaves, Sir, is sufficient, it seems, to convict a preacher of the Gospel!—It is sufficient to condemn him to death; although the Slaves who give the evidence are swearing for their own lives!—It is sufficient to give currency and judicial credit to the most palpable, and monstrous, and inconsistent fables that ever were invented in romance—It is sufficient to prove that a pious self-devoted minister of the Gospel of Peace, is an instigator of sedition, rebellion, and bloodshed—It is sufficient to prove that a man who is sinking into his grave under the influence of a pulmonary complaint—who has a helpless wife on the spot with him—who in all probability has not many weeks to live, is desirous of being the leader in a bloody and desperate

contest of bands of insurgent Slaves, in order that he may be made their Emperor, and reign over them in the swamps and woods of the Guiana continent!! The evidence of Slaves, Sir, is sufficient for all this; though they themselves are avowedly guilty of the crime they impute, and give their testimony under an extreme influence of terror that would disqualify the most respectable of our countrymen from being heard as a witness in any court of this country. Their evidence may be safely received and relied upon against a prisoner, when a whole infuriated community is clamorous for his destruction; but is too dangerous to be heard in any case before a jury of White men, all whose prepossessions, and all whose sympathies, are adverse to the prosecutor and the witness, and favourable to the party accused. The same Colonists, it seems, still inexorably oppose the reception of such witnesses, however credible, and however unimpeachable on every ground but the colour of their skins, when necessary to enforce the laws against the oppressors of their unfortunate class. Neither the Assemblies nor their partisans here, it seems, will consent in that respect to change a rule which their more zealous champions themselves have condemned as an insurmountable obstacle to the protection of the Slaves, and the course of public justice.

Now, Sir, this is the experience we have had for seven-and-twenty years. It was in April 1797 that this recommendation was sent to the Assemblies, supported, as I have shown, by every powerful motive that could be suggested—backed by the influence of their own agents,—by the Colonial Proprietors,—by the unanimous vote of Parliament,—and by the zealous solicitations of the Duke of Portland, then at the head of the Colonial department. And yet we see that in those two great points chiefly recommended to their attention, the religious instruction of the Slaves, and their protection by law from the wanton injuries of their masters and other oppressors, the case virtually stands in the

year 1824 just as it stood in the year 1797. Is it intemperate, then—is it unreasonable—is it precipitate, in this Society, not to be content with a new reference to the same Assemblies, and not passively to rely again on the same experiment thus tried, and thus found to be fruitless?

Our enemies affect to blame us for not leaving the case in the hands of Government, and patiently expecting the result of its new solicitations; and even to ascribe to this cause the intemperate conduct of the Colonies; but was not the case left in the hands of the Government, and had not its influence with the Assemblies full scope, without any interruption from us, from 1797 till the spring of the last year? If a term of twenty-six years was not long enough for patient acquiescence on our part, how long were we expected to wait before we raised our voice against this great national iniquity, and invoked the moral and religious feelings of the British people to aid us in a call for reformation?

They object also to the necessary means which their own obstinacy compels us to employ. How, otherwise, can we oppose to the formidable and fatal influence which the Colonial party possesses in and out of Parliament, and which they indefatigably employ against us through a thousand channels public and private, the only power that we can invoke, that of public opinion, without exposing those cruel abuses which we wish to correct, and exciting public discussions on the duty and the means of reformation? Yet we are loaded with invectives for pursuing this necessary course. We are accused of exciting discontent among the unfortunate Slaves (as if it were possible for human beings not to be discontent with such a condition as they are reduced to), and every ordinary disorder incident to the system, as well as the mischiefs which their own extreme rashness and violence, in opposition to the measures of Government, have occasioned, are laid to our charge, on the insidious and absurd pretence that the discussions in Parliament, and in our

public prints, are read and misinterpreted by the poor ignorant and degraded beings to whom they relate.

Sir, if the fact were so, what other alternative is left to us by their own obduracy, unless wholly to abandon the sacred cause in which we are engaged? We must do this, or continue our efforts to enlighten the people of England on this subject; and to promote by their constitutional influence what we believe to be the only effectual remedy, Parliamentary legislation, which without the aid of popular feeling it would be difficult perhaps for the Government itself to apply.

But the alarms with which the public mind is assailed by our adversaries, are utterly groundless; and are felt by themselves to be so. No man can read the newspapers printed in the Colonies, of which the only patrons and chief readers are the White inhabitants, without being convinced, unless he supposes them to wish for insurrections, that they entertain no real fear of such effects from our discussions. It would be impossible for me to put this argument in a stronger and more conclusive manner than that in which it has been stated in the Report. But, by way of further illustration, let us suppose that any man in this metropolis were to set himself to oppose that valuable improvement, the lighting our streets by gas lamps, professing that he thought them so extremely dangerous even in our public streets, from the risk of conflagration, that they ought not to be suffered; and let us further suppose, that the same man, notwithstanding this, was at the same moment known to be constructing gas pipes and lamps in his own dwelling and his own warehouses, though filled with the most combustible and valuable effects, for the benefit of the same invention;—surely we should be inclined to say in such a case, "This man cannot be in earnest. Gas lights may be safe, or they may be dangerous; but his opinion is plain from his conduct; and his fears are mere pretence and imposture." Not less inconsistent is the affected alarm of the resident

Planters and Proprietors of Slaves in the West Indies on the score of our discussions on this side of the Atlantic, while their own newspapers, which they would stop in a moment if they contained any thing that they thought unsafe to themselves, are filled every week, not merely with the reports of what we publish or what we say, but with the most inflammatory comments and the most dangerous perversions, as well calculated as possible, if the Slaves were indeed readers of newspapers, and political speculators, to excite them to resistance and revolt.

To expose this insincere and disingenuous conduct is not needless; for Your Royal Highness knows, that absurd though such an objection is when used to silence necessary discussion in this country, and inconsistent though it grossly is in the mouths of our Colonists, it unfortunately does in some degree serve their insidious purpose, in the minds of well meaning but uninformed men among us.

In this and other points the disingenuous arts employed against us offend almost as much against truth and reason, as the system defended by them, does against justice and humanity; and we may learn from the character of this opposition, as well as from its violence, how little ground of hope there is that the Assemblies will be disposed to change their conduct, and to adopt with sincerity and effect the recommendations of His Majesty's Government. I heartily wish that I could hold out to Your Royal Highness and to the Meeting, personally conversant as I am with the state of things in those Colonies, the slightest hope of such a change; but I must frankly declare, Sir, that I have no hope of that kind; and regard all solicitations addressed to the Assemblies as tending only to delay, disappointment and mischief.

But do I therefore wish that this Society should fly in the face of His Majesty's Ministers? or that we should impute to them insincerity in their professions? Do I wish that we should be insensible of the merit of what they have done, because we are thus reasonably distrustful, and even despairing, of the means they are employing

to accomplish that which they have engaged further to do? Far indeed am I, Sir, from such injustice, or from recommending any conduct to this Society inconsistent with a perfect reliance on the good intentions of His Majesty's Government. For several months to come, at least, the case must implicitly be left in their hands; and their new experiment on the Assemblies will be tried without any interference by us. I need not say "Wait," for we *must* wait; as the Parliamentary session is now on the point of being closed. Until the next winter no practical measures can be proposed to Parliament, which alone, in my opinion, will or can do any thing effectual. Meantime we should rest satisfied, and I for one am ready to say we have much reason to be so, that it is the sincere intention of Ministers to redeem the pledge they have given us on this interesting and sacred subject.

But it is nowise inconsistent with the most perfect confidence in them, to persist by all proper and respectful means in keeping up the public interest in our cause, and preparing for a further expression of that general feeling which we know to exist in its favour with all who understand its merits, and are not enlisted by their private interests and connexions in the ranks of our opponents. Such means are often necessary in this free country to support the right intentions of the Government, and strengthen its hands; especially when the combined and active exertions of a powerful party, actuated by particular interests, are zealously opposed to the interests, the wishes, and the duties of the nation at large. Let us, then, notwithstanding what we have attained in possession and promise, and notwithstanding all the clamours and the prejudices that are opposed to us, persevere in our appeals to the understandings and the consciences of our countrymen, against this great evil, and this great national crime of Slavery, until we have obtained from Parliament, a deliverance from its mischiefs and its guilt. In these views, Sir, I most cordially second the Motion that has been made, "That the Thanks of this

Meeting be given to the Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Committee of the Society, for the Report now read; that it be referrred to them to consider the propriety of printing and circulating the substance of the Report; and that they be requested to continue their valuable services."

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

The Honourable BAPTIST NOEL.—Sir, if the Planters of Demerara had heard at this moment that emancipation was declared by the Government of this country for their Slaves, it would not have fallen on them more like a clap of thunder, than it has on me on hearing myself called to address this Meeting on the motion which I hold in my hand. But, Sir, the unexpectedness of the call, and my consequent want of preparation, will save this Meeting from what it otherwise might have been exposed to—a tedious endeavour to enforce a motion, the importance of which I cannot but feel most strongly. The spirit of that motion is, that this Meeting recognises the system of Slavery, such as it exists in our Colonies, to be repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and of justice. It goes on to state, "that, animated with the hope of being instrumental in putting a period to this state of oppression and suffering, and wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character, this Meeting now pledge themselves to prosecute the sacred cause they have undertaken, with zeal, activity and perseverance, until, by the blessing of God on their united efforts, they are enabled to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of their great work of mercy." I should feel the greater difficulty in pressing this motion on the attention of the Meeting, had I not been completely anticipated by that able Report which has been read to-day, and by the speech of the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, and to whom I have listened with the highest satisfaction and the deepest interest.' Nothing need be added to the argu-

ments brought forward by that honourable gentleman and in the Report which you have heard, and to that mass of information which has been given in the publications issued to the world through the aid of this Society, in order to prove that the system of Slavery existing in the Colonies, is entirely repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. The question we have to consider is not what Slavery is in the abstract; we are called to pronounce what the Slavery in our Colonies is—what Slavery is in Jamaica—what in Demerara;—a Slavery which, in spite of the veil that has been spread over its more hideous features—in spite of the difficulty of getting access to its grosser horrors—in spite of the efforts made to hide from this country its real character—it is now clearly demonstrated, is a system so replete with enormity and horror, that we no longer can hesitate in employing with respect to it the very strongest terms of reprobation. Is it not, I would ask, (and I am sure the heart of every one here will respond to that question,)—Is it not repugnant to the spirit of Christianity that one man should be the absolute proprietor of his fellow, and the arbiter of his destinies—that he should have power, not only to shut him out from the enjoyment of all the blessings which a bountiful Providence so profusely lavishes upon man, but from the higher blessings of Christian light and knowledge, so as almost to destroy that attribute which distinguishes him from the brute, while it links him with the Divinity—his moral responsibility? Is it possible that a Slave under the despotic and uncontrouled authority of his master, should be a morally responsible being in the same sense in which we are responsible beings? Will any one deny that it is repugnant to Christianity, that one human being, at the will of a fellow man, should be liable to have all the finest feelings of his heart outraged without the possibility of redress—that he should be liable to be torn and for ever separated from the society of his wife and children—that he should be liable to have his body lacerated with the bloody scourge, without daring

to utter the slightest murmur or complaint on account of the painful and barbarous infliction? A thousand terrible facts might be brought forward to attest the truth of this state of things.—Look again at the provision which has been made for the instruction of the Slaves in Christianity—how miserably deficient it is! What inadequate means have been employed to raise the hopes of these wretched beings to those bright regions of peace, and rest, and joy, which Christianity opens to the view! In general, they are suffered by their masters to remain in a state of heathenish destitution of all religious knowledge, and in a worse than heathenish wretchedness and degradation; and all lest their own paltry temporal interests should suffer by the moral elevation of their Slaves. And what excuse can be offered for this outrageous violation of every Christian duty? Is it the colour of the Slave? Is it the degraded state of intellect or of morals to which, by our own system, we have reduced him? Is it because, having made him a Slave, we have doomed him to possess those evil dispositions which never fail to characterize a state of Slavery, whether the subject of it be white or black? Is it on this account, or on what other, that we exclude him from the pale of our sympathy, and systematically depress him from our own level to that of the brutes that perish? It makes very little difference, in our estimate of the evil of Slavery, that there may be many Planters in Jamaica, and in the other Colonies, who prove mild and merciful masters, who have the interest of their poor Slaves at heart, and are anxious to ameliorate their condition. All this cannot rectify the incurable evils of the system; these are beyond the reach of individual benevolence. In proof of this, let any one look at Mr. Stephen's excellent delineation of Colonial Slavery, and then let him ask himself whether a system in all respects so execrable as this has ever before existed. It is difficult to find terms strong enough to express all one feels on the subject: and yet I fear, on the other hand, lest, in using terms of appropriate force with respect to the system, I

should be thought to entertain feelings of enmity to the persons of those who, by inheritance or purchase, possess a property in Slaves. This is not the case: at the same time it is impossible to contemplate without indignation, a system by which the subjects of it may be remedilessly wronged in every way in which it is possible for one man to wrong his fellow; and may be made to sustain, in addition to all the numberless vexatious and nameless aggravations which the details of every day may bring with it, injuries of the severest and most lasting kind, without the hope or possibility of redress. Surely this is a state which ought no longer to exist under a Christian Government. A further proof of the unchristian tendency of Colonial Slavery is to be found in those recent proceedings in Demerara, which we all have so much reason to deplore; I mean the proceedings on the Court Martial which adjudged Mr. Smith to death. What doctrines could be more utterly repugnant to Christianity, than those which were advanced by that Court—advanced, nay, and acted upon too, without any apparent consciousness that they were thus repugnant? The gentlemen who composed that Court, adjudged Mr. Smith to have violated his duty as a Christian minister, and to have committed a heinous offence, because he taught the Slaves who attended him, that one of the indispensable obligations of the Christian religion was the observance of the Sabbath. Can that system be otherwise than repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, which will not permit its most important duties to be performed by nineteen twentieths of the population, and makes it even treasonable to inculcate them? A Christian minister, in short, becomes criminal, in their eyes, who teaches the Slaves to obey those laws of God which their Masters are in the constant habit of violating! But I will not waste words in the proof either of this or of the other point embraced by my motion, namely, that the Slavery of our Colonies is a gross violation of the principles of justice, as well as of the soundest maxims of policy. If proofs were needed, the Report we have heard would

furnish them; and if not, I should only have to appeal to the heart of every individual in this room for its truth. Is there one who breathes the atmosphere of this free and happy land, who is not conscious that all his best feelings would be outraged if he was to be transplanted into that region of sorrow and suffering and degradation, of tyranny and oppression, where Slavery prevails, and where its demoralizing effect is as terrible on the Slave master as on the Slave himself—carrying its blighting curse to every thing with which it comes in contact—withering the best energies of human nature, and under its baneful influence turning into barrenness the fertility of the most luxuriant soil? And what is the practical result to which all these considerations should bring us? Is it not this?—That it is an imperative duty, which must bind the conscience of every one amongst us, to wipe off from our beloved country that blot which yet remains on her character for not having done all she might have done to terminate this horrible state of Slavery. Is it not a duty, which we must all feel in our consciences to be absolutely imperative, steadily and perseveringly,—with temperance I admit, but still with a steadiness which no opposition can overcome, which no interest can be able to resist—to persevere in bringing to the speediest termination possible so foul a system of oppression and irreligion? I hope from my heart, Sir, that the successive appeals which are made to our consciences will not be without their effect—that we shall not look on our meeting here as a mere perfunctory service, but that we shall feel ourselves deeply bound and pledged, individually and collectively, to do all that in us lies to bring this monstrous evil to a termination, while we make the accomplishment of this event the subject of our unceasing prayers. I trust that we shall do all we can to spread more and more widely the detestation of Slavery, never ceasing, even till death, to pursue it to its entire and universal extermination. Let those of us especially who are commencing life, resolve on emulating the great examples which have been set us by men dear

to our hearts; and who, having begun the mighty struggle before some of us were yet in being, have continued to this day to maintain it with undiminished energy and effect. Let us tread in their steps—let us imbibe their principles—let us emulate their labours and sacrifices and persevering efforts, until we shall have finally wiped away from our beloved country this foul stain which still pollutes her name.

I now conclude with proposing to Your Royal Highness and to this Meeting the following Resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Meeting, the bondage in which eight hundred thousand of their fellow subjects are held, is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and justice; and that, animated with the hope of being instrumental in putting a period to this state of oppression and suffering, and wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character, the Meeting now pledge themselves to prosecute the sacred cause they have undertaken, with zeal, activity, and perseverance, until, by the blessing of God on their united efforts, they are enabled to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of their great work of mercy."

Mr. T. B. Macaulay.—Had I been requested, Sir, to lend my support to any other resolution than that which has been proposed by my honourable friend, I could not have offered myself to your notice without great reluctance. I should have felt that the cause in which we are engaged, although it could never have a warmer friend, might easily have found a more able and more experienced advocate. I should have thought it advisable that you should be addressed by some gentleman who had distinguished himself in this or in a former great contest for the rights of human nature, rather than by one whose only claim to your attention is de-

rived from services not his own. From these feelings I am relieved by the nature of the present motion. It is a motion which, as I conceive, I can second, not only without presumption, but with peculiar propriety. It is a motion which seems especially to belong to those who are entering on life;—to those who, although they have not contributed to your past success, are ambitious to participate in your future labours. It pledges us to continued exertion:—it announces that even if those, in whose guidance we have hitherto confided, be destined to leave unfinished the work which they have so gloriously begun, the good cause shall not therefore want fresh champions, nor, if it must be so, fresh martyrs. As a friend to humanity, Sir, I cannot look without the greatest satisfaction on such a Meeting assembled for such an object. We hear, indeed, much of the pernicious tendency of these discussions;—we are told that they inflame the passions of the Slave and endanger the person and property of the Master;—we are adjured to take warning by the insurrections of Barbadoes and Demerara;—and these admonitions may have produced an effect on some honourable and benevolent minds. To me it seems somewhat singular, that such assertions should proceed from the same persons by whom we have been assured that the system of Colonial Slavery is the glory of the British name, the envy of the British peasant,—that all its evils exist only in theory,—that in its practical operation it is the greatest of blessings. No assertions, however bold and pertinacious, can possibly obtain credit when they so directly contradict each other. Never was any Government at once so benignant and so insecure;—never were any subjects at once so happy and so turbulent. Abuses merely speculative never yet roused to revolt the great body of any people. An educated man of enlarged views and enthusiastic temper, a Thrasea or a Sydney, may convince himself that one form of government has a greater tendency than another to promote the happiness of mankind; and by such conside-

rations he may be induced to engage in hazardous enterprises. But the multitude is not thus influenced. When *they* are excited to a general revolt, it is not by speeches; it is not by pamphlets; it is not by meetings;—but by physical evils—by sensible privations—by the spoliation of the honest fruits of their industry—by the violation of the sacred ties of nature—by unmeasured exaction—by stripes—by insults—by the strong necessity of famine.—These things sting men to madness. These things turn plough-shares into swords, and pruning-hooks into spears. But when was it ever known that the mere exposure of theoretical evils excited a people to rebellion, while they were enjoying comfort and personal security? We need not look very far for instances:—observe the state of our own country! For many years, hundreds have been employed in telling the people of England that they are debarred from their just rights—that they are degraded—that they are enslaved. Every day this is heard—read—believed by thousands. More appeals are made to their passions in a week than to those of the West Indian Slaves in a year. Yet who lives in the apprehension of rebellion? Who, except in times of temporary distress, expects even a riot? Who does not know that, while their rights of property, person, and conscience, are protected by law, and while they are well fed and clothed, Cobbett may write away his fingers, and Hunt may talk away his lungs in vain!

And yet, Sir, with this example before us, we are required to believe that men whose situation is infinitely better than that of the English peasant—men whose condition is a realization of Utopia, a renewal of the golden age, an anticipation of the prophetic millennium—cannot safely be permitted to hear a single whisper against the system under which they live. It requires no skilful interpreter to translate these forebodings of danger into confessions of tyranny.—What are we to think of a system which, as its advocates tell us, cannot be discussed without exciting insurrection? What, again,

are we to think of a system under which insurrections (as its advocates also tell us) cannot be suppressed without massacre? Look at the punishments inflicted a few years back on the insurgents of Barbadoes, and recently on those in Demerara. Where, in the whole history of modern Europe, shall we find an instance in which the destruction of so large a proportion of the population has been deemed necessary for the safety of the survivors? The British subjects of the New World have outdone, immeasurably outdone, all the military despots, all the frantic Jacobins of the Old. Their tender mercies are more cruel than the vengeance of Dundee;—their little fingers are thicker than the loins of Alva;—Robespierre chastised with whips, but they chastise with scorpions. But, we are told, this was not wanton cruelty:—it was indispensably necessary for the peace and safety of the Colonies! Grant it—and what then? Must not every particle of blame which is taken away from the agents be laid on the system? What must be the state of things which makes that wholesome severity, which elsewhere would be diabolical atrocity? What are we to think of the condition of a people, when inflictions so tremendous are necessary to make endurance appear to them a less evil than rebellion? Woe to that society which has no cement but blood! Woe to that Government which, in the hour of success, must not dare to be merciful! I need no other testimony against the Colonists than that with which they themselves furnish us, and that which daily and hourly forces itself on our notice. When I see institutions which tremble at every breath—institutions which depend for support on restless suspicion—on raving calumny—on outrageous persecution—on military force—on infamous testimony—on perverted law—I have no further need of witnesses, or of arguments, to convince me that they must be as flagitious and unjust as are the means by which they are upheld. We hear, indeed, that this system, in theory confessedly odious, is in practice lenient and liberal; and

abundance of local testimony is adduced to this effect. Local testimony is indeed invaluable when it can be obtained unadulterated by local interest and local prejudice; but that it is adulterated I must always believe, when I see that it contradicts great general principles. Is it possible that the power with which the Slave codes invest the Master can be exercised without being perpetually abused? If so, then is there no truth in experience—then is there no consistency in human nature—then is history a fable, and political science a juggle, and the wisdom of our ancestors madness, and the British constitution a name! Let us break up the benches of the House of Commons for firewood, and cut Magna Charta into battledores! These assertions, then, of our opponents are not—they cannot be true; and fortunately it is not merely by reasoning on general principles that we are enabled to refute them. Out of the mouths of our adversaries themselves we can fully show that West Indian Slavery is an evil—a great and fearful evil—an evil without any affinity to good principles, or any tendency to good effects—an evil so poisonous that it imparts to almost every antidote a nature as deadly as its own! When this country has been endangered either by oppressive power or by popular delusion, truth has still possessed one irresistible organ—justice one inviolable tribunal;—that organ has been an English Press—that tribunal an English Jury. But in those wretched islands we see a Press more hostile to truth than any Censor; and Juries more insensible to justice than any Star Chamber. In those islands alone is exemplified the full meaning of the most tremendous of the curses denounced against the apostate Hebrews, "I will curse your blessings!" I have said that this may be proved from the confession of our antagonists. There are few persons present, I presume, who have not bestowed some attention on the case of the late Mr. Smith. We remember—and God Almighty forbid that ever we should forget!—how on that occasion hatred—deep, cunning, rancorous

hatred—regulated every proceeding, was substituted for every law, intruded itself upon the seat of judgement, allowed its victim no sanctuary in the house of mourning, no refuge in the very grave! It is true that the members of that Court Martial have hitherto escaped the stigma of a Parliamentary censure;—it is true that those who had not the hardihood to acquit, had not the virtue to condemn them. But not less true is it that the public has examined the case—has pronounced its damnatory verdict—has passed its sentence, and will assuredly execute it;—and history will doubtless rank the proceedings of that Court with those of the murderous Judges of Latimer and Sydney!

Now, Sir, what was the argument adduced, during the late discussion, by the advocates of the Colonists? What was the reasoning which they opposed to what (if I may venture to add the humble voice of private respect to the blessings of the widow and to the applause of an admiring nation) I would call one of the noblest struggles ever maintained by genius in the cause of liberty, of justice, and of national honour? What was their argument? They positively asserted, they *repeatedly* asserted, that, in their opinion, a Jury composed of Planters would have acted with far more violence and injustice than did this Court Martial—this Court Martial which not one of themselves would defend—this Court Martial which could not find a single lawyer to stake his professional character on the legality of its proceedings. Their argument was this: "Things have doubtless been done which should not have been done; true it is that the Court permitted the Judge Advocate to act in a way totally inconsistent with his office; true it is that they admitted hearsay evidence on one side, and rejected it on the other; they tried a man over whom they had no jurisdiction—they convicted him without satisfactory evidence—they condemned him to a punishment not warranted by law: but we must all make allowances; we must judge by comparison; Mr. Smith had great reason to be thankful; it might have

been much worse. Only think what would have been the case if he had had a Jury of White Planters to try him! That would surely have been infinitely worse!"

Sir, I have always had the happiness of living under the protection of the law of England, and therefore I am utterly unable to imagine what could be worse. But though I have a slender knowledge, I have a large faith. I am by no means so presumptuous as to set any limit to the possible injustice of a West Indian Judicature; and since the Colonists solemnly assure us that a Jury of their own body not only possibly might, but necessarily must, have acted with more violence and injustice than this Court Martial, I certainly shall not pretend to dispute the assertion, although I am utterly at a loss to conceive the mode.

Therefore, Sir, I am warranted, by the confession of our opponents, in saying that this system ought not to stand; and, thank God, by the character of the British people I am warranted in saying that it cannot stand. England cannot long tolerate it, without renouncing her claim to her highest and most peculiar distinction. She has, indeed, much in which to glory. She may boast of her ancient laws—of her magnificent literature—of her long list of maritime and military triumphs;—she may boast of the vast extent and security of her empire;—but she has still a higher praise:—it is her peculiar glory, not that she has ruled so widely—not that she has conquered so splendidly—but that she has ruled only to bless, and conquered only to spare! Her mightiest empire is that of her morals, her language, and her laws;—her proudest victories, those she has achieved over ferocity and ignorance;—her most durable trophies, those she has erected in the hearts of civilized and liberated nations. The strong moral feeling of the English people—their hatred of injustice—their disposition to make every sacrifice rather than participate in crime; these have long been their glory, their strength, their safety! I trust that they will long be so. I trust that Englishmen will feel on this

occasion, as on so many other occasions they have felt, that the policy which justice and mercy recommend, is that which can alone secure the happiness of nations and the stability of thrones.

It is surely delightful, Sir, to look forward to that period when a series of liberal and prudent measures shall have delivered islands, so highly favoured by the bounty of Providence, from the curse inflicted on them by the frantic rapacity of man. Then the peasant of the Antilles will no longer crawl, in listless and trembling dejection, around a plantation from whose fruits he must derive no advantage, and a hut whose door yields him no protection; but, when his cheerful and voluntary labour is completed, he will return, with the firm step and erect brow of a British citizen, from the field which is his freehold to the house which is his castle. Then those regions where civilization has displayed only its strength, will exhibit also the fruits of its wisdom and its mercy;—arts —sciences—letters—equal laws—benevolent institutions —the temples of a pure religion—the marts of a legitimate commerce—tribunals where justice may be expected even by a Negro or a Missionary—senates where liberal sentiments and decorous phraseology will have succeeded to the doctrines and language of Buccaneers! I cannot think these anticipations chimerical, when I reflect on the past condition of our own country, and on the interesting and pathetic event to which, in a great measure, it owes its present blessings. In an Italian Slave Market, a priest observed some children of exquisite beauty exposed for sale. He asked whence they came; he was told from England. His heart burned within him; he pitied the misery and degradation of a distant people. As soon as he was raised to the papal throne, he instantly took measures for introducing into this island the Christian religion, and all the moral and political blessings by which that religion has ever been accompanied. We are not exactly informed of the difficulties which he had to encounter, but we know that in every age human nature is the same;

that in every age it is through hatred and obloquy that the path lies to virtue and to glory. There were probably grave statesmen to suggest that the work of amelioration had better be left to the Wittenagemotes of the Heptarchy. No doubt there were slave-holders who protested that their Slaves fared more sumptuously than the King of the Lombards. The statue of Pasquin was not then standing in Rome; but then, doubtless, there were not wanting wits to deride his enthusiasm, and liars to asperse his character. It is not impossible that there may have been found ruffians to pull down his chapels, and forsworn Judges to send his Missionaries to the gallows. However this may have been, we know that he persevered;—and now look at the result! Now look at the miserable, the degraded country, the land of the oppressor and the oppressed! There is freedom in the respiration of its air, and in the very contact of its soil!—Now look at that ocean which then bore to our coast nothing but plunderers, and carried back from it nothing but cargoes of misery and despair. That very ocean now rolls around us at once to enrich and to defend—at once renders our coast every where accessible to commerce, and every where impervious to war. Look at our maritime power—at our commercial opulence—at our martial glory—at the proud list of our great men; and then reflect from what we were raised, and by what means. These things should inspire us with hope, and not with hope alone. Do we owe so many blessings to the generosity of an ignorant priest in a dark age and a distant country, and shall not we, who live in the full blaze of morals and intellect, exert ourselves for the welfare of those over whose fate we possess an irresistible controul, and in whose wrongs we have most deeply participated? Again, therefore, and again we pledge ourselves to this good cause. Danger, difficulty, and opposition, shall only animate us to the work. We will consider every success as a presage of final triumph;—every failure, as a call for redoubled exertions. Slander, enmity, ridicule, we ex-

pect and we despise.—When the Crusader in Tasso lifts his sword to break the enchantment of the haunted forest, gigantic forms surround him—terrible voices menace him—the wind roars—the skies are darkened—the earth shakes beneath his feet;—but the blow is struck, and instantly the sun shines forth—the storm subsides—and the demons fly howling from the spot which they could pollute no longer. We are bound on a higher adventure—we are sworn to undo the spell of a fouler witchcraft;—and it is not by any tempest which the worst arts of our adversaries can conjure up, that we will be turned back from the enterprise. Never, never shall this contest be terminated, but by a decisive victory of those principles of honour, benevolence and freedom, from which alone States can derive a substantial prosperity, and Statesmen an immortal renown!" (*The speaker sat down amidst loud cheering, which lasted several minutes.*)

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

Lord CALTHORPE.—Sir, I cannot submit to Your Royal Highness and to this numerous Meeting the Resolution which has been submitted to my charge, without declaring the great satisfaction and delight I have felt at the speech we have just heard; and I am well convinced that the high degree of pleasure which it has excited, and which has been so strongly expressed, has been greatly increased by the persuasion of the peculiar gratification which that speech must have afforded to one of this large audience who has naturally the greatest reason to exult in its success. This Society might, indeed, well entertain a warm assurance of a very early triumph of its labours, if we could venture to hope that the children of those who have occupied the foremost ranks in that mighty struggle in which it is engaged, would aid its efforts with but a portion of the ability and eloquence we have just witnessed.

In adverting, Sir, to the great end which this Society has in view, I must express my satisfaction at that passage of its

luminous Report which disclaimed any design to effect a rash and sudden extinction of Slavery in the West Indies,—a charge which has been so studiously but unjustly brought against it; originating with those who were from the first naturally prompted to decry its labours; supported by the interested and delusive colouring that has been given to passing events; and countenanced, I regret to say, in some degree by the language and measures adopted in Parliament during the session which is this day come to a close. But, Sir, in saying this, I am at the same time anxious to do justice to the intentions of His Majesty's Ministers. I agree with my learned friend (Mr. Stephen) in believing that they are sincerely desirous of improving the condition of the Slaves. They have, I am persuaded, wished to maintain what they conceived to be a fair and impartial course between the most strenuous Abolitionists and the West India Planters. But they have, I think, clearly been drawn aside by lending too ready an ear to the suggestions and apprehensions of those to whom if they had formerly listened with equal confidence and credulity, they could never have attained that merit which they have so justly earned by the measures adopted for following up the Act of Abolition, and by exerting the influence and authority of this country, over foreign nations, for ensuring a more general extinction of the Slave Trade. To the same delusive and false impressions, I am, Sir, also inclined to attribute the conduct of His Majesty's Government upon the occasion which has been so frequently alluded to this day, and has drawn to itself so large a measure of public attention. (*Here Dr. Lushington entered, and was received with a loud expression of approbation.*) I am so little disposed to complain of what has just occurred as an interruption, that I rather regard it as a most seasonable illustration of what I was about to mention—the strong sensation occasioned by the exposure of the recent events at Demerara, and the Parliamentary decision upon them; when a majority of the House of Commons virtually resolved to rescue from cen-

sure, proposed in the mildest and least offensive form, those who had passed a sentence awarding that extreme penalty of the law which is reserved for crimes of the deepest dye, to one whose offence was admitted, even by the leading Minister of the Crown in that House, to be substantially this:—that he had placed an excessive and blameable reliance upon the character and disposition of those to whom he stood in the endearing relation of a spiritual teacher and pastor. Sir, in alluding to that much injured individual, as I am called upon to do by the Resolution I hold in my hand, I will not wrong his memory, or the feelings of Your Royal Highness and of those who hear me, by calling for your sympathy for him. If, Sir, we believe him to have been faithful in the discharge of his high office, and that his very faithfulness made him the victim of those by whom his religion was hated,—then, Sir, the state to which we cannot doubt he is now exalted may indeed kindle our hopes—it may animate our faith, but it never can call for our sympathy; and even in proposing that part of my Resolution which expresses our deep concern in the sorrows of her who was the sharer, and is now the survivor, of his wrongs and sufferings, I would ask only for a limited measure of your sympathy. For possessing as we do the strong and unimpeachable testimony of a most respectable clergyman of the Church of England to the valuable labours of this devoted Missionary;—assured as we are by him that, although his spiritual instructions did not preserve all who attended them from engaging in the act of rebellion, yet that they were of such efficacy as to strip that rebellion of the sanguinary character which all former insurrections in Demerara had worn, and to induce the Negroes to spare the lives of those whom they believed to be their oppressors and persecutors. Assured, Sir, I say, that if such was the influence of his pastoral exertions, how justly may we hope that the precepts of such a man have sunk, with a peculiarly healing and consoling power, into the heart of his widowed partner—supplying her with a

full antidote to an affliction like hers, and cheering her heart with the blessed prospect of a reunion with him in that kingdom wherein dwelleth righteousness! Sorrows so chastened and softened, demand from us a measured sympathy; but the claims, arising from her circumstances, upon that succour which it is in our power to bestow, will, I doubt not, be fully felt and answered.

Upon another part, Sir, of this Resolution,—that which expresses our gratitude to the individual who brought the proceedings at Demerara before the consideration of Parliament, and to his associates,—I shall say little; not because I think their merits light, but because I am persuaded that, if they require any further recompense for the service they have rendered to the cause of truth, beyond that which they must find in their own hearts, it will have been fully awarded to them by the approving feelings and judgement of the country at large. For to every one who venerates the laws, as framed, not for the infliction, but the redress of injury, and for the protection of liberty; and who regards the study and practice of those laws as a generous and dignified employment;—to every such man it must have been truly gratifying to see so many of those who have either attained, or are advancing to the highest distinctions of that profession, coming forward one after another, and exerting to the utmost their powerful talents and eloquence to repair the outrage offered at Demerara to all law and all justice. For, Sir, what was the cause they there pleaded? The question brought before Parliament did not merely affect a single Colony, or a single Missionary; but it was one involving all the great and essential principles of conscience and of freedom. It was, indeed, of such a nature, that I am quite at a loss to conceive what security those who upon that question voted in the majority, will be able to offer to their constituents or to themselves, that, upon any future occasion on which the forms of law shall be again used for the purposes of the grossest injustice and oppression, they will be found on the side of

the oppressed, or rather not shielding the oppressor. And here, Sir, I cannot but express my regret, that when the most eminent advocates were seen coming forward to rescue the legal profession from the stain which the proceedings at Demerara had cast upon it, those distinguished officers who were conscious of the upright and irreproachable feelings by which they had been influenced whilst sitting upon Courts Martial, did not likewise feel themselves constrained to vindicate that species of tribunal from the stigma affixed to it by these proceedings, as little resembling the acts of an English Court Martial as those of any other British Court of Judicature.

In thus referring to the recent decision of the House of Commons, I have no wish to arraign the motives of any individual who voted in the majority, to whatever profession he may belong. I know how industriously a powerful party in the country has endeavoured to spread a delusion upon all subjects of West India policy, and with what success, that decision, I think, has too fully proved. But it is that very delusion which this Society has to combat, and, if possible, to dissipate;—to convince all men that those colonies are suffering under a deadly disease created by Slavery—a disease that can be cured only by the gradual removal of its cause: and surely, Sir, the more we find men of unquestionable probity and principle, out of regard to a particular system and state of things, refusing to censure what no man can justify, the more must that system become an object of distrust and suspicion.

I would also, Sir, apply the same remark even to those who sat upon the Court Martial at Demerara. We are told some of them were men held in high esteem and regard by those who knew them, and considered incapable of acts of injustice and oppression. Yet when we find them grounding such a sentence upon such evidence, what further proof do we require of the vitiating influence of the atmosphere by which they are surrounded, than that it should enslave the consciences of

those who were before upright, and leave them no liberty to be humane and just?

But, Sir, in proportion as I deplore and deprecate such iniquity, I turn with increased relief and satisfaction, from the fluctuations of Parliament and the errors of Cabinets, to that great tribunal to which Parliament and Ministers must at length submit,—the tribunal of the People of England, and by "the People of England" I would be understood to mean, not the low uneducated and unreflecting class of society, but that great and growing mass of intelligence, of wealth, of public and private virtue, and of high religious feeling, which is contained in what is called in this country the Middle Class. They have no interest in this great question, but the eternal and immutable interests of truth and justice; —and they will at length ask themselves, where are the pre-eminent benefits arising from this system, that, for the sake of maintaining it, they should still be called upon to make that large annual pecuniary sacrifice which has been alluded to, and those dearer and costlier sacrifices of humanity and truth. They will not, in the exercise of that equity by which they would be governed, deprive any individual of his own right and possessions hastily and inconsiderately, even though he should be a West Indian proprietor and owner of Slaves. But, accustomed to associate with the name of the British Constitution ideas of beneficence, they will not calmly suffer their Government to be reviled and defied by dependent Colonies when called upon to act in the spirit of that beneficence; still less will they endure such scorn and contumacy, when practised under the mask and boast of the forms of an English Constitution. And whenever they shall be asked, in time to come, to confide in Assemblies and Tribunals in the West Indies, because they bear names which command their respect and affection, then the People of England will bear in mind that the Court Martial at Demerara was compared to an English Court Martial, and to an English Court of Jus-

tice. They will, Sir, I trust, call for that which has, I think, been studiously kept back during the last session, —inquiry: but before that investigation takes place, and whilst there is yet room for the existence of some prejudice, they will feel it to be no violation of the equity they will surely maintain, if that prejudice should be in favour of Liberty, and against Slavery.

The Noble Lord concluded with moving:

"That this Meeting, in common with the Nation at large, view with sorrow and indignation the gross violation of law and justice exhibited at Demerara, in the trial and conviction of Mr. Smith the Missionary; and while they express their detestation of the cruelty and oppression to which he fell a victim, they are anxious at the same time to testify their cordial sympathy with his afflicted widow, on account of the severe sufferings she experienced while sharing her husband's imprisonment, and the irreparable loss she has sustained by his untimely death. Nor do they feel it a duty less incumbent on them to pay their heartfelt tribute of applause to Henry Brougham, Esq. and his associates in Parliament, who have so nobly and effectually vindicated the character of the traduced and persecuted Missionary, and whose splendid and successful efforts, in exposing oppression and asserting the cause of truth, innocence, and justice, entitle them to the gratitude of their country and of mankind *."

Mr. Money, M.P.—Sir, it requires no little resolution to stand up in such an assembly as this, after the great powers which we have seen exhibited this day, and particularly by the son of one who has the delight and the glory of sharing the labours of a Wilberforce and a Stephen in this great cause. But I have been called on

* See Note at the end of the Proceedings.

to second the Resolution proposed by the Noble Lord. And, after the decision of the House of Commons with respect to Mr. Smith, or I should rather say the shrinking from a decision, (to which some persons did me the injustice to make me a party,) I should feel that I was a coward if I did not obey the call. But while I most cordially subscribe to all the sentiments which are embodied in this most important Resolution, I feel that I should ill consult the interest of the Society, of which this is the first Annual Meeting (and I believe that there never has been an example of any first anniversary of any Society so attended and so graced), I feel, Sir, that I should do injustice to that great cause of justice and humanity, of God and man, which we are this day met to promote, if I were, by occupying your time at any length, to weaken (as I certainly should do) the impression that must have been made on your minds and your hearts by the eloquent and powerful appeals which have been addressed to them. But this I must say, Sir, that it is only by assembling in such Meetings as these, and fully and fearlessly expressing our opinions, and thus becoming the medium of exciting corresponding sentiments and feelings throughout the land, that that foul stain can be effaced from the British name which has been inflicted on it by the barbarous treatment, the long and lingering and painful trial, the monstrous and intolerable sentence, the imprisonment even unto death, of that excellent minister of the Gospel Mr. Smith. It is the unimpeachable evidence of the respectable chaplain of the colony, (although that gentleman, Mr. Austin, had previously no intimacy with Mr. Smith, but on the contrary entertained a prejudice against him,)—it is his unimpeachable testimony that it was to be attributed to the influence and the instructions of this martyred Missionary, that, for the first time in the history of Slave insurrections, the revolt in Demerara was bloodless in intention at least, and that the lives of the very men had been saved who thirsted for his own. With respect to another

and a most affecting part of the Motion which I hold in my hand, wherein we are called on to express our sympathy with Mr. Smith's unhappy widow, I do confidently trust that that sympathy will not be confined to expression alone, but that a Nation's charity will provide for her. Her loss is not to be supplied; and her sufferings on account of it are only to be mitigated by Him who has promised to succour and console the widow and the fatherless. With the sentiments expressed by the Noble Lord who preceded me, as to the concluding part of the Report, I most entirely concur. No language of mine can possibly add the slightest force to the deserved tribute that has here been paid to those distinguished members of the British Parliament who have vindicated the murdered innocence of Mr. Smith and the violated laws of their country. They are justly entitled to the gratitude of every British heart, and it will not be withheld from them.—I conclude with seconding the Motion of the Noble Lord.

The Motion was carried unanimously.

Dr. Lushington.—Sir, I deeply lament the absence of my honourable friend, Mr. Brougham, who would in terms infinitely more strong than any I can use have expressed his warm gratitude for the vote which this Meeting has in its kindness been pleased to pass. I know that he would have attended on the present occasion, but that, from circumstances he has not been able to controul, he has been prevented from carrying his intention into execution. Nothing can be more gratifying to my feelings than to know that the humble part which I took in the discussion of the ever-memorable transactions of Demerara, has met with the approbation of this Meeting and of the Country. It will to my dying day be a source of consolation and rejoicing, that some little at least was done to vindicate the honour of the British name from that foul stain which the proceedings at Demerara, from their commencement to their close, have necessarily cast

upon it. I was anxious to discharge my duty, not from any desire or wish to signalize myself in a memorable debate, but because I had read and studied the evidence, and had come to the conviction which I now again profess,—the conviction of the entire innocence of Mr. Smith, who fell a victim to the mockery of justice! Many, I trust, will find the leisure and the patience to read and consider the voluminous proceedings connected with his trial; their time will be well spent, and the result, I am confident, will be, in the judgement of every candid man, that, so far was Mr. Smith from having deserved the slightest censure, his conduct throughout the whole of his career at Demerara was marked by the strictest attention to his religious duties, and by the most circumspect and prudent demeanour. It was not to be supposed that being a daily eye-witness of all the atrocities which are innate in the system of Slavery, and which were every day distressing his feelings and wounding his heart, it was not to be supposed he could be a tame spectator of scenes like these, and that he should not commit to his private journal the reflections which such scenes must necessarily ever produce in the mind of a man of religion and humanity. Could he, Sir, have been a tame spectator of these daily atrocities? Could he have seen without emotion the unfortunate victims of this diabolical system abridged of their opportunities of attending religious worship, their only consolation amid the miseries by which they were surrounded? When he saw those who are allowed no hope on this side of the grave restricted from seeking comfort and peace from hope beyond it,—was he not to feel, as every individual whom I have the honour to address must feel, strong indignation, although he had the circumspection to keep it within his own bosom? I doubt much, Sir, had I been placed under the same circumstances with Mr. Smith, if I could have restrained myself from loudly proclaiming, to the public and to the world, the abhorrence I felt at seeing tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, thus predomi-

nating over every feeling that ought to actuate the human conduct.

Now, Sir, in adverting to the object of this Meeting, I am desirous to declare my firm opinion that it is the *abolition* of Slavery we must seek, and that all attempts to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves, unless the ultimate result be the entire abolition of the state itself, will prove vain and perplexing. It is my firm conviction, after much and anxious deliberation on the subject, that the power has not been given by God to man of framing a code of Slavery. I believe it to be impossible, if all were actuated by the best dispositions and the best feelings,—I believe it to be impossible to frame a system of Slave Laws in which injustice, oppression and abuse would not of necessity exist.—The truth is, Sir, that when God made men, he made them not to be Slaves; and if we examine the subject even with the slightest degree of care, we shall be forced to acknowledge the truth of this proposition. How is it possible to regulate, by any code of law whatever, in a state of Slavery such as exists in our Colonies, the connexion which subsists between husband and wife—between father and son—between brother and sister? How indeed, in any system of Slavery, is it possible, by law, to prevent all those best feelings and affections of our nature, which arise out of these relations, from being daily violated and weakened, if not ultimately destroyed? How can the affections of the parent for his children, and the desire to rear them up, from infancy to manhood and to womanhood, in virtue—in honour—honesty and truth,—how can such sentiments be cherished, so as to produce their proper fruit, when these children remain at the mercy of another, exposed to his violence and caprice—exposed to ill usage without cause—exposed to all the numberless violations of decency and of virtue which ever have been, and ever will be, the effects of a state of Slavery? Slavery has never existed in the world, or in any quarter of it, either before Christianity or since, in which the vices of the Slaves, and the vices of the

Master in his conduct towards the Slaves, have not formed prominent and characteristic features of the history of the times which were polluted by its prevalence. I say the vices of the Masters—for let it not be supposed that all the vices and all the crimes incident to this unhappy state fall to the lot of the Slave alone. The mind of the Master, cursed with the possession of despotic power, becomes debased and hardened. Those principles which would have flourished in a better soil, and in a purer atmosphere, are perverted or eradicated by the very possession of such boundless power, and by the scenes of degradation to which he sees its hapless victims daily subjected. I remember, Sir, an admirable passage in one of Lord Grenville's speeches on the abolition of the Slave Trade, which applies most forcibly to the present case. He was answering one of those arguments which had been so often adduced by the advocates of that traffic, namely, that the barbarities of the Slave Trade must have been greatly exaggerated, because Englishmen, famed for their humanity, could not have been present, could not have perpetrated, nay, could not have endured them; and after he had refuted that specious argument, by proving the facts to demonstration, he then added, "I would not trust myself if similarly circumstanced—I know that the human mind is so framed, that it becomes contaminated by the repetition of vice in its presence—I know that if cruelty be repeated daily before my eyes, my feelings would be hardened and my sense of their barbarity weakened!" Thus it is; and in the common experience of us all, we know that that which we daily see produces less and less effect, until at last the mind becomes totally corrupted by the daily spectacle of that which, when seen for the first time, excites alarm and indignation, and from which we turn with the deepest abhorrence. Sir, with respect to the means by which these great objects are to be obtained, I conceive that the first point is to raise the condition of the Slave himself, so as to prepare him for

freedom with as much expedition as possible. It is not a question of expense—it is not a question of commercial benefit: the simple question is, how we can most speedily make amends for our long perseverance in a course of crime—how we can with the greatest facility relieve the British name and character from the pollution and the odium of this detestable system. I think no sacrifice too great, I think no measure too precipitate, which can produce as speedily as possible the great end to be attained. I mean not to say (and let me not be understood as saying) that the immediate emancipation of the Negroes would be a blessing to them, or that it is possible under existing circumstances; but I do mean to say that we should never for one moment lose sight of these principles; that we should never suffer ourselves to consider a state of Slavery as permanently to be endured, or to be endured longer than the well being of the Slave himself may render necessary; and that we should never omit any means or any opportunity of accelerating its ultimate extinction.

Now, Sir, I hold in my hand a Resolution which to read to the Meeting will be sufficient to answer for its favourable reception. I hold in my hand a vote of Thanks to one who, in the recent transactions at Demerara, signalized himself by conduct above all thanks. Thus it is that, in the benignant dispensations of Providence, it seldom happens that there is any great and violent outrage, any signal violation of those principles which, as Britons and as Christians, we must uphold and admire; which is not attended by some illustrious instance of virtue and courage, some eminent act of devotion to the sacred and paramount obligations of truth and justice. Sir, I hold in my hand a vote of Thanks to the Rev. Mr. Austin, the Chaplain of the Colony of Demerara. And whether we look to the situation he held, connected with the Government of that country—connected with the Governor who ordered the Court Martial—connected with all the Planters, who conceived it was for their interest that a judicial murder should be committed;—or whether

we look to that unfortunate separation which sometimes exists between ministers of different sects and persuasions in religion;—we shall find that all those motives which were calculated to draw a man aside from his strict duty, so far from having discouraged him, appear rather to have confirmed him in the path of humanity and of virtue. He dared persecution when persecution was at its height —he dared the anger of the Planter, although he saw that there was no species of injustice which it scrupled to perpetrate—to defeat that injustice he dared disgrace and disfavour with all those with whom he was associated, and set at nought all his prospects of advantage in that settlement; and he took upon himself the task, from the commencement of the trial until the death of the sufferer, to be his comforter, aider and supporter, as far as it was in his power to be so. A greater temptation to have swerved from duty, but a more faithful performance of duty, the annals of heroic virtue never exhibited. I feel a pride and a glory in knowing that he was a minister of the Church of England. I feel pride and glory in thinking that that fervent charity, which ought to pervade men of every name in the Christian Religion, glowed in his heart, and guided his actions throughout all these proceedings. God grant that his example may shine forth with an irresistible influence in other parts of those ill-fated regions where Slavery still prevails with all its abominations; and that those who are now about to be sent forth to administer religious light and consolation to the poor Slaves, may endeavour to emulate that bright example which Mr. Austin has set, and become co-operators with Christian ministers of every description in the great work of communicating to their dark minds a knowledge of the Word of God! Sir, if it should so happen that the tide of persecution should run so strong that Mr. Austin should be driven from the Colony which he now inhabits (and of which, as I understand, he is actually a Planter—a prejudice which he has overcome)—if he should be driven from his home and reduced to the ne-

cessity of seeking shelter in this country, I trust that we shall all be prepared to welcome him with open hearts—that we shall maintain and sustain him in case of need—that we shall not allow him to suffer in that cause in which he has already endured much; but that, by our conduct towards him, we shall hold out, to all others who may be similarly circumstanced in time to come, the assurance that the British Nation, not only by its applause and commendation, but by its hearty and sincere efforts to assist and remunerate, if need be, those who make sacrifices to truth, humanity and justice, will not leave them to ruin and distress.

Sir, I will take my leave of these melancholy scenes. I regret to state that the failure of the Motion (proposed by Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons) has left, I think, too great an opening for the recurrence of scenes which never could have been acted in any country under heaven, where the British dominion is established, save in countries where that dominion is found disgraced by the existence of Slavery. In no other part of the world, where the British dominion has prevailed, do we know of an instance of complicated wrong and injustice to be put in competition with it for an hour. We have heard of acts of sudden atrocity—we have heard of acts of a capricious nature; but we never have before heard of a trial like this, lasting for nearly three months, and protracted with a deliberation and ingenuity of injustice beyond all parallel. We have never yet known one instance in British history, at all to be compared with it, of vengeance, after death had closed the scene. We have never heard, in the most distant Colonies where the power of the British name is known, of any thing like preventing a widow from attending the funeral of her deceased husband—or giving orders to prostrate the sad memorial erected, in the fullness of honest affection and gratitude, by those who felt they owed to him who was gone, all that they most valued in life. Nothing like this has ever disgraced the British name before, and I trust that a similar outrage

will never again disgrace it. But, Sir, one reflection more, and I have done. If there can have been such iniquitous proceedings as these in the case of an Englishman and a Freeman—if such practices, even as they respect him, can exist and go unpunished—what must be the destiny of the unfortunate Slaves who are subjected to the dominion and controul of the same individuals? What hope of mercy can they indulge, when they see no mercy shown to one who came from the same place of birth—who is of the same privileged class—of the same colour—of the same religion—with whom many of them had lived in habits at least of acquaintance, if not of friendship? What hope can the Negroes have, I will not say of justice, but of any thing approaching to it, in a land where the unfortunate prevalence of Slavery has converted an Englishman into an example of injustice unknown to any other part of the British empire? I was about to use still stronger expressions, but I desist. I am desirous not to use stronger terms than are necessary to express in appropriate language the indignation, the horror which I feel, in common with the Country at large, of practices so abhorrent to our natures.

Now, Sir, I will conclude with thanking the Meeting for the attention with which they have heard me; and I entreat every individual whom I now see, not to suffer the impression made upon him by this Meeting to be soon effaced, but to bear in mind that they have not been listening to an interesting fiction, but to a representation of real scenes founded on damning facts; but that at the very hour I am speaking, in other lands which, though distant, are subject to our sway, that very bondage exists in all its plenitude of misery, the practice of which has called forth our horror and detestation. Let me entreat them not to allow the business or the pleasures of the day to lead them to forget what they have heard—not to allow their feelings and sympathies to evaporate in unavailing regrets, or in the mere expression of condolence; but so to lay them up in their

hearts, that they may be animated to ceaseless efforts, until they shall have succeeded (as eventually I trust they will) in the complete annihilation of the whole monstrous system. Let them urge one another to those exertions which may be best calculated to facilitate the end so ardently desired. Let them teach even their little children to lisp that abhorrence of Slavery, in this and in every quarter of the globe, which so well becomes the mouths of Englishmen. Let us not, then, I earnestly entreat, permit these feelings to be extinguished when this day has passed; but let us employ every possible expedient warmly to foster them, until they shall have enabled us to bring to maturity those plans which our judgements, our hearts and our consciences equally approve of. Let us urge the cause forward by argument. Let us not forget it, but keep it continually in view. Where we find persons ignorant of these scenes of distress, let us give them knowledge. When we find persons under mistaken impressions as to the possibility of remedying the evil, let us impart to them juster views. When we find persons insensible to the claims of humanity, let us place before them the certainty of the existence of those scenes of which we have had only one specimen in Demerara; and let us urge them to discharge their duty as men and as Christians. Sir, I cannot believe that all this will fail. I cannot believe that an all-wise and benevolent Providence has intended that all that accumulation of misery and of vice, of which Slavery is the parent, should continue to be coexistent with the greatness and glory of the English nation. No: it is a disgrace, whatever may be the cost, which we are bound to wipe away. And most firmly do I believe, that by earnest, active, and sedulous exertion—by boldness tempered with circumspection—by energy and perseverance, we shall at length accomplish the great object of our desire, and eradicate for ever this accursed bane from every spot within the British empire. (*Loud cheers.*)

The Resolution, Sir, I have to move is,

"That this Meeting are desirous of expressing their unfeigned esteem and admiration of the Rev. W. S. Austin, Chaplain of the Colony of Demerara, whose conduct in the case of the Missionary, Mr. Smith, has exhibited a signal display of active benevolence, of inflexible adherence to the cause of truth and justice, and of unshaken intrepidity in the defence of innocence, calumniated by prejudice and oppressed by power."

Mr. William Smith.—Sir, at this period of the afternoon, if much had been left to be said on this last subject which has been so ably treated by my honourable and learned friend, I should, I confess, have felt myself extremely embarrassed how to proceed. But when I consider how fully the ears of this assembly have been saturated with eloquence, and, how much at the same time their judgements have been enlightened by every argument that could have been brought to bear on the subject, I feel that my task is indeed easy, and that I need offer to the assembly little more than the expression of the pleasure with which I second the Motion of my honourable and learned friend. There are only one or two incidental points on which I would wish to detain this Meeting for a moment. I cannot however but observe how little chance of a fair trial Mr. Smith could have had in Demerara, when the character given of his tribunal was, that, even allowing its obvious faults, "It was better than that of the Planters." That such a character of it should have been given by the King's Governor of the Colony, and he himself too a Planter, one would have thought almost impossible. But when we consider the subsequent proceedings with respect to Mr. Austin, not merely in themselves, but as exhibiting the state of mind and temper prevailing in the Colony, what an overwhelming degree of prejudice must Mr. Smith have laboured under, and how difficult must it have been to have brought forward any witnesses in his defence! When we see what species

of treatment that man met with whose honesty was capable of braving any danger in support and in defence of innocence and of truth, it becomes evident that under almost any Constitution of the Court, in that place and under those circumstances, the issue of the trial might, without any great chance of error, have been predicted.

I must also, Sir, make one further observation.—We have been accustomed to think that it is by instruction that the Slaves are best to be fitted for the reception of freedom, and especially by instruction in the doctrines and morals of Christianity. I am fully persuaded of the truth of this opinion; but I must, for these unhappy beings, lay in a claim on another ground. As some compensation for injuries committed, we owe them the attempt to confer every benefit in our power; but still, should we fail to bring one single Slave to the profession of the truths of Christianity, or to the enjoyment of its promises,—not one iota the less do we owe freedom to every Slave we possess. His right to himself does not depend on his conversion; nor although he should continue a Heathen to the day of his death, would the injustice of our detaining him in Slavery be at all diminished. But if Christianity be the best (as I believe it to be,) and perhaps the only adequate mode of rescuing them from their present degradation, into what a dilemma has the Colony of Demerara thrown itself on this point! They have expelled all the Missionaries in the person of Mr. Smith, and the whole Church of England (as I should imagine) in the person of Mr. Austin. For where, Sir, is the Minister of our Church who would incur the hazard of going to preach Christianity in a Colony, where, if he follows the noble example of his predecessor, and dares to obtrude his testimony, though even to prevent the shedding of innocent blood, on a Court of Justice which is unprepared from prejudice, and indisposed from inclination to receive it, he shall be immediately expelled that Colony, with unmerited disgrace, with universal insult, and almost by actual violence.

Sir, in such a case as this, it is difficult to divine where they will obtain instructors,—where they are to seek for Ministers; and I am afraid that the Slaves, if not the Masters, must remain Heathens still. And if this is to be the case, an appeal may be made to the British Parliament, to know whether, if a Colony acts in this manner, and deprives itself of the means of all rational and moral improvement,—if it deprives itself voluntarily of these advantages—it is to be suffered to go on thus? Is it to be permitted them to make a continual progress in a line the very opposite to every truth which Christianity teaches? That appeal, Sir, if necessary, will, I hope, ere long be preferred, and not in vain; but even if that should fail, there would still remain to us a confidence in the merciful interference of that Power whose justice no oppressor can elude, and whose arm is not shortened that it cannot save.

The Motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Wilberforce.—Sir, before I proceed to the Motion which has been committed to me, may I be permitted to fulfill a promise which I made to an absent friend, concerning whom it must be needless to assure the Meeting, that unavoidable hindrances have alone detained him from us, when I state the name of Buxton? He requested me to declare, if he should be unable to be present this day, that insuperable obstacles alone prevented his attendance. I should begin, Sir, by offering an apology for trespassing at all upon the time of the Meeting at this late period of the day, were it not that the Motion with which I shall conclude will abundantly plead my excuse were I to detain you much longer than I mean to do. Let me begin by expressing the delight with which I have witnessed the proceedings of this day, in which our great cause has proved, by the composition of the Meeting that I see around me, to have obtained a degree of personal and moral strength which must ensure its final and decisive triumph. It was wisely resolved, Sir, not to trust to individual

zeal and individual effort for accomplishing the purpose we have in view. Engaging in a struggle which might be of no short continuance, and which called for prudence no less than for zeal, it was certainly wise to constitute the friends of our cause into a Society. It cannot be necessary for me to particularize all the advantages we shall derive from this arrangement. Individuals sometimes faint and grow weary with unexpected difficulties which obstruct their course, and retard the attainment of their wishes: but in a Society, while the warmth of all is maintained and quickened by mutual sympathy, the zeal of some is sobered by the prudence of others, the field of operation is enlarged, and an uniformity of counsel and of purpose is preserved and continued, if it be necessary, even through successive generations of individuals. In the instance of so great a cause as ours, it is by a Society that its interests can be best promoted, and its success the most confidently ensured. And how can we doubt the success, when we recollect the object we have in view, and the country to which we belong; when we call to mind, that Providence has graciously placed us in a land in which to go about formally to prove, by arguments, that Slavery is an insupportable evil, is almost like endeavouring to prove a self-evident proposition, which by our labour only becomes more obscure. Every man is endowed with various faculties, for the use of which he is responsible to his Creator. He has no right to transfer that responsibility to another; and for another to take it away from him, except for some crime that justifies such a punishment, is a downright infringement on the rights of God, as well as an usurpation of the rights of man. Truly indeed was it affirmed by my honourable and learned friend near me, whose natural love of liberty has been increased from his acquaintance with British laws, that Slavery in any condition and any form is insufferable, because it is in fact to give to man that which the corrupt nature of man ought not to possess,—absolute and uncontrolled power over a fellow creature. But if this be true with

Slavery in general, the Slavery of the West Indies has all those circumstances by which Slavery itself can be rendered more grievous, and indeed utterly intolerable; and in which there are none of those correctives to be found, which, under other circumstances, might have been afforded. The scene of West Indian Slavery is at an immense distance from us, where, alas! the cries of the wretched sufferers can never reach our ears, nor their galled bodies exhibit the marks of repeated punishment to our offended eyes. Their very colour, their features, and various other peculiarities of a physical nature, tend but too powerfully to extinguish sympathy, —that fellow feeling which is perhaps the foundation of all humanity. They who remember the commencement of our long contest, for the abolition of the Slave Trade, will recollect that it was maintained, not merely by the bigoted zealots of the party, but by a grave historian, that the Negroes were not entitled to the rank of human beings; and a theory was attempted to be formed in explanation of the assertion. But, blessed be God! that flimsy cobweb was soon brushed away. It was inconsistent with the plainest language of the Word of God, no less than destructive of the just claims of man; and it was forced to hide its head in shame, or only to be remembered as one of the base artifices and falsehoods in which self-interest sometimes drives men to seek a refuge, but which leave them in the end to confusion and shame. But it is unnecessary for me to enter into the particulars of West Indian Slavery, and to show why they render it less tolerable than any other form of vassalage; because the very individuals themselves who defended it, now concede to us that which will compel every British mind to account the system itself indefensible. For, Sir, I had almost said that the very defence of that system, which is set up by our opponents, is almost more insulting and provoking than many of the evils themselves which have called forth our pity. They conceive that they make out their case, if they can es-

tablish it as a fact that the Slaves, in general, have a sufficiency of food and clothing, and when they are not subjected to a greater degree of labour than their bodily constitution enables them to bear—in short, when the Slave has the ordinary sufficiency of comfort for one of an inferior species, for a mere brute animal. Our opponents forget that the Negro is, like ourselves, a being formed for immortality; that the Almighty has given him mental faculties like our own; that he has given him human dispositions and feelings; and consequently they forget the Slave's right to all those personal and social blessings by which the Almighty has infused, as it were even into the cup of sorrow, some merciful drops to cheer the life of man, no less than he has held out to him the blessed promises and hopes of a future state. They forget the Slave's right to Christian marriage; a condition originally instituted by the Almighty at the creation of the world, in continuing the species, to provide for its moral instruction, and for the instilling of domestic feelings and social principles through successive generations. Their claim to education and to religious instruction is forgotten. All these rights have been denied; and it has been held by those who defend the system, that the Slave, like his fellow brute, should be contented if he has a requisite allowance of food and clothing. "They have enough to satisfy their hunger and their thirst, and are secured from the inclemencies of the weather, and have due medical care; and surely they ought to be contented." No, Sir, we at least were not contented. Early in the contest we obtained for them the recognition of their claim to the character of human beings; and now we are wishing and confidently hoping to obtain for them, at no distant period of time I trust, the universal acknowledgement of their civil rights. Let us but persevere with sobriety and prudence, and we cannot but succeed in the pursuit in which we are engaged. We have had much to encounter, we may have much to encounter still; but in the end we must succeed.

To those who are accustomed to look around them and observe the course of human affairs, it must, I think, appear, that when Providence means to bless mankind with any great improvement, circumstances take place, and agents come forward, adapted to the accomplishment of the intended purpose. They may be considered as the signs of the times which indicate the change that is about to take place. And so, Sir, at the present moment, there are various circumstances that tend to cheer our hearts, and to encourage us under all the opposition we are experiencing, and all the power and influence by which we are opposed. Many of these signs I might specify; but there is one which on this day especially I cannot but be led to recognise, and which is peculiarly delightful to my mind—I mean that extraordinary display of youthful talent, the exertion of which is still warming the hearts of all who are present, and who have witnessed that rare combination of youthful ardour and eloquence, associated with mature sense and rich stores of knowledge, which we have this day heard. May not we receive this as a good omen,—as an indication that Providence means to bless our cause, when it employs such agents as these to carry it forward? This exhibition could not but be peculiarly delightful to me, and excite a more than ordinary warmth in my bosom, from the personal interest which, from feelings of friendship, I cannot but take in all that concerns the youth whom we have heard with such surprise and admiration. May I, Sir, be permitted to confess, that while I listened to that display of superior talent, I could not help thinking that my dear friend, the parent of that youth, was more than repaid for all the labours and all the sufferings which his superior services for our great cause have drawn upon him; I could not but think, that he would willingly experience all the base falsehoods, all the vile calumnies, all the detestable artifices which have been urged against him, to render him, like another Mr. Smith, the martyr and victim of our cause,—aye, and ten times

more,—for the gratification he has this day enjoyed, in hearing one so dear to him plead such a cause in such a manner. Surely Heaven favours our cause when it provides such advocates for it. It is a striking dispensation of Providence that my dear friend should, in the person of his own son, have such a successor. I am reminded, Sir, that in ancient history a great monarch, Philip of Macedon, was stabbed when he was advancing in his course of victories;—and my friend's enemies are stabbing his reputation, as, if he were in the West Indies, they would probably deal with himself, or at least do as bad, cause him to be tried by a Court-Martial;—but as we may remember that Philip was succeeded by an Alexander, so, if my friend were removed, we see that he would have a successor to obtain a still greater and more glorious triumph.—But I am detaining the Meeting too long—let me proceed to my proper business. The Motion I have to make is, That we tender to Your Royal Highness our cordial acknowledgements for the zealous and undeviating support which you have uniformly given to the principles on which the Society is founded, and for the gratifying kindness with which you have honoured us in taking the Chair on this occasion. This is one of the many similar instances which manifest Your Royal Highness's attachment to those principles of true liberty, which are the honour of the family to which you belong, as well as the glory of the British Constitution. It is a singular blessing, Sir, to a community, when those who are placed by Providence in so elevated and conspicuous a situation as that which you occupy, recognise the true use to be made of their rank, and the duties which properly devolve on them; and when they prove themselves sensible that they are raised to their high eminence, not so much for their own gratification, as for the purpose of being more extensively useful to their fellow creatures; that they are placed as it were on a pedestal, not merely that they may be objects to all around them to be gazed at with stupid admiration, but to be looked up to with

thankfulness as the benefactors of mankind;—and when they show, like Your Royal Highness, that, raised to a higher level, they are not rendered giddy by the elevation, nor are they at such a height as not to see the scene below them with distinctness, but that the effect is, to open a wider field to their view, and supply them with a wider range of objects on which to exert their benevolence. You, Sir, not satisfied with benefiting your fellow-creatures at home, have looked across the Atlantic, and have seen those poor despised and degraded Slaves, not to be despised and neglected by you, but, on the contrary, to be raised by you from the depression to which they had been degraded; to be raised to the privileges of men, and to the blessings of Christianity. Be this, Sir, your glory—a greater and a brighter I cannot wish you to enjoy. And I will only add, that I trust, Sir, you may live, when they who are at my time of life will probably be gone from this earthly scene, to witness the complete triumphs which you may hereafter behold; and when they who, if I may use the expression, have this day won their spurs, will achieve their decisive victory in the field of true glory. My dear friend who last addressed you is, like myself, a veteran in this service. We have been engaged in many a long and arduous contest, and we also have had to contend with calumny and falsehood; but we are more than repaid, by the success that has already attended our efforts, and by the anticipations which we may derive from what we have witnessed on this very day, when, if our sun be setting, we see that other luminaries are arising to shine with far greater lustre and more efficient strength. Let me now read the Motion which I have to propose. I move

"That the most cordial acknowledgements of this Meeting be respectfully presented to the President of this Society, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, for the zealous and undeviating support he has uniformly given to those principles on which the Society is founded, for the gratifying

promptitude with which he has afforded to its objects the honour and benefit of his distinguished patronage; for his kindness in accepting the Chair this day; and for his able conduct therein."

Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN.—I shall trespass on the patience of this highly respectable Meeting at the close of this triumphant day (for so I call it) but for a very few minutes. I merely rise because it is customary to second a Motion that has been made; not that it is necessary to say much upon it. Indeed, there is nothing left for me to say, but simply to second it. There is, however, one observation which I will make, and which I wish to press on this highly respectable auditory, before we separate; and it is this,—that all the good we have heard-of this day, and all that is contemplated, will depend on the exertions which shall be made, throughout the kingdom, by such respectable persons as those whom I have now the pleasure of addressing. It has been stated that Government itself is disposed to put an end to all this misery and to all this horror. I verily believe, at the same time, that Government is surrounded with difficulties in prosecuting its benevolent purpose; and it is for you to remove some of those difficulties, by every one exerting himself at his post to diffuse light and information on the subject within the utmost range of his influence; and then, when the Colonies come to Ministers for support to the system of Slavery, they will turn to them and say, "It is impossible to bolster up your system any longer; for the people of England will not endure it."

I who have been an eye witness, for many years, of the exertions of the Royal and distinguished Chairman in the cause of humanity; who have seen him always comforting us with his presence—always encouraging us—always aiding us with his counsel and his influence on this great subject;—I have peculiar satisfaction in seconding the Motion of Thanks to him. I know it will be unani-

mous, and I beg that we may all express our concurrence in it by rising.

Upon this Motion being put, it was carried unanimously by the audience, who had simultaneously arisen, with loud and continued cheering.

His Royal Highness the DUKE of GLOUCESTER, when the applause had subsided, addressed the Meeting to the following effect:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is impossible for me, even at this late period of the afternoon, not to trespass on your time for a very few minutes, to give vent to those feelings which I should be the most ungrateful man alive, if they did not press themselves strongly on my breast; those feelings of gratitude for the Resolution just agreed to, worded in terms, and received in a manner so truly flattering to me. It has been proposed to you by my honourable friend, and seconded by another good friend of mine, two persons, with whom I have during seventeen years laboured in this great cause. My honourable friend has offered it to your notice with the kindest and most flattering expressions towards me; but at the same time he has said that his sun is now setting. I hope not: I trust we shall long and long possess him who has been the leader in this great and glorious cause, and in which we are merely his followers. You have been pleased to express your approbation of my conduct, and of my feeling and following the principles of justice on which this Society is founded. Could I be one of the House of Brunswick, which was called to this country for the protection of your liberties, and for the support of the freedom of this nation, did I not entertain those principles? Nay, could I be an Englishman if I did not? Our cause is the cause of God; it is the cause of our Constitution, for I cannot and never will admit, that Slavery can ever lawfully exist under our happy, glorious, and blessed Constitution. I think it was the third Resolution in which we have agreed to persevere in the cause we have undertaken, and I trust that in that perseverance reason

will be our guide, although we must show a determination to persevere steadily in our course, and prove that nothing can abate our zeal; that nothing can check our determined endeavours to attain the object which we have in view. At the same time, I hope that there will be no expression or intimation go forth which can produce the impression that of the measures which we mean to adopt, any thing like injustice is to form a part: in our great cause the word "injustice" cannot be known. That those who have acted under a system which unhappily has been sanctioned, and is still sanctioned, by this country, and who may suffer from the abolition of Slavery, are entitled to compensation, when the period comes, when that happy moment shall arrive, in which we shall see emancipation given to the Slaves, *I must decidedly declare*, and I hope you will all agree. No man can wish, indeed, for *immediate* Emancipation; it can only be done gradually: but when I say gradually, I trust that although it should be done gradually, yet the time is not very remote when we shall have obtained that great object. Most entirely do I agree in what my learned and honourable friend stated, that we are not merely to look to amelioration, but that we must look forward to the freedom of the Slave,—that the word "Slavery" must not exist. We must however prepare the Negroes for receiving so great a blessing, because to give those liberty who are not prepared to receive it would be as cruel to themselves, as it would be unjust to their Masters, and dangerous to the State. We must begin by ameliorating their condition; we must do this immediately; there must be no time lost in doing it, not one moment. But the very argument that is adduced in favour of the necessity of preparing the present Slaves, for such an alteration in their condition, proves that there can be no excuse whatever for allowing the next generation to remain uneducated; nay, is it not a strong reason why we should determine that the next generation should not be born in Slavery? The very argument that the present genera-

tion, from not having had moral culture, are unfit for liberty, and that it must take time to prepare *them* for it, is, I think, the strongest argument for preventing the next generation from being born Slaves.—It is a very extraordinary fact (and it shows that the Negroes are very far from being what they are represented to be)—it is a very extraordinary fact that a Negro will sooner see his children emancipated than receive emancipation himself; and so far from the giving freedom to the children of Slaves being a cause to excite insurrection, there are instances innumerable of Slaves having preferred to give liberty to their children to taking it themselves. I mention this to prove that the Negroes are not what they have been unjustly represented, and also to prove that there can be no danger in emancipating the child before the parent; for it is one of the arguments adduced against us, that it would be dangerous to emancipate the child whilst the parent continues in slavery. When I mention this as a strong proof that no danger would ensue by emancipating the child before the parent, do not let me be misunderstood, do not let me be supposed to concede that the present generation are to be left in slavery—God forbid! I trust the time will come when Parliament will (for it can only be done by Parliament) take such wise, such prudent and religious measures as will secure to our fellow-subjects (for fellow-subjects they all are) the enjoyment of liberty, as well as ourselves. If we do not persevere in this object and these principles, we are not persevering in those principles which are the principles that have always actuated the British nation. What is our cause? It is the very same cause that gave liberty to this country. Every feeling that instigated Englishmen to fight for their liberty, and to form the Constitution under which we enjoy the blessings and the happiness we possess,—every feeling of that description exists in this great cause. One of the most painful things that has occurred to me for a long time, is to have heard it stated that it is impossible to teach

and to encourage religion for fear you should create a rebellion. Can there be any thing so monstrous and so horrible as to say, that for the sake of maintaining any one system of government, you are not to inculcate into the minds of human beings the doctrines of our holy religion; that you are to refuse to give them that glorious light which would make them at once good citizens and good Christians here below, and by which alone they can hope for salvation hereafter? Can any thing be so outrageous? Can any person hear these doctrines without shuddering and without determining to make every exertion to do away such a system?

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time, I have only to add—that I trust you will all persevere in this great, this just cause, in which we must act with temper, but at the same time with zeal and firmness.

Almost every sentence of this speech was received with the most unbounded applause, and at the conclusion of it, the Meeting was adjourned.

NOTE to page 85.

MAJORITY AND MINORITY

On Mr. Brougham's Motion "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, representing that this House, having taken into their most serious consideration the Papers laid before them relating to the Trial and Condemnation of the Rev. John Smith, a Missionary in the Colony of Demerara, deem it their duty now to declare, that they contemplate with serious alarm, and deep sorrow, the violation of Law and Justice which is manifest in those unexampled proceedings, and most earnestly pray that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to adopt such measures, as to his Royal wisdom may seem meet, for securing such a just and humane administration of Law, in that Colony, as may protect the voluntary Instructors of the Negroes, as well as the Negroes themselves, and the rest of his Majesty's subjects, from oppression."

MINORITY.

Astley, Sir J. D.
Abercomby, Hon. J.
Allen, J. H.
Anson, Sir G.
Acland, Sir Thomas
Barham, J. F.
Barrett, S. M.
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Birch, Joseph
Brougham, Henry
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Brownlow, Charles
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Calcraft, J. H.
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Calvert, N.
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Dundas, C.
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Macqueen, J.	Graham, Sir J.	Gascoyne, General.
Michel, J.		

THE END.

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR,
SHOE-LANE.

SECOND

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE

OF

THE SOCIETY

FOR THE

MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY HELD ON THE 30th DAY OF APRIL, 1825.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

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1825.

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THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

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At a general Meeting of the SOCIETY, *held at the Freemasons' Hall, on Saturday the 30th of April*, 1825;

PRESENT:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,

THE PATRON AND PRESIDENT,

In the Chair;

Earls Grosvenor, Nugent, and Euston; Viscount Milton; Lord Calthorpe; Hon. F. Calthorpe, M. P.; Hon. A. Calthorpe, M. P.; Hon. Captain Dundas; Hon. J. Shore; Hon. B. Noel; Sir T. Baring, Bart. M. P.; Sir J. Sebright, Bart. M. P.; Sir Thomas Esmonde; H. Brougham, Esq. M. P.; T. F. Buxton, Esq. M. P.; John Bennet, Esq. M. P.; James Cropper, Esq.; P. Corbett, Esq. M. P.; T. Denman, Esq. M. P.; W. Evans, Esq. M. P.; John Gurney, Esq.; S. Lushington, Esq. LL.D., M. P.; H. Maxwell, Esq. M. P.; Richard Martin, Esq. M. P.; D. O'Connell, Esq.; Pryse Pryse, Esq. M. P.; Spencer Percival, Esq.; T. S. Rice, Esq. M. P.; W. Smith, Esq. M. P.; James Stephen, Esq.; D. Sykes, Esq. M. P.; W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M. P.; W. W. C. Wilson, Esq. M. P.; W. Wilberforce, Jun. Esq.; &c.; with a most numerous attendance of the Subscribers and Friends of the Society.

The REPORT of the Committee having been read, it was moved by Lord Calthorpe, and seconded by Viscount Milton, and unanimously

Resolved,

That the Report, which has now been read, be received, and that it be printed and circulated under the revision of the Committee; and that the best thanks of this Meeting be given to the Committee for their past services, and that they be requested to continue the same.

It was moved by William Smith, Esq. M. P.; and seconded by T. Fowell Buxton, Esq. M. P.; and unanimously

Resolved,

That this Society are anxious to express their deep sense of the misfortune they have sustained in the retirement from public life of their late revered leader, Mr. Wilberforce, and are earnest to discharge, in the most solemn and public manner, the imperative duty of offering the respectful tribute of their warmest and most grateful acknowledgments to that distinguished advocate of the just claims of humanity, for the invaluable services he has rendered to the oppressed natives of an entire quarter of the globe;—That in estimating his merit, and their own obligations, the Society feel it incumbent on them to recollect and to commemorate, that, although eminently endowed with the talents requisite to ensure his own individual advancement, and in circumstances highly favourable to its attainment, yet with a self-devotion of the most rare and unrivalled description, he deliberately sacrificed the most brilliant prospects of political distinction at the shrine of justice and humanity; and that, to the opportunity of mixing on equal terms among the statesmen of Europe, he preferred the steady pursuit of extended usefulness, in a path which led, not to the acquisition of wealth or power, but to the alleviation of human misery, and the unwearied promotion of the highest interests of man;—That while the Society recognize with affectionate gratitude the motives, equally pure and generous, which led to so noble a choice, they must also express their admiration of the ardent zeal, the undeviating steadiness, the undaunted courage, and the inflexible perseverance with which he maintained a severe, protracted, and often discouraging contest, at the conclusion of which he attained the never-fading glory of freeing his native land from her foulest stain—"the traffic in man,"—and of commencing the warfare against colonial bondage, having thus conferred on Britain an inestimable benefit, and established for himself an irresistible claim to the perpetual esteem and gratitude, not only of his country, but of the whole human kind.

It was moved by Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P.; and seconded by Thomas Denman, Esq. M. P.; and unanimously

Resolved,

That this Meeting feel themselves called upon to express their deep regret and disappointment, that so little progress should hitherto have been made, in carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of his Majesty's Government, the unanimous resolutions of Parliament, and the wishes and prayers of the Nation at large, for the mitigation and eventual extinction of Colonial Slavery;—That the threats of determined resistance, on the part of the Colonists, to the proposed measures of reform, appear to destroy all rational hope of relieving their bondsmen from the evils which press upon them, except by the direct interference of the supreme Legislature;—That Parliament, therefore, they trust, may be induced, without further delay, to enact and enforce such measures as are requisite for effectually meliorating the condition of the Slave-population throughout the British Dominions, and for raising "them to a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects."

It was moved by W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M. P.; and seconded by D. Sykes, Esq. M. P.; and unanimously

Resolved,

That, deeply convinced of the moral guilt as well as of the political inexpediency of Colonial Slavery, this Meeting further laments the continuance of those commercial regulations, which, by imposing a much higher duty on Sugar the produce of free labour, than on Sugar grown by Slaves, force the latter into consumption, in this country, almost to the exclusion of the former:—That in thus giving a large bonus to the holders of Slaves in their competition with free labour, this country is pursuing a course, which, while it is at variance with all just maxims of commercial policy, powerfully and fatally tends to aggravate the miseries of the Slave, and to perpetuate the evils of colonial bondage;—and that, therefore, they earnestly recommend to all the friends of their cause, to employ their best exertions to put an end to a state of things which makes the

people of this country the real and efficient, though reluctant, upholders of that system of Slavery which they unequivocally reprobate as immoral and unjust, as inconsistent with the principles of British law, and highly injurious to the national interests.

It was moved by Stephen Lushington, Esq. LL.D., M. P.; and seconded by D. O'Connell, Esq.; and unanimously

Resolved,

That it be most earnestly recommended to the friends of this Society, in all parts of the United Kingdom, to employ their strenuous efforts in forming Anti-slavery Associations, for the purpose of diffusing information respecting the state of slavery; of exciting and keeping alive a feeling of strong interest in the unhappy lot of our colonial bondsmen, and of producing a suitable impression among all classes, and especially among the young, of the paramount obligations attaching to us as men, as Britons, and as Christians, to leave no means unattempted for alleviating their condition, and for raising them from their present state of mental darkness and brutish subjection, to light, liberty, and the hope of the Gospel.

It was moved by Sir John Sebright, Bart. M. P.; and seconded by Henry Maxwell, Esq. M. P.; and unanimously

Resolved,

That the most cordial acknowledgments of this Meeting be respectfully presented to the Patron and President of this Society, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, for his zealous and undeviating support of the Society's objects; for the honour and benefit of his distinguished patronage; and for the ability and condescension with which he has filled the chair on the present occasion.

SECOND REPORT,

&c. &c.

SINCE the last Meeting of the Society, the Committee are concerned to state, that little or nothing has occurred which affords any satisfactory indication of progress in the great work for which the Society has been instituted; *the Mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery in the British Dominions.* In the colony of Trinidad, indeed, an Order of his Majesty in Council, containing many salutary regulations, though greatly defective in some important respects, has been promulgated. Against the imposition of this Order, the White planters of the island have universally and strenuously remonstrated; alleging that it was pregnant with inevitable ruin to all their interests. "We have read," they say, "with grief and dismay, the Order in Council declared to be intended for the improvement of the condition of the Slaves in the Colonies;" and they gave it as their solemn conviction, that "the execution of its whole provisions will inevitably prove ruinous to the property of the Master, injurious and demoralizing to the Slave, peculiarly hazardous to the lives of the free Coloured inhabitants, and totally subversive of our gracious Sovereign's benign intentions." And "in order to avert that catastrophe which must otherwise involve every class in this colony in one common ruin," they earnestly implored the Governor to stay the promulgation and execution of the Order. The Governor's instructions, however, were peremptory; and in June

1824, the order was duly promulgated, and became the law of the island.—A committee of planters, however, was appointed to frame a Memorial to the King in Council. And it appears by the Trinidad Gazette of August, 1824, that a paper of "remarks" was prepared, at the same time, for the purpose of being forwarded to certain persons in London, "supposed from their situation and influence to have the means of confidential communication with his Majesty's Ministers; and though these remarks are not presented as an official report from the committee, yet they are understood to speak the sentiments of its leading members." The Order in Council, they assert, "has made an entire revolution in the system under which Slaves were heretofore managed and governed." Changes, they say, "are always to be deprecated, especially in a Slave Colony, where the whole of the labouring population are deprived of their natural rights; and nothing but the force of habit, and a brutish indistinct idea of the superiority and fixed power of their masters, keep them in awe and subjection." One great source of discomfort to the *Slave* is stated to be the change produced by the Order in Council in the *old mode* of punishment, "so well established, recognized, and understood by the Slave;" (alluding of course to the abolition of flogging as it respects the women, and of the driving whip as it respects both sexes). "By those," they remark, "who have most considered the subject in this colony, the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of Slavery." The attempt, on the part of the Colonial Government, to substitute new and different modes of coercion for that of the cartwhip, they regard as an admission that Slaves cannot be expected to work without fear of punishment;—"an admission," it is added, "hardly worth the trouble of noticing, were it not that the elementary principles of Slavery appear at present almost unknown in England, where the popular arguments urged by the philanthropists are mostly deduced from, and applicable only to, man in a state of freedom. Under these

circumstances," they ask, " can any cheerful co-operation be expected from the harassed and irritated master to promote the moral improvement of the Slaves? It may be said without fear of contradiction, that every such feeling is at this moment extinct in the colony. The lower order of slave-owners are racking their inventions to devise modes of punishment, within the letter of the proclamation, to compel their Negroes to perform those services on which their means of subsistence entirely depends: whilst the higher classes see, with dismay and indignation, that the established and rational power, which upheld discipline and order, has been withdrawn, to be replaced only by galling and ridiculous substitutes which must end by demoralizing the Slaves, if not previously productive of some wretched catastrophe. Instead, therefore, of meditating schemes of improvement, their minds are intently bent upon withdrawing, at the earliest possible opportunity, from so ungrateful a scene." In the mean time, they tell us, that such is the state of feeling produced by this hateful order that " no offence can be forgiven as before; recognized power can venture to be liberal and magnanimous: disputed authority must necessarily be jealous and severe. What a scene does this not open!"

Now let it not for one moment be forgotten, that these things are said, of the West Indians and their system, not by your Committee, not by any enemy of slavery, but by West Indians themselves. They appear in the Gazette of Trinidad, and are reprinted with approbation in the Gazette of Jamaica; and they are declared to express the sentiments of a Committee of Planters;— of men who thoroughly comprehend the system they desire to uphold, and who are driven, by their alarms, to disclose those truths which, on ordinary occasions, they are anxious to conceal or palliate.

They accuse the philanthropists, it is true, of ignorance of the elementary principles of Slavery: and yet, wherein has *their* view of it differed from that which the fears of the planters have now extorted from them?

The friends of emancipation have uniformly maintained, what the planters now reluctantly admit, that the whip *is* identified with Slavery; that it is by *its* infliction, or the dread of its infliction, that the Slaves are alone made to work; and that these Slaves are moreover deprived of their natural rights, and reduced to a state of brutish subjection to their masters. All this has been strenuously asserted over and over again by the philanthropists, and as strenuously denied by the advocates of the West-Indian system; by whom, indeed, it has, on various occasions, been pronounced a base and malignant calumny. Even so high and respectable an authority as Mr. Ellis, the Chairman of the West-Indian body, only about two years ago deliberately made the following statement with respect to what is commonly termed the driving system:—"I do not believe, however confidently it may have been asserted, that the whip is used as a stimulant to labour. I believe it will be found that the whip is generally placed in the hands of the driver, more as a badge of authority than as an instrument of coercion. It is, in fact, considered at present only as a symbol of office." How completely Mr. Ellis, and other humane and benevolent proprietors in this country, have been kept in the dark on this subject, by their servants and correspondents abroad, is apparent from the Trinidad remonstrance. In the minds of the resident planters of Trinidad the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of Slavery. They have therefore read "with grief and dismay" an Order which puts down that instrument as a stimulant to labour, and forbids them to cartwhip females. They even lament over the demoralizing effect of this unhappy prohibition, by which the good old, established, and, by the Slave, well understood mode of punishment is abrogated, and an entire revolution effected in the system by which the Slaves have been heretofore governed.

The Committee are not now defending the regulations of the Order in Council, nor the substitutes for the whip proposed by some subsequent Order in Council which they

have not seen. These may be judicious or otherwise. The object they have now particularly in view, is to impress on the public mind what the nature of the colonial slave-system really is, as exhibited by the colonists themselves;—a system in which brute force is avowed to be the governing impulse of the labouring population; in which the whip is recognized as the grand motive to exertion; and from which if the whip be withdrawn, an entire revolution must take place in it, attended, we are gravely told, with demoralization, insubordination, loss of property, and utter ruin. Without stopping to inquire in what respect the present moral state of the West-India Colonies will admit of deterioration from such a cause, it is obvious, on the shewing of these planters themselves, that the existing system is radically vicious, and must be changed. The worst conceptions of the most determined enemies of that system are realized in their own delineations of it; which, while they leave no further doubt respecting its cruelty and guilt, enhance the obligation we are under to pursue it, by all lawful means, to its utter extermination.

In the various resolutions, remonstrances, and representations of the planters of Trinidad, the Committee rejoice to learn that the free Blacks and People of Colour, with few if any exceptions, have taken no share. They possess, it is said, a full half of the property of the island; but they have not chosen to set themselves in opposition to the wishes of Parliament and of the public on this occasion. The civil degradations which they themselves are doomed to sustain are many and galling; and the Committee believe they are sufficiently enlightened to have at length attained a just and settled conviction, that the Slavery of their colour is the real root of the evils they experience; and that while that Slavery is perpetuated;—while the Negro continues a "brutish" outcast from the pale of society; "deprived of his natural rights;" a mere beast of burden; a mere instrument of profit;—they who partake of his colour must of necessity partake of his debasement. *His* brand will cleave to *them;* and neither wealth nor distinguished

talents, nor eminent moral worth, were they all to meet in one individual, will suffice to efface it.

It has been obviously, however, the wish of the White planters of Trinidad, that they should be thought in this country to enjoy the concurrence of the free People of Colour in their resistance to the reforms that have been proposed. In their petitions and memorials they have therefore designated themselves "the *free* inhabitants of the island of Trinidad." But it ought to be known that the parties who have subscribed their names, have been almost exclusively, if not entirely, Whites.

The remonstrants advert indeed, in one place, to the hazard of life to which the free Coloured inhabitants are exposed by the provisions of the Order in Council; and there is some ground for the remark. It refers to the provisions on the subject of the evidence of Slaves, which certainly do not appear to your Committee to have been framed on sound principles of legislation.

The Order in Council was passed for the express purpose of improving the condition of the Slaves. But, prior to the issuing of that Order, it is distinctly stated, in a minute of the Council of Trinidad of the 9th July, 1823, that, by a law in full force in that island, the testimony of Slaves was already admissible, *quantum valeat*. The Order in Council, however, imposes various restraints on this privilege: in that colony, the testimony of a Slave cannot now be received as formerly, unless some clergyman, or religious teacher, shall certify that such Slave understands the nature of an oath. But a still more injurious departure from the old law is to be found in that clause which provides, that slave testimony cannot be received in *any trial affecting the life of a* WHITE MAN. Why, in the first place, should the WHITE MEN be thus strangely protected, while the free People of Colour, possessing half the property of the island, are excluded from any such protection?—But can the exception be justified in either case? Certainly not. It is an exception wholly unknown to the Spanish law, and which is most injurious in its tendency.

As the law is now made to stand, should a White man commit murder in Trinidad, he possesses the same degree of immunity which he unfortunately has always enjoyed in the English islands; for if a thousand Slaves should have witnessed the fact, not one can now be heard in evidence against him. But this is not all the evil of the enactment. It is one of the provisions of the Order in Council, that, if a proprietor should be twice convicted of cruelty to a Slave, he shall be condemned to forfeit to the Crown all the Slaves he possesses. But to avert such a calamity, is it not now made the interest of the White proprietor, who has incurred the risk of conviction for a second offence of this description, to kill the Slave whom he may have cruelly treated; as in that case no slave-evidence could be admitted against him. This deviation from justice and good policy, could only have been admitted into the Order in Council from inadvertence; and the Committee trust it will not be suffered to continue there.

It was stated, in the last Report, to be the declared intention of his Majesty's Ministers, to extend the provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council to Demerara, Berbice, St. Lucia, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. This statement was confirmed by a letter of Earl Bathurst, to the Governor of Barbadoes, dated 26th July 1824, in which is the following passage:—"With respect to the Order in Council for meliorating the condition of the Slaves in Trinidad, similar provisions to those which are contained in that Order will be extended to Demerara and Essequibo, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Cape, and Mauritius, with such modifications as may be necessary to adapt them to the Dutch and French laws, which are respectively in force in those possessions."

The Committee had therefore hoped to have heard, ere now, that the declared intentions of his Majesty's Ministers had been actually carried into effect. This, however, they are sorry to learn, is not the case. The purpose appears

to be still unexecuted, although they have heard no reason assigned for the delay. They conclude that it has arisen from the opposition of the planters of those colonies to reforms which they, in common with the planters of Trinidad, profess to regard with dismay and horror, as a dangerous invasion of their most sacred rights.

On the concurrence of the slaveholders, the resident slaveholders especially, in any effective plan for controuling their own power, and for raising their wretched bondsmen in the scale of being; the Committee have never placed any strong reliance. Indeed, they are persuaded that the aversion which prevails, in the West Indies, to conferring upon Negroes the common rights of human nature, is too deep-rooted and general to be overcome except by the direct and authoritative interference of a higher power. The circumstances which, in this instance, have so unexpectedly delayed that interference, notwithstanding the pledge given to Parliament on the subject, during the last session, are the more to be deplored.

The spirit and temper which the Committee attribute to the colonists, have been the most clearly manifested in those colonies where the movement of the popular mind among them is the most free and unfettered. In Barbadoes, for example, two sessions have been consumed in debate and deliberation, and nothing has yet been done towards the reform of the Slave Code. The last session of their legislature opened with large promises, accompanied however with a spirit of violence and irritation even on the part of the professed reformers which afforded but slender hope of their fulfilment. The very mover of the proposed reforms seemed to feel that he could not expect a hearing, without the most unmeasured abuse of the Abolitionists and their motives. "The diabolical falsehoods and infamous aspersions of a few interested and designing hypocrites"—the Committee quote verbatim from his speech, as reported in the West-Indian newspapers of the day—"moving in terrific phalanx to the total annihilation of the White

inhabitants of the West Indies" marked them out in his opinion as a "vindictive crew," indulging "the abominable desire to cast headlong into the gulph of destruction, or endless misery, so large a portion of their fellow-creatures equally with themselves the followers of Christ." "No justification can they have in their hellish design but that which originated and is fostered in their own dark and interested souls." "Endeavour, however," he says to his colegislators, "to tranquillize (as far as your natures will permit) those acute feelings which must agitate the breast of every enlightened and virtuous West-Indian, against that detestable Institution which, keenly and immoveably bent upon your destruction, has, with consummate ingenuity, erected and set in motion against you a tremendous machinery, throwing out at each evolution misery and woe." "Soar above prejudice, and leave far behind you slanderers and vilifiers; steadily steering your country through the muddy waters of bitter calumny, and leaving her safely moored in the bright and tranquil shores of truth. Discharge your duty, forgetting every cause of irritation. Follow the mild dictates of your religion; shew to your accursed enemies that they, with their empty theories, carry blood and cruelty, risking not one iota of their ill-gotten wealth, while you in your practice extend, at the risk of your very existence, the real benefits of heaven-beaming philanthropy."—But all the violence of this vituperation was insufficient to secure the slightest degree of popular favour in Barbadoes, to the man who had dared to innovate, however sparingly, on the sacred institutions of its slave code. The speech was followed by upwards of two months of deliberation, in the Assembly, on the Bill which it introduced; but during this time the mover of it appears to have been assailed, out of doors, by every species of clamour and invective.* He speaks of "the irritable working of parochial feeling which, in its effervescence, had disturbed him in the course of his duties," and exhorts the house to "guard, with scrupulous caution, against the influence of the feelings that are afloat without

doors, agitating the minds of those who do not, cannot, will not, understand the question they exclaim against." He then alludes to the threatening tone which had been employed to deter him from his duty, and to the martyrdom to which he might possibly be called by the hostility of his constituents.—And what produced all this rage and violence on the part of the people of Barbadoes? A proposal merely to modify some of those cruel and sanguinary laws which had so long been the disgrace of its statute book. Under the influence, doubtless, of this popular feeling, the proposed amelioration law, on leaving the Assembly, and proceeding to the Council, was found to be still so disfigured by severity, and so defective in its provisions of protection to the Slave, that the Council rejected it, as calculated to produce a more unfavourable impression of Barbadian humanity than if no change whatever had been attempted.

The points brought into discussion between these legislative bodies are not a little curious, and will also serve to convey some idea of the qualifications of the Barbadian Assembly for conducting the reformation which has been delegated to their wisdom and feeling. The points are such as these:—Whether persons, not proved to be Slaves, shall or shall not enjoy the privileges of freemen; whether the punishment to be inflicted by the master on the slave shall have any limitation, or no limitation; whether the mere attempt, on the part of a Slave, to strike any White person shall or shall not be a justification of that White person should he kill the Slave in return; whether the making of unfounded complaints by the slave against his master, shall be punished with more or with less of severity; whether a whip or a cat-o'-nine-tails shall be the future instrument of coercion for compelling the labour of the Slaves; whether any White, free Coloured or free Black person, who *shall* be guilty of the enormous crime of *intermarrying with a Slave*, shall or shall not be subjected, by way of punishment, to the ignominy of having the evidence of Slaves gene-

rally admitted against him; whether Sunday markets shall or shall not be abolished; whether the heavy fine of 50*l.* on each act of manumission shall or shall not be continued; with other questions of equally dubious and delicate application.

The Meeting will recollect the outrages which were last year perpetrated, in Barbadoes, by the lawless destruction of the Methodist Chapel at Bridgetown, and the expulsion from that island of the Missionary Shrewsbury. These outrages have been followed by others of a similar description. Mr. Rayner, another Missionary, went from St. Vincent's to Barbadoes: he applied in the first instance to the Governor for protection; but his application was very coldly received, and no hope of effectual protection was afforded to him. Mr. Rayner, therefore, did not dare to land, on account of the threats of the leaders of the former mob;—such is the language of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's Report. "One zealous man," it is there stated, "sat on the shore a whole night, with a loaded pistol, to shoot him had he left the vessel. The vessel itself was menaced with an attack of boats, and was obliged to seek protection under the guns of a ship of war." The congregation also, which Mr. Shrewsbury left behind him, and which continued to meet in a private house for the purposes of worship and mutual edification, were threatened with violence. The former mob announced their purpose of celebrating the anniversary of the destruction of the chapel, by razing the obnoxious house to the ground. This was prevented by the interference of the Governor and the Magistrates; but the latter have forbidden any more meetings to be held. In short, the whole account which has been given to the public, by the Methodist Mission Society, proves the existence, in Barbadoes, of a state of disgraceful lawlessness, and a deep and settled hostility to the religious instruction of the Negro and Coloured population, of whom the Methodist congregation was chiefly composed.

That a similar feeling should be represented to prevail in

Demerara, where, the same Report tells us, a hostile spirit against Missions of every kind has continued to be manifested, will be no subject of surprize. In Jamaica also, a like spirit has shewn itself at different parochial meetings, where resolutions were agreed to, recommending the expulsion of the missionaries. In the other West-India Colonies there appears considerably less hostility to missionary exertions; and in some, they are even encouraged.

The proceedings of the Legislature of Jamaica have been no less instructive than those of the Barbadoes Assembly. On their meeting in November last, they began the session with professing their readiness to bestow the most serious attention on the propositions, transmitted by Government, for the improvement of the slave population. But the session has closed without their taking one efficient step towards that object. The propositions submitted to them appear to have been comprised in the Trinidad Order in Council, which Earl Bathurst had directed the Governor to lay before the Assembly, as the model of the desired reforms. The only measure of reform, however, which appears to have been introduced in consequence of this communication, was a bill "to enable Slaves to give evidence in certain cases of crime committed against Slaves, and of criminal attempts to excite rebellion and insurrection and of uttering seditious language." But even this Bill, though most jealously guarded, and extremely defective, in its provisions, was thrown out by a majority of thirty-four to one.

The most remarkable transaction in the proceedings of the Jamaica Assembly was the Report of a Secret Committee appointed to investigate the late disturbances. The grand object of the Report is to trace those disturbances to the discussions respecting slavery which had taken place in the British Parliament. The absurdity, however, of such a view of the subject is rendered sufficiently apparent, by the incessant renewal, in the colonial journals, of the very same discussions, and that in a style of the utmost inflammation.

One inference, however, may be drawn from this Report which was probably not intended by its framers; and that is, the extreme flimsiness of the grounds on which were built the alleged servile plots and conspiracies of the preceding year, for participating in which so many of the Slaves were tried, convicted, and executed.

On looking at the accounts of those trials, and comparing them with this Report of the Secret Committee, there will be found the strongest reasons for believing that a great part of these pretended plots was the base fabrication of interested and perjured witnesses. Several of the convictions and executions took place on the evidence of two slaves, Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, whose evidence would have been wholly inadmissible in any matter, however insignificant, affecting a free person. Their evidence, moreover, was given under the strongest possible bias,—they were themselves accused of being concerned in the plot; and they not only secured their own lives by turning King's evidence, but they had the hope of reward before them should they succeed in convicting others. Much of their evidence also has since been proved to have been false; and the opinion which the Secret Committee themselves, after fully investigating the subject, were led to entertain of them, may be gathered from the following passage in their Report:—"The Committee feel it their duty to recommend to the house, that a message should be sent to his Grace the Governor, requesting that he would send off the island, Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, as persons of a most dangerous character to remain at large in this colony; and that the house will make good any expense attendant on such a measure." Thus, the very two slaves, on whose testimony so many of their fellow-creatures were thrust out of existence, and in favour of the credibility of whose testimony not one word is said in the Report, are themselves there represented as men of such desperate characters that the safety of the island required their removal, by a mere act of power unauthorised by law. Can we doubt

that men of such a character, especially when tempted by the hope of freedom or of reward, would readily affirm whatever would give them favour and importance in the eyes of their superiors, at a moment too of unnatural alarm and agitation; even if no circumstances had afterwards occurred to throw discredit on their evidence?

Now it was in consequence, be it remembered, of something which was alleged to have been said by these infamous persons, in the course of an extrajudicial examination, that the two respectable Men of Colour who are now in this country, Mr. Lescenes and Mr. Escoffery, British subjects, were, without a trial, or even a hearing; without any opportunity of inquiry, or of confronting or cross-examining their accusers, seized as conspirators against the public peace, torn from the bosom of their families, ruined in their circumstances, and exiled from their country. This atrocious act of oppression will speedily undergo the review of Parliament. The cause of the sufferers has been undertaken by one who is well known to want neither the will, nor the courage, nor the talent, to vindicate the innocent victims of lawless power.

It is a decisive presumption in favour of the impression, created in Jamaica, of the innocence of these exiled and outraged individuals, that no charge whatever is preferred against them in this Report of the Secret Committee; but that, on the contrary, although it was known that their cruel case had been brought under the cognizance of Parliament, the following tribute of approbation to the good conduct of the whole body of the free coloured population is there given without qualification, exception, or reserve. "The Committee cannot draw this Report to a conclusion without bestowing its meed of praise on the zeal and alacrity shewn by the regulars and militia throughout the disturbed districts, both by the Whites and free People of Colour. The conduct of the latter evinced a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and every way identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal security."

The Committee cannot learn that any effective measures of reform have yet been adopted, in consequence of the recommendation of his Majesty, by any of the other Colonies except Tobago. In that island, containing a population of 14,000 slaves, the Legisture have, in one point, gone even beyond the provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council. They have admitted Slave-evidence in the very case in which the Order in Council has rejected it; namely, in the case of the wilful murder or mayem of a Slave by a White or free person. It is admitted, however, only in case no White or free person was present, or can be produced to prove the facts; and even then, there must be the concurrent testimony of two Slaves, unimpeached as to their credibility. Into the Tobago Act clauses are also introduced for securing the personal property of the Slaves; for abolishing Sunday markets and substituting Thursday; for allowing to the Slaves thirty-five week days in the year for their provision grounds; and for limiting arbitrary punishments to twenty stripes, and, if more than twelve are given, providing that it shall be in the presence of a free person besides the person who inflicts the punishment. These are undoubtedly improvements, though they fall far short of the recommendations of his Majesty.

With this single exception, the Committee are grieved to state, that they cannot discover that, during the past year, any enactments have been framed by the Colonial Legislatures which tend to the mitigation of Slavery.

What course his Majesty's Government may deem it right to pursue on this occasion, the Committee have no means of knowing. But it cannot be denied that the conduct of the Colonies has furnished that case of contumacy, which, in 1823, Mr. Canning distinctly stated would call for parliamentary interference. Of all the reforms which were then suggested, and which were admitted by the Government and the Parliament to be necessary, not one appears to have been as yet adopted, except in a single island, by any of the Colonies having Legislatures of their own. And even in those Colonies which are immediately

subject to the Crown, the attempt at reformation has been confined to Trinidad:—the resistance it has there had to encounter has been already adverted to.

It is impossible for the Committee to contemplate these facts without feelings of the deepest regret. It is true, they never anticipated the willing concurrence of the Colonies in any effective plans of reform; and they therefore looked forward to no beneficial result from the mere recommendation of the subject to their attention.

Those who formerly censured their distrust of the favourable disposition of the colonial authorities must now be convinced that that distrust was well founded, and must be prepared for the conclusion, at which the Committee have long arrived, that the authoritative interference of Parliament is imperiously called for, and cannot be withheld without a sacrifice of its most sacred obligations. Those parliamentary friends of our cause, therefore, who, on the occasion of the discussion referred to above, pledged themselves to move, if it should become necessary, the House of Commons on this subject, will now, without doubt, feel themselves called upon to act with the promptitude and decision which the emergency requires.

It is not, however, merely by the interference of Parliament, in the internal legislation of the Colonies, that the mitigation and final extinction of Slavery may be effected. The abolition of the West-Indian monopoly would tend, perhaps, even more certainly to that end.

That monopoly is at present supported, first, by a bounty of upwards of six shillings per cwt. on the export of refined sugar, and which necessarily raises the price, not only of all the sugar exported, but of all the sugar consumed at home, to the extent of the bounty;—and secondly, a protecting duty of ten shillings a cwt. more on East-Indian, than on West-Indian sugar, which favours sugar grown by slave labour, in preference to that grown by free labour, to the extent of about 50 per cent. on the cost of the article, and tends to exclude the latter from our consump-

tion, and to force us to consume the former. On coffee also, the West Indies have a protection of 28*s.* a cwt. Now, to say nothing at present of the degree in which prices are raised by the operation of the protecting duty, the cost of the West-Indian monopoly, arising from the sugar bounty alone, may be estimated at about 1,200,000*l.* annually *. And it is this large sum, (in addition to whatever enhancement of price may be produced by the protecting duty,) paid by the people of this country to the growers of sugar, over and above what that sugar would otherwise cost, which does in fact chiefly maintain unimpaired and unreformed the wretched system of colonial bondage. The people of England are therefore the real upholders of Negro Slavery. Without their large contribution to its support, it could not fail to be rapidly mitigated, and eventually extinguished. It is absolutely vain, therefore, to be hoping to abolish Slavery, or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or the force of mere parliamentary resolutions, or of royal recommendations, we shall be able to abate this evil, while we are extending to it such solid marks of our favour, and thus affording to it its great and principal means of support.

It is calculated that there are in the West Indies, about 1800 sugar plantations; among the proprietors of which

* This position has been questioned. It has been affirmed that the bounty, the extent of which is not denied, affects only the sugar which is exported. But such a statement can alone proceed from an entire ignorance of the facts of the case. The price of the sugar consumed in this country, and of that which is refined for exportation, is precisely the same in the sugar market. The bounty necessarily operates on the whole mass of sugar, as there cannot exist at the same moment, two prices of one article in the same market. The point however, if there could exist a doubt upon it, (though such a doubt cannot possibly exist in the mind of any commercial man,) is fully conceded by the West Indians themselves. Mr. George Hibbert, the agent of the island of Jamaica, in a letter to his constituents, dated 11th of March, 1824, and published in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 1st May, 1824, distinctly states, that "*the advantage which we now enjoy in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugar taken altogether, is little, if at all short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight.*"

the twelve hundred thousand pounds which the people of this country are forced to pay for their sugars, over and above what the same sugars would cost them if the trade were free, is of course divided ; making, on the average, about 700*l.* sterling annually to each proprietor; and this independently of the advantage, whatever it be, which he derives from the protecting duty. Now if it were proposed in Parliament to give to each of these 1800* West-Indian proprietors, pensions, varying in their amount from 500*l.* to 5000*l.* a year, according to the quantity of sugar which each might extract, by means of the cartwhip, from the labour of his Slaves; and forming a total aggregate of one million two hundred thousand pounds, what reception would such a proposition meet with ? Would it be tolerated for a single moment? And yet, wherein does the actual state of things differ substantially from the case which has been supposed, except that, in this last, the transaction would stand forth to the public view in all its flagrancy, while, in the other, it is more concealed from observation; and that, in the one case, the money would be paid by the people into the Exchequer, before it went into the pockets of the sugar planters; and that, in the other, it is paid to them through the grocers in the price of their sugars. The payment is not the less real on that account.

Now, it will not be alleged that the West Indians have any claim to levy such a contribution upon the people of this country for merits or services of their own. They are themselves sensible of this. They allege it to be necessary, not so much on their own account, as with a view to the well-being and comfort of their Slaves. And they have, on more occasions than one, been supported, in this mode of defending the existing arrangement, even by some of our public men. The consequence has been, that an objection has thus been raised, in the minds of many benevolent persons, to the abolition of the West-Indian monopoly,

* This number is said to be overrated by more than 200 : if so, the case here stated would be greatly strengthened.

and of the bounties and protecting duties by which it is maintained, on the ground that a depression in the price of slave-grown produce would tend to aggravate the misery of the Slaves, and to expose him to farther privations, and perhaps even to starvation itself.

As no notion can be more fundamentally erroneous than this, notwithstanding the zeal with which the West Indians and their friends, both in and out of Parliament, have laboured to propagate it, it seems of the very first importance that it should be calmly examined, and its fallacy exposed. The proposition which the Committee are prepared to maintain, is directly opposed to it: it is; "that whatever tends to raise the price of the slave-grown produce of our Colonies, tends in the same degree to rivet the chains, and to add to the labour and misery, of the Slave; while the depression of its price operates beneficially both in relaxing his bonds, abating his toil, and enlarging his comforts."

We have frequently been told by the colonial authorities, and particularly by the Assembly of Jamaica, that if the prices of produce should fall, the Slaves must starve. The same authorities have, however, assured us, that such is the favourable nature of their soil and climate, that the labour of a few days in the year is amply sufficient to provide the Slaves with the means of comfortable subsistence. The same view of the subject has been taken by every colonial writer, from Mr. Bryan Edwards to Mr. Foster Barham. They only vary a little with respect to the quantity of time which the Slave requires for this purpose; some stating it at seven days in the year, and others at twelve or fourteen. In conformity with these statements, the greatest number of days in the year (exclusive of Sundays) which, down to 1816, was allowed to the Slaves by law, in any of the islands, for cultivating the land allotted to them for their subsistence, was from fourteen to sixteen. And this small portion of time, it was affirmed in the evidence laid by the West-Indian party before the Privy Council and Parliament, not only enabled the Slaves generally to live in

comfort, but afforded many of them the means of procuring luxuries, and even of amassing wealth.

It is not the intention of the Committee at present to examine the accuracy of these positions. It is sufficient to know that the West-India laws had generally proceeded upon the principle, that (exclusive of Sunday) about fourteen days in the year, or a twenty-fifth part of the Slave's time, was quite sufficient for his comfortable subsistence. This principle has also been fully acted upon in practice. In Jamaica, for example, and in every other island where this course of allotting land and time to the Negroes is pursued, no regular allowance of food, with the exception of a few herrings, or a little salt fish, but in quantities so small as merely to serve as a seasoning to their food, is given to the Slaves. With this exception, they draw their food from the spot of ground allotted to them, and which is tilled by their own labour during the portion of time set apart by law for that purpose. In Jamaica, that time, which (exclusive of the Sunday) did not previously exceed sixteen days, was raised, in 1817, to twenty-six; and in Tobago has been raised by the new law to thirty-five in the year. It does not appear that any other colonies have as yet been equally liberal. There are some colonies, however, where, instead of allotting lands to the Slaves to be cultivated on their own account, the provision grounds are cultivated by the whole gang, and a weekly allowance of food is given to each Slave. In this case, no time during the week is allowed him by law.

Having premised thus much, it will be easier to understand clearly the operation of high and low prices of produce on the condition of the Slaves.

It will not be denied, in the first place, that a high price of the produce of Slave-labour must enhance the value of the Slave, and thus tend to obstruct his manumission. The willingness of a master voluntarily to manumit his Slave will necessarily be affected by the costliness of the sacrifice; and, if we suppose the redemption of the Slave to be accomplished by the savings of his own

industry, it is obvious that the difficulty of accomplishing it would be increased in proportion to the increase of his value.

This fact is curiously illustrated by a comparison of the progress of manumission in the colonies of Barbadoes and Demerara. The Slave population of each is nearly the same; but, owing to the superior fertility of the soil of Demerara, slave labour is there much more productive, and Slaves much more valuable, than in Barbadoes. Taking the period which elapsed from the 1st of January 1808 to the end of 1821, it appears, from the parliamentary returns, that, in Barbadoes, during those fourteen years, manumissions proceeded at the average rate of 125 in each year; whereas, in Demerara, they did not amount to more on the average than about twenty-seven in each year. In both colonies there is a heavy tax on manumissions.

It may perhaps be said, that if a high price of produce should have the effect of raising the value of the Slave, yet, as the value of his own produce would be proportionably enhanced, he would experience no disadvantage from that circumstance. Here, however, the miserable policy of colonial legislature interferes. The Slave is universally restrained by law, under heavy penalties, from cultivating, or vending, a single article of exportable produce; a single article, therefore, the price of which can be raised either by foreign demand, or by the effect of bounties and protecting duties.

But it is not in this indirect way only that a high price of produce operates to the disadvantage of the Slave. The effect of a high price of any article is uniformly to stimulate its increased production; while the effect of a glut, and of low prices, is necessarily to check its production. But, in our colonies, where the slave population cannot be augmented by importations, it is obviously impossible that production should be increased without adding to the labour of the Slave. An increase of the quan-

tity of sugar or coffee can only be obtained either by abridging the time allowed to the Slave for cultivating his own provision grounds, or by stimulating him to increased muscular exertion while working for his master. On the other hand, a low price of produce naturally leads to a contrary course; to a husbanding of the strength of the Negroes, and to an enlargement of the time allowed them to cultivate their grounds.

These opposite tendencies of high and of low prices may be illustrated by a case which often finds its parallel in the West Indies. Let us suppose the case of A, the proprietor of a sugar plantation yielding annually 200 tons of sugar, and cultivated by 300 Slaves, who are so managed as just to maintain their numbers. He enters into a contract with B, at a time when sugars are averaging a gross price of 30*l.* a ton, to let to him his estate, on lease for ten years, at a rent of 1000*l.* per annum. The other charges amount to 20*l.* per ton, or 4000*l.*; and therefore leave to B. a net income in each year of 1000*l.*, or 5*l.* per ton. It further forms part of their agreement, that the plantation, with its Slaves, cattle, works, buildings, and utensils, should be fairly appraised at the commencement of the lease, and should again be fairly re-appraised at its termination; and that, if the value should be diminished in the interval, the amount of the deterioration should be made good by B; but that if it should be improved he should receive the value of that improvement.

Now, let it be supposed that, under these circumstances, B should wish to add to his income by increasing his crop from 200 to 250 tons of sugar. The addition of fifty tons, the prices remaining the same, would increase the gross produce from 6000*l.* to 7,500*l.*, and the rent and charges being deducted would afford him in the first instance an increase of his net income But then it is obvious, that in order to effect this increase of income, he must also increase, by one-fourth, the ordinary labour of

the Slaves and cattle; and if he should see reason to estimate their wear and tear, arising from the heavier pressure of this new exaction of labour, at the sum he had added to his income, he would, in that case, have no temptation to overwork his Slaves; for, though he would gain by an addition of fifty tons of sugar, yet if he should have to refund that sum or more, in order to compensate to A the diminished value of his property, he would probably feel it to be his wisest and safest plan, in such circumstances, not to attempt to increase his crops at the certain expense which he must incur by doing so.

But, supposing that the gross price of sugar should rise from 30*l.* to 50*l.* a ton, then how would the case stand? 4,000*l.* would at once be added to his income by the sale of his 200 tons of sugar; and if, dreading that these good times might be of short duration, he should resolve, by a farther exaction of labour, to add fifty tons to his crop, though at an expense of slaves and cattle which might amount even to 1000*l.*, it would clearly be his interest to do so. The additional fifty tons, after supplying the means of compensating for this sacrifice of human life and of property, would still leave him a large surplus. The temptation therefore to overdrive the Slaves, would, in such a case, be exceedingly increased.

But if, instead of rising to 50*l.* a ton, sugars were to sink to 25*l.*, then the proceeds would be barely sufficient to meet the rent and expenses of the estate; and supposing B., in such a case, to endeavour to add to his income by extracting fifty additional tons of sugar from the Slaves, he would not derive, from this forced increase of produce, more than half the cost of life which it would occasion. In such a case, would it not be his clear and indubitable interest, since nothing could be gained by an increased sugar culture, rather to turn his attention to the improvement of the property; and, instead of adding fifty tons of sugar to his crop by a process which must be attended with loss and not gain, to endeavour, by the raising of abundant food and by other means, to increase his stock

of Slaves and cattle, so that he might have a large claim to make on the proprietor for improvements. It would be utter folly in him to throw away the capital of the estate in unproductive labour, while, by husbanding and improving it, and by economizing his resources, he might prevent the ruin which must otherwise come upon him. And if he should pursue this wise course; if, instead of having added during the years of his lease, fifty tons of sugar annually to his already unproductive crop, at an expense of fifty or one hundred Slaves, for whom he would have ultimately to pay; he had rather diminished his sugar crop, while, by his care and humane attentions, he had added fifty or one hundred Negroes to the population of the estate, whose value he would have to receive, he would obviously be an immense gainer. Such would be naturally and almost necessarily the course of things prescribed by low prices. High prices, on the contrary, would have enabled him to gain largely by an opposite course; namely, by overworking and killing his Slaves.

But although the case which has now been stated of a lessee, may make the operation of high and low prices on the condition of the Slaves, considered as instruments of profit, more obvious; yet there is, in point of fact, nothing which really distinguishes the case of a lessee from that of a proprietor who occupies his own estate. If he can gain only 500*l.* by increasing his crop, while, in doing so, he sacrifices 500*l.* worth of Slaves and cattle, he will have little inducement to pursue such a course. But if, in consequence of high prices, he can gain, by the same sacrifice, four or five times its amount, the temptation then becomes very powerful; and it might operate even more injuriously in the case of a proprietor than in that of a lessee, as the former would not be liable to the same scrutiny, respecting the decrease of his Slaves, with the latter, and might therefore consult his mere interests with less risk of exposure.

A perfectly analagous effect is produced in this country, on the comfort and lives of post-horses, by any sudden

rise in the gains of posting in a particular district; more especially if a farther supply of horses can with difficulty be procured. A like effect, it is well known, takes place with respect to the wear and tear of manufacturing machinery, in consequence of an increased demand of the article it is employed in fabricating.

It is not the intention of the Committee to press this argument in any unfair or invidious manner. There may be proprietors of West-Indian estates who would rather lose largely by their Slaves than exact from them an undue degree of labour. Such cases, however, cannot be considered as affecting the general argument. The great mass of West-Indian proprietors are speculators, who have invested their money in West-Indian property solely with a view to gain, and who are necessarily guided in their conduct by the same commercial principles which operate in every other department of productive industry. Here, however, the instruments of production are sentient beings, reduced to the condition of mere machines; and it is not to be wondered at that in such circumstances they should share the common fate of other instruments of production, whether they be cattle or machinery. The guilt and discredit of such a revolting condition of human society belongs to the State which suffers it to exist, far more than to the individuals who administer it.

The Committee do not mean to argue that Slaves may not be wretchedly used, and cruelly oppressed, when prices are low, and their labour comparatively unproductive. It is not in human nature that the possession of such an uncontrolled despotic power as that which is possessed by the colonial master over his bondsman should not be abused. But what they mean to affirm, and what they think they have proved, is, that the tendency of low prices is to relieve the labour, and to promote the increase and emancipation, of the slave; while the tendency of high prices is to stimulate the master to fresh exactions, and to render the emancipation of the Slave more difficult.

The advocates of the West-Indian system argue that we may implicitly rely on the interest of the master for the well-being and preservation of the Slave, that Slave being his property. "It is so clearly his interest," they say, "to be humane, that you require no other guarantee." But, in the case of high prices, it has been shewn, that the master's pecuniary interest may be in direct opposition to the claims of humanity. It *then* may become his *interest* to exact from the Slave an increased quantity of labour, at the hazard, and even to the extensive destruction, of health and life.

But how does it happen, it may be asked, that, in the case of the West-Indian labourer, all the recognised principles of political economy should be thus strangely reversed? In this country, an increased demand for cotton manufactures, for example, causing of course an increase of price, produces the most beneficial results to the labourers employed in that branch of manufacture. How happens it then that an increase in the price of sugar does not produce, to the West-Indian labourer who cultivates it, the like advantages?

The cause of the difference is obvious: the one is a freeman, the other is a Slave. The increased demand in the case of the freeman produces an increase in the rate of his wages. In the case of the Slave, it may produce indeed a destructive increase in the rate of the labour exacted from him: but Slaves receive no wages; they therefore derive no benefit, but, on the contrary, an aggravation of their uncompensated toil, by the increased demand for the produce of their labour.

The free labourer, in like manner, may suffer from low prices, either by the diminished rate of his wages, or by his being thrown out of work. But what does the Slave suffer by being thrown out of work? What disadvantage can it be to him that the produce of his labour is not in demand, unless we can suppose the master to hinder him, on that account, from cultivating his provision grounds as

formerly, and to oblige him to sit down and starve in inaction during the time which the law allots to him for the raising of food.

The West Indians, it is true, assert, that, if prices should fall, the Slaves must starve; and this is, in particular, the language which has been held by the Assembly of Jamaica. But in what way are low prices to operate in producing this effect? The food of the field Slaves in that island is raised entirely by their own hands, on the portion of ground allotted to them for that purpose, and cultivated during that fragment of their time (about one thirteenth part of the whole) which is specifically assigned them by law. Is it, then, by depriving the Slaves of the land which had been set apart for their subsistence, and which the owner himself has now less temptation than ever to occupy, that starvation is to ensue? Or is it by depriving them, without any assignable object for so doing, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows them for cultivating their allotments? If not, how is it possible for them to starve? Low prices of sugar cannot make the land less fit than it was before to produce the food of the Negroes, or the Slaves less capable of tilling it, if only the time be continued to them. That, when prices are high and sugar-planting gainful, the planter may be tempted to violate the law, by abridging the time and land allowed to his Slaves, in order to enlarge his crops, is conceivable. But it is not conceivable that he should do so gratuitously, without any possible profit, and even when it is clearly contrary to his interest. The tendency of a low price of sugar is obviously to throw his inferior lands at least out of culture, and to induce him to direct a larger share both of land and labour to the growth of provisions, or of some other article of exportable produce than sugar;—and, whatever article may be substituted for it, the change must operate as a relief to the Slaves; the culture of sugar being by far the most oppressive branch of colonial husbandry.

Enough has been said to explain the grounds on which the Committee are disposed to regard the West-India

monopoly, and the bounties and protecting duties by which it is upheld, as eminently injurious to the Slave, and as aggravating by its effects the various hardships of his condition. It would not be difficult to strengthen this conclusion, to which the reasonings of the Committee have inevitably led them, by an appeal to facts which shew that the loss of slave life, in the different colonies, bears, if not an exact, yet a sufficiently remarkable, proportion to the comparative share which they obtain of the bounties and protecting duties on sugar.

The Bahamas grow no sugar: they consequently enjoy no share of the bounties and protecting duties on that article. The increase of the population of the Bahamas is, however, very considerably greater than in any other colony. It may be estimated at upwards of two and a half per cent. per annum, being about the rate of increase among the Slaves in the United States.

The only other colony of Great Britain in which there is any increase of the Slaves is Barbadoes; and that is the colony (with one exception) which makes the smallest quantity of sugar in proportion to its numbers, and enjoys of course the smallest share of the public money. The *increase* appears to amount to about one and one tenth per cent. in three years, or a little more than one third per cent. per annum. In 1821 the Slave population amounted to about 79,000; but the quantity of sugar which was imported thence into Great Britain in that year amounted only to 180,000 cwt., being at the rate of two cwt. and a quarter for each Slave*. This is the only British Sugar Colony in which there is not an annual decrease of the Slave population; and it will be found that, with one exception, the proportion of sugar which the others produce is far greater than it is in Barbadoes.

St. Christopher's appears to have had a population in 1821 of 20,000 Slaves. Its export of sugar in that year amounted to about 90,000 cwt., being at the rate of four

* On an average of several years, it is nearly three cwt. for each.

cwt. and a half for each Slave. Its rate of *decrease* was about one third per cent. per annum.

The population of Jamaica in 1821 was about 340,000. The sugar exported from it was about 1,770,000 cwt., being at the rate of not quite five cwt. and a quarter per Slave. In this island the *decrease* appears to have been proceeding at the rate of nearly one half per cent. per annum.

The population of St. Vincent's, in 1821, was about 24,450. The quantity of sugar which was imported thence into Great Britain in that year was 216,000 cwt., or nearly eight cwt. and three quarters for each Slave. The *decrease* appears to have been proceeding there at the rate of one and a half per cent. per annum.

The population of Grenada in 1821, was 25,700. The quantity of sugar which was exported thence in that year was 184,500 cwt., or at the rate of upwards of seven cwt. per Slave. The *decrease* appears to have been proceeding there at the rate of two per cent. per annum.

Tobago, in 1821, exported about 109,000 cwt. of sugar. The population in that year was 14,600: its produce therefore was at the rate of seven cwt. and a half of sugar for each Slave, and its *decrease* appears to have been proceeding at the rate of three per cent. per annum.

Between the years 1815 and 1821, Demerara had more than doubled its export of sugar. In the former year, it was only 234,000, cwt.; in the latter, 536,500. In 1824, it had increased to 616,000. The very change to sugar from other articles must have pressed hard upon the Slaves. In 1821, its population was about 77,000. The rate of its production of sugar in that year, therefore, was upwards of seven cwt. for each Slave: and in 1824 it had increased to eight cwt. for each Slave. The rate of *decrease* in Demerara during that period has been about three per cent. per annum.

The rapid extension of the oppressive culture of sugar in the place of other articles not requiring the same intensity of muscular exertion, aided by the inequality of the

sexes which prevails there, has probably quickened the progress of depopulation in Demerara.

If the population returns of the West Indies were perfect, and if we had a regular and accurate account of the transfer of Slaves from one island to another, the above statements would probably undergo some modification. At least, we should be better able to account for the present apparent inequalities in the decrease of those islands.

But with all the supposeable imperfection of these details, is it possible calmly to review them without the most entire conviction of the pernicious effects produced, on the happiness and comfort of the Slaves in the British Colonies, by the bounties and protecting duties on sugar? In the Bahamas, where no sugar is grown, the Slaves increase,—they increase rapidly! In Barbadoes, where the proportion of sugar to the population is least, they increase, though in a small degree. In St. Kitt's and Jamaica, where the proportion of sugar is greater than in Barbadoes, there is a considerable though not so large a decrease as in St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Demerara, where the proportion of sugar is the largest. There the decrease proceeds at a much more rapid rate; at a rate, in some of them, which would unpeople the earth in half a century.

We have already adverted to the pernicious effects of Slavery in so perverting all the ordinary effects of high prices, that what is a source of benefit to free labourers, increasing their comforts and augmenting their numbers, proves a source of oppression, misery, and death to the Slaves. In like manner, one of the most valuable blessings of a bountiful Providence, the natural fertility of the soil, is converted, by the malign influence of Slavery, into a bitter curse. To what other cause can we attribute it, that, in the poorest colony of the West Indies, that of the Bahamas, and where the quantity of produce exported is the least, the increase of the population should proceed at the rapid rate of two and a half to three per cent. per

annum; that even in Barbadoes, which is the most impoverished of the Sugar Colonies, there should be an increase of one third per cent. per annum; and that in Demerara, possessing the richest soil in the West Indies, and where consequently the produce of Slave labour must be the greatest, the population should decrease at the terrific rate of three per cent. per annum? Can any farther proof be wanting of the position which the Committee undertook to establish; namely, that high prices of produce are most injurious to the comfort and well-being of the Slave population; and that therefore the bounties and protecting duties by which a factitious elevation is given to those prices, and even the superior natural fertility of the soil, have a fatal and deadly influence in aggravating their sufferings.

But still it will be argued, that, supposing all this to be true, the abolition of the bounties and protecting duties must issue in the ruin of the planters. If, with all the support which these afford them, they find it scarcely possible to keep themselves from sinking, their utter ruin must be the inevitable consequence of withdrawing that support.

Now, although it is too much to require that the pecuniary interests of 1600 or 1800 sugar planters should be allowed to come into competition with the comfort, the health, the liberty, and the lives of seven or eight hundred thousand human beings, and with the clear interests of the whole community of the British Empire; and although the facts of the case leave no room for hesitation as to the expediency, nay as to the absolute necessity, of putting an end to this most impolitic, inhuman, and unchristian system; yet the Committee will not object to meet their opponents, even on this ground.

They have already adverted to the large sum which is paid to the sugar planters, by the people of this country, over and above the fair price of their sugars. It amounts by the operation of the bounty, independently of the protecting duty, to about one million two hundred thousand pounds, or nearly an average of 700*l.* a year to each sugar planter. Now this payment has all the worst characteristics

of a poor's rate. It is compulsory;—and it is paid to those who most clearly ought to provide for themselves. It therefore may be expected to produce all the injurious effects on the recipients which, when we look around us, we see to flow from ill administered parochial relief in this country. It is, in short, a system of pauperism on a large scale, attended with all the evils of pauperism. Those evils have been stated by a Committee of the House of Commons to be, in the case of the paupers, a want of exertion and self-dependence, recklessness of the future, improvidence, waste, profligacy, &c. &c.; and, as it respects the public, unceasing and insatiable demands for farther aid. Instead of looking for help to their own industry and economy, and to a reformation in their plans of life, they throw themselves on the eleemosynary bounty of the public. Those who know what has been the state of West-Indian interests, during the last fifty years, will easily see how aptly, and in how many points, the parallel applies. And perhaps, of all the misfortunes which have attended West-Indian speculators, none have been more fatal to their prosperity, and more pregnant with evil, even in a pecuniary point of view, than the success which has attended their clamorous importunity for public aid. They have overlooked, like the sturdy beggar, the means of relief within their own power, in order to draw an easy, though unsatisfactory and precarious provision, from the weakness and credulity of others.

But for this, would it have been possible that the West Indies should have continued in that low and wretched state of improvement which they now exhibit;—that the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women, driven forward by the cartwhip, should still be their only instrument in turning up the soil, to the neglect of cattle and machinery;—that all modern improvements in husbandry should be almost unknown;—that one unvarying course of exhausting crops should be pursued without change or relief;—and that in a climate congenial to them the population should continue progressively and

rapidly to decrease? These and many other points that might be mentioned are fatal anomalies, which can only be accounted for by the withering influence of Slavery and of the factitious aid by which it is upheld in all its unmitigated malignity. How different would have been the state of things in our Colonies, had a different course been pursued! How different would soon be their state, and this is now a far more important consideration, if they were driven to depend on their own resources, and if they were released from the injurious effects of that pampering and protecting system which has hitherto kept them from all effective efforts at improvement!

Such being the deliberate views of the Committee, they hail with satisfaction the intention which has been announced by the Government of so regulating, in the course of the next year, the drawback or bounty on sugar as to reduce, to about one half of its present amount, the advantage which the West Indians now derive from that source. They hail it, however, rather as an indication of a change of policy, than on account of the benefit that will flow from it. While the protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. is continued, the evil of the present system will not be practically lessened. Nothing short of the removal of all protection of the produce of slave labour, against competition with the produce of free labour, can effectually reform it.

But to return to the case of the planters—The Committee have already on various occasions shewn, that if there be truth in history, or any certainty in political science, the downfal of the present system, and of the restrictive laws which maintain it, would prove beneficial to none more than to the Colonists themselves. On this subject, therefore, they can only now repeat in brief their former statements.

Their cultivation of sugar then is at present a forced cultivation, which must ever be a hazardous and expensive process, and can only be supported by a monopoly price, both high and permanent. The first effect of the removal

of restrictions would be, that the colonist would be induced to withdraw from sugar cultivation (which is at once the most exhausting to the soil, and the most oppressive to the Slave of any) his inferior soils, and to employ them in pasture, or in the growth of other articles of a less onerous description. By reserving his best soils only for sugar, its remunerating price would be lowered, and his profits of course raised. But the necessity of the case would force upon him other improvements. He would be obliged to become resident. That curse of the West Indies, a non-resident proprietary, would cease; the heavy cost of agency would be saved; the ruinous effect arising from the unfaithfulness and disobedience of agents, frustrating every designed amelioration, would be stopped; the plough and various other articles of machinery would then be brought into use, and would both lessen the expense of culture and lighten the labour of the Slaves. It is quite astonishing that the plough should not have been adopted in the West Indies. This, in common with many other evils of the system, is owing to Slavery. If an English farmer was obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands he required for harvest, he too might be tempted to occupy them in turning up the soil with the hoe, instead of employing cattle and machinery in this branch of husbandry. No people pretending to civilization have ever discarded the plough, excepting the colonial slaveholders. Its adoption by them into general use could not fail to produce the most beneficial results. Cattle would be more generally employed. A change of crops, a better system of manuring, and a better system of general management, would follow; and the soil, instead of gradually deteriorating, as now, would be gradually improved. In his altered circumstances, the planter would feel the necessity of making the culture of provisions, and the raising of cattle and live stock, a principal object of attention. He would feel the necessity also of relieving the women from that constant and oppressive drudgery of field labour which smites them with barrenness and abridges their

lives. He would allow them to pay an adequate share of attention to their children and their domestic concerns He would introduce a variety of economical and moral improvements, which are obviously practicable, and under the influence of which the West Indies could not fail rapidly to improve. The population would increase; and, as they increased, their condition would gradually approach to that of free labourers. The property of the planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his Slaves, who would sink in value, and whose manumission would become rapidly progressive, but by his land, which, as population multiplied, would proportionably rise in value; and eventually his income might be derived, not from the uncertain results which attend the present unnatural state of things, but from a land rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns. The West Indies would then be able to compete in the sale of their produce with any other country in the world; and the West-Indian planter would find the improvement of his income to keep pace with the progress of those reforms, which would, at the same time, most effectually promote the happiness, and exalt the moral and social condition of his unhappy bondsmen.

It is vain, however, to expect, that, while the West Indies maintain their monopoly, and are thus protected against the competition of free labour, a single effectual step will be taken in the career of reformation. Other expedients therefore must be resorted to, if Parliament should refuse to abolish the restrictive system; such as the competition of free labour, in every case where it can be employed with sufficient advantage to overcome, by means of increased skill, the protection granted to slave labour;—and the substitution of the use of the produce of free labour for that of slave labour in every case where it can possibly be effected.

But on these various means of prosecuting their object the Committee have already enlarged in their circular address of the 9th of February last, to which they refer the meeting. They observe since that time the formation

of a commercial association, under the name of the Tropical Free-labour Company, the objects of which are in perfect accordance with the views of the Committee, and to which they cannot therefore but wish success.

In the mean time, however, the Slaves are suffering and perishing. The depopulation of our Colonies is proceeding at a rate which can be explained on no principle but that of the severity of their treatment. They still labour under the whip without wages. They are still chattels, They are still not the subjects of law, but of individual caprice. They are still without any civil or political rights. Even their marriages are still unsanctioned and unprotected by any legal recognition. Their evidence is still generally inadmissible. Their manumission is still obstructed: and, even after being made free, they are still liable to be reduced again to Slavery if unable to produce proof of freedom. The master may still sell or transfer them at his pleasure, without any regard to family ties. He alone still regulates the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment. He may still brand them, whether men or women, in any part of their bodies, with a heated iron; confine them in the stocks; load them with chains; strip them naked, and cartwhip them at his pleasure. He may still deprive them of half their night's rest, and leave them no alternative, with respect to the employment of Sunday, but that of toiling for their subsistence, or carrying their produce to market; and he may still shut them out from the means of religious instruction. He may thus, and in a variety of other ways, make "their lives bitter with hard bondage."

But we are told, that all this power of inflicting evil, which it cannot be denied is possessed by the colonial master, is not abused. The Slaves, we are told, are the happiest of beings. They are better off, in short, than the English peasant. But, besides the utter absurdity of supposing that power, enjoyed by such persons and under such circumstances as exist in colonial society, should not be abused (for this would be to suppose West Indians to

be angels and not men), we have only to look to the facts of the case as they stand in evidence. The Committee do not now mean to enter into their detail, nor is it necessary: they are too well known to require any renewed specification. To one single fact, however, they will refer; a fact which cannot be questioned, which is quite conclusive, and which therefore supersedes the necessity of adducing any other of those multiplied proofs of the inhumanity of the system that are before the world;—they mean the extraordinary decrease of the Slave population in our colonies. In what way but one can it be accounted for that, while, in all other situations, and in all other circumstances, the African race rapidly increases its numbers; in the Slave colonies of the European powers, and there alone, it should not increase, but on the contrary decrease; and that in our own colonies it should decrease in proportion to the extent of that species of cultivation which we stimulate by our bounties and protecting duties? Is it possible, under these circumstances, that the nation can consent that these restrictions should be continued?

But it will be said, perhaps, that, although the decrease of the Slave population in our *colonial* possessions cannot be denied, yet we have no reason to suppose that in a state of freedom the Negroes would be better off. "They would neglect," we are told, "all cultivation. They would fall into greater disorders than any which now prevail among them. Their licentiousness would be still more unrestrained. They would be the victims of petty feuds and lawless anarchy: and they would have bitter cause to regret their former state of bondage." But even granting all this to be as true as it might be shewn to be false, yet why, at least, may not our Slaves in the West Indies increase as fast as the Slaves in the United States? There, the *laws* are in their letter even more harsh than in our own islands. Still the system is *practically* so much more mild and humane;—the Slaves, in short, are so much better fed, as well as more leniently treated, that they increase at the rate

of two and a half per cent. per annum; while, in our colonies, they decrease materially.

"If, however, we prefer to institute a comparison of the progress of population among our Slaves with its progress among Africans, or the descendants of Africans, in a state of freedom, we shall find the result equally opprobrious to the British colonial system, and equally confirmatory of its extreme practical harshness. The Committee have already had occasion to mention the rapid augmentation, by natural increase, of the Maroons of Jamaica, and of the free Black and Coloured classes throughout the Colonies; an augmentation that has been proceeding in the very midst of a Slave population, of their own kind and colour, which has, during the same time, been rapidly diminishing.

The Committee have now a still more conclusive instance to adduce: it is the case of Hayti, the population of which consists exclusively of Blacks, or of the descendants of Blacks. In Hayti, be it observed, there are neither bounties nor protecting duties; and all its expenses, civil and military, are defrayed from its own resources. Yet what is the history of the population of Hayti? In 1790, it was estimated at from 450,000 to 500,000, for the French part; and at from 80,000 to 100,000 for the Spanish part. During the sanguinary Revolution which followed, and the civil wars to which that Revolution gave birth, and above all during the exterminating attack made upon them by Bonaparte, it is supposed, on probable grounds, that the population must have diminished by about 200,000 individuals. Agreeably to this estimate, the population is stated, in the Appendix to Mr. Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies, (a work deemed authoritative in matters of mere statistical information), to have been reduced, in 1805, to about 400,000. If this account is at all to be relied upon as correct, then, during the twenty years of tranquillity which have since elapsed, has the population of that island augmented with a rapidity to which a parallel is scarcely to be found in any part of the globe: A census of the inhabitants was taken by the Haytian Government

in the course of the last year. The official returns, which are given in detail, exhibit an aggregate population of 935,000, being 535,000 more than it was estimated to be, in 1805, by the editor of Mr. Bryan Edwards's History; or an increase of 133 per cent. in twenty years. The regular troops, kept on foot for the defence of Haytian liberty against French aggression, are stated to be 45,620, and the national guards 113,328. But whatever may have been the inaccuracy in the estimated population of 1805; suppose it to have been 500,000, instead of 400,000; still, the increase is most astonishing, and, when it is compared with the rapid decrease among the Slaves in the neighbouring island of Jamaica, it can only be resolved into the blessing of Freedom on the one hand, and the curse of Slavery on the other.

But then, in reply to all this, it is said, that the Negroes, when they become free, will not work; that the exports from the West Indies will therefore greatly diminish; that all industry and exertion will be at an end; and that they will merge again into the state of savages.

But, to console us under this alarm, let us look again to Hayti. There the Slaves were to the full as depressed as our Slaves now are, and much more ignorant. They have been engaged also in a struggle for liberty through a long protracted period of blood and desolation, of confusion and anarchy. Twenty years of sanguinary conflict of the most barbarizing description, sometimes with foreign, sometimes with domestic enemies, were little calculated to train them to habits of industry, or to the arts of peace. And yet what do we witness in their case? They have contrived, in the period which has since elapsed, at least to maintain themselves without any foreign aid. Though it was necessary, and still unhappily is necessary, to keep a large portion of the ablest and most active labourers under arms, (who are of course sustained by the labour of the rest,) their own exertions have alone ministered to their subsistence, as well as defrayed the entire expenditure of the

State. They have not only abundantly supplied their wants by their own labour, but they have nearly, if not more than, doubled their numbers in twenty years. And while they have done this, they have been advancing in intelligence, respectability, and wealth. Schools have been multiplied among them; knowledge has been widely diffused; the arts of civilized life have been cultivated; the reign of order and law has been established; security has been given to property; and industry, having its reward, has been progressively extending its boundaries.

But, in reply to this, we are gravely told that the Haytians export no sugar. This is the dark spot in their condition, for which nothing can compensate in the eye of a colonial partizan. They may live in comfort; they may be well fed and well clothed; they may multiply their population; they may be free, powerful, united and happy; but all this affords no satisfaction since they do not cultivate sugar, and cultivate it in gangs, under the whip, as in the English islands. And, yet, that they labour sufficiently to supply all their reasonable wants is evident from this, that the value of foreign merchandize imported into Hayti in the year 1822, and consumed there (the whole of which must have been paid for by the produce of Haytian labour) amounted, by the official returns of that island, to three millions sterling.

The Committee, before they quit the subject of Hayti, beg to acquaint the Meeting, that a plan is now in progress, which promises to produce the happiest effects, for removing the Black and Coloured population of the United States to that island. About six thousand individuals of this class, being the number to which the experiment of the first year was limited, have eagerly, and without hesitation, embraced the liberal proposals of the Haytian President, and are now settled in that free and fertile region. It is expected that means will soon be adopted for receiving annually a much larger number, and thus opening in Hayti an asylum in which the whole Negro and Coloured population of the United States may at length find liberty and rest.

But supposing the worst anticipations of the West Indians to be realized, and that the exports from the West Indies should diminish in consequence of emancipation—what then? Will that lessen the comfort, or retard the improvement or the increase of the population? The very reverse would be the effect; and as for any deficiency in our imports thence, it will be abundantly supplied at a cheaper rate from other quarters. If, however, proof were wanting of the industry which the emancipated sons of Africa may be expected to exert, we have only to look at the state of the free Black and Coloured population in our own Colonies. They are there a contemned and degraded race, labouring under numerous disabilities which leave them free but in name. Their efforts are cramped and limited by oppressive regulations, and they are excluded from all public employment either civil or military. Let their education, their intelligence, their respectability, their property, be what it may, they are shut out from exercising the most ordinary rights of citizenship, even the right of sitting on juries, or of voting as freeholders. With them the very lowest White disdains to associate, says Mr. Edwards, and "holds it an abomination even to eat bread." And yet, labouring under all these multiplied disabilities and discouragements, "tending," as the same author justly observes, "to degrade them in their own eyes and in the eyes of the community," "to make them at once wretched and useless," "without motives of sufficient energy to engage them either in the service of their country or in profitable labour for their own advantage; their improvement in knowledge being animated by no encouragement, their attachment being received without approbation, and their diligence exerted without reward;" yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, what the People of Colour have actually done to surmount them, and to raise themselves in the scale of society, has been in the highest degree creditable to their character and powers, and affords a most encouraging earnest of what may be expected from them under more auspicious circumstances, and when they shall

be admitted to a full participation in the rights of British subjects.

In the island of Trinidad, a full half of the property is said to belong to emancipated Africans or their descendants; and it has never been charged upon them there, that they are deficient in industry and intelligence, or that they do not fulfil the part of good and loyal citizens.

In Grenada, the free Black and Coloured inhabitants are more than three times as numerous as the Whites. Two years ago they petitioned the Assembly for an extension of their civil rights, grounding the claim on their tried loyalty, their patience and good conduct, their intelligence and respectability, the largeness of their property and of their contributions to the revenue of the island, as well as on their importance, as a militia, to its defence and security. In the resolutions adopted by the Assembly, in consequence of this petition, these claims to consideration are fully admitted, and the persons petitioning are declared to be "a respectable, well-behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony."

In Jamaica also, which is now said to contain 40,000 free Black and Coloured inhabitants, a number far exceeding that of the Whites, it is only necessary to call for the tax-rolls, in order to see how largely they contribute to the revenue of the island, and consequently how efficiently their industry must be exerted. They all, at the least, entirely maintain themselves, and many of them are wealthy. And yet, in Jamaica, as in other colonies, they still labour under severe disqualifications, and continue to be a degraded and contemned race. Indeed, scarcely twelve years have passed since, in that island, a free Black or Person of Colour has been allowed to possess or to inherit more than 2000*l.* currency; or to own and navigate a vessel of his own; or to appear as a witness in a cause in which a White person was a party.

There is something peculiarly unjust and cruel in the representations frequently made by the White Colonists respecting the incurable indolence and viciousness of the

free Black and Coloured race. They first load them with disabilities; they exclude them from almost every gainful and honourable pursuit; they sink them down into a low and degraded caste; they banish them from all elevating associations; they pursue them with contempt and ignominy; they deem them unworthy not merely to act as jurors, but till lately to give evidence in courts of justice against a White, a privilege still denied them in some colonies; they use their arts and their influence to seduce their women, and to retain them in a state of lawless prostitution; and, having done all this, they turn round and vilify them as profligate in their conduct, and as destitute of industry, energy, and talent, because, under this accumulated load of oppression, disqualification, and debasement, they are deficient in energy, and do not rise to the highest level of society. But do not these harsh and degrading distinctions speak more strongly and intelligibly than all their vituperative statements and declarations, the real opinion which the dominant Whites entertain of that hated race? If they did not fear its rivalry, why should they evince all this morbid anxiety to prevent the fair and unfettered development of its powers and capacities of improvement?

But the Committee will not dwell longer on these and various other topics which invite remark. They have said enough to convince the Meeting that the labours of the Society are far from being at an end. As yet, in truth, little or nothing has been done beyond enlightening, to a certain degree, the public mind on this subject, and awakening, they trust, the national conscience to a sense of the enormity of the evil they have associated to remove. It remains for the friends of the African race to employ their best endeavours to induce Parliament to redeem its solemn pledge on this subject, by adopting effectual measures for carrying the resolutions of 1823, disregarded and resisted as they have been by the Colonies, into early and full effect. It will also be an important part of their duty to obtain, if possible, the abolition of those fiscal regulations which protect the

produce of Slave labour against the competition of Free labour—regulations which, in fact, render the people of Great Britain the main upholders of this vicious system. And it will be further incumbent on them to aid every scheme, which may hold out a fair prospect of success, for attaining the same desirable end, by bringing the produce of Free labour into competition with that of Slave labour. They will be ready, the Committee doubt not, if necessary, to do still more, and even to make large pecuniary sacrifices to accomplish their great object. Indeed, if we look narrowly into the question of compensation, we shall find it far from being attended with all those formidable and apparently insuperable difficulties with which the exaggerated claims of the West Indians have invested it. Mr. Barham however, who is not likely to undervalue those claims, and who, in some points of view, exceedingly overrates them, estimates the annual net income derived by West-India proprietors, from their property in the West Indies, at 2,100,000*l.* If we suppose this estimate not to be excessive, and value it at sixteen years' purchase, (which, in a country where interest is at six per cent., and property exposed to much comparative hazard, is a high valuation,) it would amount to 33,600,000*l.* At three and a half per cent. this sum would be completely liquidated by a perpetual annuity of 1,176,000*l.*; a sum less than what the nation is now made to pay to the West Indians, in consequence of the mode of regulating the drawback on Sugar, independently of the protecting duties, and exclusive of all other charges, whether civil or military. What we now pay, however, we pay to uphold and aggravate Slavery. A less sum, if Mr. Barham be right in his estimate of the annual income of the Colonies, would be sufficient to buy out the whole system. And even if this were thought too large a step to take at once, yet, by the appropriation of less than a third of what we now pay, we might redeem from their bondage the whole of the female population and thus extinguish Slavery in a single generation.

It is impossible at present fully to develop these views

The Committee have touched upon them merely to shew how easy it would be to get rid of this cruel and unchristian system, by means which would involve no pecuniary loss to the country, but rather a gain. And when we extend our views, and consider the benefit which must accrue, from the abolition of the West-Indian monopoly, to the general interests of commerce, both in England and in Ireland, as well as in every other part of the British dominions, we must feel convinced that we should soon have a most ample reward for any seeming sacrifice we might make.

In alluding to this subject, we are naturally led to advert with gratitude to the indefatigable labours and exertions of Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool. A valuable publication of his has recently appeared, which clearly shews the connexion which the abolition of the West-Indian monoply has with the improvement of the sister kingdom.

The Committee regret that so much of the present session should have passed before the great question of colonial slavery has been fully discussed in Parliament. The delay has been unavoidable. Information was called for, which has been produced, but not yet printed; and the measures of the parliamentary friends of the cause have necessarily and unavoidably been influenced by that circumstance. As soon as the requisite information has been placed in their hands, no time, it is confidently hoped, will be lost in bringing the subject under discussion. This is all that the Committee can now with propriety say on that subject.

The Committee, before they close their Report, would remind the Meeting, and the friends of their cause throughout the kingdom, of the indispensible necessity of funds to the performance of the duties they have undertaken to execute. The diffusion alone of information by means of the press, necessarily occasions a considerable expenditure. The press, however, let it be recollected, is the grand in-

strument of success, because it is the only effectual means of enlightening the public mind. The Committee therefore would most earnestly impress upon the minds of their friends, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the kingdom, that pecuniary aid is essential, if they hope to see their benevolent wishes carried into full effect. They would further press upon them the importance of their exerting themselves, each in his own sphere, to engage the earnest attention and the active co-operation of all whom they can influence, and to diffuse information, by means of the books and tracts of the society, among every class of the community. On the degree in which the public feeling is kept alive on this subject, depends, under God, mainly, if not entirely, the final triumph of our efforts. By labouring to combine the zeal and intelligence of his vicinage into associations for promoting the abolition of slavery, every individual may render a most important service to humanity, and become a concurrent instrument in dispensing unspeakable blessings to millions yet unborn. And surely no man who has a spark of love to his country, and who believes that verily there is a God that judgeth the earth, will refuse to employ his utmost powers in forwarding this great work, and in contributing to raise the wretched Slave from his present state of abject depression, and intellectual and spiritual blindness, to light, liberty, and the hope of the Gospel.

There remains one, and only one other topic with which the Committee will at present occupy the attention of the Meeting. It is of course needless to inform them, that Mr. Wilberforce has retired from public life.—But *on this day*, selected for the promotion of objects to which his powers of mind and body have been for many years devoted;—*in this place*, on the walls of which the music of his tongue still seems to linger, they cannot restrain themselves from pausing, for a moment, on his name—and anticipating the decision which will, in future ages, be pronounced on his merits, by the historian and the phi-

losopher, by the civilized savage and the liberated slave. To that wise and sober magnanimity, which no object of vulgar ambition could seduce, which no defeats could discourage, which no exertions could weary;—to that kindness of heart, and gentleness of manner, which disarmed the hatred even of rapacity trembling for its plunder and its power;—to that eloquence so simple, so graceful, so pathetic, so often victorious in the cause of liberty and mercy, no praise of theirs can give additional celebrity. They are desirous to record, not his services, but their gratitude. May the blessing of God, whose debased and violated image he has protected and vindicated, accompany him to his retreat! May his declining years be cheered by the affection and respect of an admiring people! And long, very long, before that melancholy day when his country shall appoint his place among the tombs of her departed statesmen and heroes, and when he himself shall be put in possession of his eternal reward, may he have witnessed the final triumph of the good cause to which his life was consecrated!

N.B. The substance of the Speeches delivered at the General Meeting, together with an Appendix, containing Documents, Notes, and Illustrations, will be added to the above Report, with as little delay as possible.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE GENERAL MEETING

ON

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1825.

THE Report having been read,

Lord CALTHORPE moved its adoption. He was aware that many imputations had been thrown out against them of indulging in exaggerated statements, and putting forth rather the suggestions of a heated imagination than the naked details of authenticated fact. For this reason, he felt great pleasure in recommending for their adoption the Report just laid before them, for it was not open to this cavil; it was made up of the statements, the admissions, the confessions of the very individuals themselves, who were engaged in administering the dreadful system of Negro Slavery—a system so little like what they were accustomed to in this part of the world—so opposed to all their previous conceptions, that unreflecting people at once rejected the too-faithful accounts of it, as altogether unworthy of credit, as having no existence but in the heated fancy of the enthusiast, or the sinister designs of the knave. It was perfectly natural, but at the same time most false, to suppose that, because these details excited horror and disgust, therefore they had no foundation in truth. By some, who admitted their existence, they were noticed not so much as frightful calamities admitting of a remedy, but as necessary evils, which were to be submitted to and borne. The Report had detailed much that was highly interesting; and not the least important portion of it was that which referred to the

views entertained in the colonies respecting the measures of Government on the subject of Slavery. In a fierce and uncompromising spirit the planters had censured and denounced those measures, though they had certainly proceeded in the mildest spirit of innovation. He conceived that the confessions of the West Indians contained in the Report were of much more value than any thing that could be urged by the warmest advocates of emancipation; and if any part of their language was more particularly deserving of attention than another, it was that in which they spoke of the use of the whip, as a suitable means of stimulating human beings to industrious exertion, as an instrument proper and necessary to be used in procuring human labour. The whip was spoken of by them as a thing quite essential to the existence of the Colonies, just in the same way as we speak of a free press, or the trial by jury, as institutions essential to the existence of a free Government. But, however frightful the application of such an instrument of torture might be in reference to the Slaves themselves, it was not in that light perhaps that it was to be viewed as most hateful and debasing. It was not merely the agony and degradation which the Negro himself suffered; but it was the corrupting and brutalising effect produced on the master also. One motive for doing away with this hateful system, was to be found in the immense sum paid by this country for its support and protection. If the same amount were applied to the alleviation and extinction of the evil, and to the encouragement of industry by other and better means, it would be productive of a double benefit. It was one of the singular effects of this wretched system to pervert even the best institutions into materials of evil;—and even those British constitutional principles which formed our proudest boast, when transported to the West Indies, were there pleaded for the perpetuation of Slavery. When transported to those unhappy islands, they became the weapons of despotism, and the instruments of heartless cruelty; and were made the pretence, by their mock legislatures, for throwing back with contempt and outrage on the mother

country, the best, the wisest, and the mildest measures which our Government at home could devise for the mitigation of Slavery. It was manifest therefore that the interference of Parliament was indispensable to the attainment of our object. It was a most just observation, and one in which he entirely concurred, that the people of England were the real supporters of the Slave system,—and this not merely because they paid for its support, but because it was in their power to put an end to it. No one acquainted with the vast results which public opinion could produce in this country, could doubt that if the people of England did but will it to be so, Slavery would cease. When we reflected upon the vast influence which those called the middle class exercised in this country, it was not possible to hesitate in believing, that if they were once to say this must not be, there would be an end to Slavery: it would be in vain for parliamentary interest or political connexion to attempt to uphold it for another year.—He cordially concurred with that part of the Report which gave utterance to the feelings of the Society on the occasion of the retirement from public life of one of its brightest ornaments, Mr. Wilberforce. If any man had reason to be cheered and consoled in the evening of his days, it was Mr. Wilberforce—an evening of more brightness than generally belongs to the morning or the meridian of other men's lives. It was with feelings of the deepest regret that the British Nation would witness the close of his great public career, to which he had devoted forty-five years of his life—of that invaluable life, the care of which now compelled him to relinquish those public exertions by which he had always supported, and so successfully supported, the cause of humanity and justice. Though not with them personally, it was not too great a stretch of imagination to say, that he was there to be seen in his works: he was then visible to them in the fruits of his mind. One additional motive for the unabated continuance of their labours was, that Mr. Wilberforce still survived to be the witness of their success—still lived, and he hoped would continue to live, until the great object of his life had been attained—until the mighty work at which he had

so powerfully toiled, should be crowned with success. They owed it to him to strain every nerve, that within the period he had yet to live he might witness the total abolition of that odious system which, through evil and good report, he had never ceased to assail; thus adding a still brighter ray of enjoyment to the evening of his days. It behoved them, then, according to the best of their ability, to use their utmost endeavours to free their native land from the opprobrious imputation of being the abettor of Slavery; and they must agree with him, that the grand means of accomplishing that object were to be found in the course which that eminent man had pursued. He could not have accomplished his great work of abolishing the slave trade had he not been backed by the people of England. He trusted the meeting would remember that fact, and would in consequence spare no exertion to carry with them the weight and influence of public opinion. To effect this, nothing remained to be done but to bring the light of English reason to bear on the subject.

Lord MILTON expressed his warm admiration of the objects of this Society, and of the Report which had been read. If the great leaders in the cause of abolition thought they had obtained their object merely by abolishing the Slave Trade without the abolition of Slavery itself, they little calculated upon the real duty which they owed both to society and to their Creator. In glancing at the great efforts which had been made to enlighten the public mind upon the horrors of the slave system, next to Mr. Wilberforce, he could not overlook the powerful labours of Mr. Stephen (the Master in Chancery), who sat near him, and who had, by his writings, exposed, in its naked deformity, all its odious evils. Indeed, the West-Indian mind deluded itself upon this question; and he believed that many very well-meaning proprietors of West-India property, who resided away from their estates, were the unconscious instruments of disseminating false intelligence as to the real state of things upon their plantations. He, however, knew many of these gentlemen who were themselves the advocates of free labour, in preference to slave cultivation. Even for the sake of their own interests, they

wished to see the system changed, and he entirely concurred in the good policy and sagacity of their views. The noble Lord eloquently argued upon the degrading effects of slavery, and the appalling influence which it exercised upon the human mind: so that at one time ingenious writers had declared that the Blacks were naturally an inferior order of beings to the Whites, and were not entitled, therefore, to be treated with the same humanity—a notion now happily exploded. For the sake of humanity and justice, for the sake of the character of the country, for the sake of the West Indies themselves, he trusted that an end would soon be put, and for ever, to so odious and unwise a system.

On rising to move the thanks of the Society to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. W. SMITH said, that he felt the difficulty of discharging the duty devolved upon him in a manner adequate to the interesting nature of the subject, and was therefore happy that the Report which they had just heard, and the speeches of the two noble lords who had preceded him, might be considered as supplying, by anticipation, any deficiencies or omissions of which he might be guilty. Though, in common with all present, he lamented as a public misfortune that retirement of his revered friend from public life, (which, as a just precaution, might be styled necessary,) he yet could not but feel a satisfaction in the opportunity afforded him of expressing his own feelings respecting the character and exertions of an individual whom he had so long and so highly honoured and esteemed. For one, however, who recollected the commencement, and had marked the progress of this labour of justice and charity, it was almost impossible, and would be highly unjust, to omit the mention of those ardent and disinterested friends of mankind who at different periods had given it their zealous support; —of Granville Sharp, the precursor, rather than the leader of the band, who, liberal alike of expense and of toil, had first established the claim of Africans to liberty on British soil, in the case of the Negro Somerset;—of Thomas Clarkson who, following his steps, had first called to this subject the attention of that university which he adorned, and had since devoted himself,

body and soul, to the promotion of the cause;—of Mr. Pitt, who in its early stages had yielded it the most cordial and valuable assistance;—of Fox, whose resistless eloquence had never fulmined over the land with more force and effect than when poured forth in the defence of this sacred cause;—and of multitudes of other names, including almost all remarkable for talent and eloquence which, for the last forty years, the country could boast; and amongst whom he rejoiced to see enrolled that of the noble lord who had just sat down; one who, to a thousand other claims on their attention, added that of having succeeded in the representation of the great county of York to Mr. Wilberforce himself, and to that eminent and disinterested patriot, Sir George Saville, one of the earliest of the Abolitionists,—an anecdote respecting whom he recollected, so much to the present point that he would venture to relate it. Being invited to visit a slave ship which was on the point of sailing from Liverpool for Africa, while the merchant was exultingly displaying the various contrivances of the ship, and the uses to which they were adapted, Sir George appeared so much affected that his companion inquired if he was ill. "No," he said, "I am not ill; but while you are contemplating unmoved the profits of this voyage, I am wishing the ship may never reach its destination." But whatever may have been the exertions of the orators and statesmen alluded to, between them and their distinguished leader there existed a difference of the most important nature. Their services, however brilliant, however valuable, have been, comparatively, occasional and transitory; often, indeed, splendid, and contributing in a high degree to the success already attained, but still inferior in effect and utility to the labours of their chief, which, equally brilliant with those of his most powerful co-adjutors, possessed the vast superiority of having been constant and unintermitted. His influence, and his alone, may be said to resemble the universal influence of the sun, enlightening, connecting, and invigorating the whole system. For such services no acknowledgments could be too grateful, no eulogium over-strained. He knew how imperfectly he had expressed them; but he had also the satisfaction of knowing, that,

however feebly he might touch the string, there was in every heart present a responsive chord which would not only catch but swell the note.

Mr. F. BUXTON said, that his Hon. Friend had gone through the list of their ablest advocates, save one, which one was himself; for often had he heard Mr. Wilberforce declare, that during forty years of hard and laborious counsel and action, he had always found Mr. Smith by his side, his able, cordial, and unflinching supporter. The Hon. Gentleman then eulogized the powerful services of Mr. Wilberforce in labouring to rescue the honour and reputation of his native country from the guilt and odium of the Slave Trade, and took a retrospect of the public services of that distinguished individual, whose private as well as public principles and conduct were, he observed, so well calculated to shed a lustre upon any man's fame. Engaged as he had been in many public conflicts, it was the singular happiness of that individual never to have made one personal enemy, while he had always enjoyed a large and devoted circle of affectionate friends.—At this advanced period of their labours in the cause of African freedom they could hardly estimate the obstacles which Mr. Wilberforce had, in his early efforts, to encounter not only from parliamentary and commercial influence but from popular clamour. But what a contrast was the present with the past state of the question! There could not now be found one man in the community to avow himself a friend of the Slave Trade. The best results must follow a zealous prosecution of those labours which had already been the means of accomplishing so much good.

Mr. W. WILBERFORCE, in rising to request the indulgence of his Royal Highness and the Meeting for a very few moments, could not but say, that he felt more than the ordinary degree of difficulty experienced by all who were, for the first time, placed in the situation in which he then stood, from the peculiar nature of those very circumstances which, at the same time, imperatively demanded his appearance.

To thank his Royal Highness and the Meeting for the kind expression of their feelings towards one so dear to himself, would be comparatively an easy task; but here it happened, as naturally must be the case, from the nearness of the relationship, that those services which their partiality had that day so highly characterised, were in his view magnified to a still greater degree, and those ardent expressions of mingled admiration and regret, in which they recorded their sense of his father's labours, and had, as it were, embalmed his memory, all fell far short of the stronger feelings of filial affection.—It was the strength of these feelings which indeed rendered him almost incapable of addressing the Meeting. Doubtless it must excite in him, whose absence they that day so kindly regretted, some feelings of disappointment to know that the last battle was not yet fought, the last victory not yet achieved; but it would be no little consolation to him, during the hours of retirement, to reflect, that those old and valued friends by whose side he had fought for above forty years, while they lamented his absence, still themselves remained, strengthened and supported by an embattled phalanx of more recently acquired allies, to fight the battle, and to share the triumph.—Perhaps he might be thought too sanguine, when he declared his firm conviction, that the hour of that triumph was not very far distant; but he drew a favourable augury from the evils of that system which they were united to oppose. Well might he describe them in the words of an eminent writer of the present day: "Combine the frequent and familiar perpetration of atrocious deeds, with the dearth of generous and of great actions, and you have the exact picture of that state of society which completes the degradation of the species.—The frightful contrast of dwarfish virtues, and gigantic vices, where every thing good is mean and little, and every thing evil is rank and luxuriant.—A dead and sickening uniformity prevails, broken only at intervals by volcanic eruptions of anarchy and crime." Such was the state of society which they were leagued to overturn; such the system which they were sworn to destroy; and its very nature, degrading, and demoralizing every thing

within the sphere of its influence, was of itself a pledge, that every thing that was great and good, virtuous and noble, would ere long be found ranged beneath the banners of its enemies. Already they had his Royal Highness leading in the front of their battle; and while his presence served to recal to their grateful recollections how every good and benevolent object, had uniformly met with support and encouragement from that family of which his Royal Highness was a member, it suggested more particularly to his mind, with what peculiar propriety his Royal Highness had assumed the presidency of that Society; a Society, whose only aim was to spread more widely the benefits of rational liberty, and of a well ordered Government; benefits, which spring from the very same principles that placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of these realms, and to which they, each of them individually, owed that personal safety and security which were the pride and boast of every Briton, and the envy of the world.

Mr. BROUGHAM, in rising to propose a resolution, said, it gave him great satisfaction to have an opportunity of addressing his brethren of this Society upon the present occasion, because he was formerly unable to meet them as he intended, and because he had the gratification, in meeting them now, of congratulating them upon the prosperous aspect of that question in which they were all so deeply interested. For although it was true, as an Hon. gentleman had observed, that nothing, absolutely nothing, had been done on either side the Atlantic to retrieve the pledges which had been given last year—although the only occurrence which could excite our attention had been the lamented retirement of that distinguished individual whose name would be mentioned with veneration as long as charity, justice, piety, and humanity were counted virtues in man, yet he could not but feel confident of ultimate and not long deferred success, and that from one single statement; namely, that nothing had been done. They had been told, not for the first or second, but for the hundredth time, when they last pressed forward to lay the axe to the root of that poisonous tree under whose shade their fellow-

men had so long withered and perished, that theirs was not the task to meddle with the trunk—that theirs was not the task to even prune the branches—that the evil must be gradually encountered in the West Indies, and that the time for withholding nourishment from its culture, for ceasing to water its roots, or for pruning its luxuriance, could only be judged of by those on the spot, who knew the soil and the climate in which it was cultivated, and all the peculiarities of this delicate case. They had been assured, that by various means, slow, gradual, and almost imperceptible, their object would be accomplished, without that interference which could only mean hostility and destruction: if the West Indians were but let alone, they would do the thing effectually themselves. "Now," he proceeded, "we did not believe them, and we told them so. And what did they say to that? Why, only that we were vituperative, uncharitable, inhuman to the West-India planters; that we were always as much the perverse, blind, prejudiced enemies of the Whites as we were the perverse, blind, and prejudiced advocates of the Blacks; and that if we only waited a very little time, a month, or at most two or three, we should see the whole of our wishes speedily and surely effected by the West-India Legislatures. What has been the result? Unbelieving, we had waited, and what have they done? Why, I say again, absolutely nothing. And here I beg to state, that I mean to follow up what has taken place by a parliamentary notice on the subject which shall compel them either to abide by their pledge, or to take the consequences which must surely and inevitably follow its forfeiture. They have now had not one, or two, but twelve months, and during that revolution of the sun they have done nothing. I almost retract my assertion, when I say they have done nothing; for they have done much for us, though nothing for themselves.—We have redeemed our pledges—they have forfeited theirs. I feel deeply impressed with gratitude to the West-India planters, more than I ever expected to feel, for their advancement of this cause, by their fulfilling all I have ever ventured to predict of them. I know indeed many West-India proprietors, who I am persuaded do all that those can do, by directions of lenity, and charity,

and humanity, who are absent owners, who are living nearly 4000 miles from the unhappy objects of their compassion, and who, from necessity, leave over them delegates, invested with a power so absolute, that it might be almost called impiety to God, to grant it over any of our fellow-creatures. To some resident proprietors too, I might express my obligation for their desire to meliorate the condition of their unhappy slaves—which, as long as slavery exists, must prove very unavailing; but I never expected to live to feel such a weight of obligation as I now feel to the whole of the West-Indian authorities, and to them I now beg leave to express my most unbounded gratitude. What has Trinidad done? Why much. It has resisted from the instant it was promulgated that Order in Council which was framed in consequence of our efforts, and to which the faith of the West-India body at home was pledged. It resisted that Order to the very latest moment, and only yielded at last in obedience to the strong arm of authority. But in that simple resistance the planters of Trinidad have done more to advance our cause than we had done in a quarter of a century. They have favoured us at last with a frank and undisguised avowal of the real nature of their system, and in doing so have entitled themselves to a gratitude hardly to be exceeded by that which we owe to the exertions of my able and philanthropic friend, Mr. Stephen. They now admit, I say, nay, they loudly maintain that which my Hon. Friend had long asserted, and which many of them had affected to deny, that the cart-whip is the real, the efficient stimulus to West-India labour, the essential and indispensable adjunct of the whole system. The planters of Trinidad, I repeat, have declared, that to interfere with the discipline of the cart-whip is to cut off at once that which every one there knows to be the very essence of West-India Slavery. In Barbadoes, you know, they demolished a meeting-house, because it had been devoted to the instruction of the unhappy objects of your solicitude; and they drove the Missionary, Mr. Shrewsbury, with ignominy from the island, almost rivalling in cruelty the treatment of the persecuted and hapless Smith; and when a successor was appointed to succeed Mr. Shrewsbury,

they actually warned him off the island, and would not suffer him to land. This too in Barbadoes, the oldest of our colonies, the boast, the little England of the West Indies. Does not this plainly shew that they are determined to support the tyranny and cruelty practised over the bodies of their Slaves, by perpetuating as far as they can the brutality and ignorance of their minds? Then as to Jamaica—the largest of the Slave islands—the most enlightened in its legislation—the place to which we have been always called upon to bend our hopes—Why the legislation of Jamaica stands foremost in the non-performance of its promises—in the violation of its engagements! A Bill, it is true, was brought into the Jamaica Assembly, in its last session, to make slave testimony admissible in a court of justice—but only in certain specified cases. This Bill, you will suppose, was passed unanimously: no such thing. It was rejected by a majority of thirty-four to one; and that one the author of the Bill. The question is now, therefore, I conceive, whether we are to go on and allow ourselves to be deceived by promises never intended to be performed? Whether we will continue to subject ourselves to the ridicule of the West-Indian planters, to the contempt of those for whom we are in fact labouring, by continuing to withhold that effective interference without which we may go on for centuries? Or whether, avoiding their example of delays and manœuvring, we will be at once resolute and determined in redeeming those pledges we have solemnly given to the world. I have stated thus much, in order to justify that which I consider it my imperative duty to propose; namely, that we should tell the West-India proprietors, 'If you continue to pursue your present course, and allow more time to pass without adopting those measures which have been pressed upon you, the very first week of the ensuing session of Parliament shall see a Bill brought in to do that for you which you refuse to do yourselves; and to set this question at rest for ever, not only for the benefit of the Negro Slave, but for the ultimate advantage of the short-sighted master.' And I beg to say, that whether I am called upon to present that Bill to the notice

of the House, or whether I am to preserve the more appropriate situation of seconding the more powerful and effective labours of others, I shall be actuated then as I am now, and always have been, by no feeling of exasperation or ill will towards the West-India proprietor. I believe that the same interests would probably be defended in the same manner by any body of men who had become, unhappily for themselves, so powerful. But I am quite certain that no body of men, either in a government or under a government, should be entrusted with an absolute uncontrolled dominion over their fellow-creatures; and that in every instance, whether such a power is wielded by a king, a council, a committee, a president, a commander, or a manager, such a power is wholly incompatible with the constitution of man; and whatever repugnance individuals may feel to a cruel use of it, I do not consider human nature as fit to be trusted when exposed to the temptation of such a condition."

Mr. DENMAN congratulated the Meeting upon the support which their cause would receive from his eloquent friend, in that place where alone the oppressed could look for relief, and in which his Honourable and Learned Friend had pledged himself to advocate it. Other avocations had prevented him from considering as minutely as he ought to have done, the question of West-India Slavery; but he was convinced, that through Parliament alone could they hope to obtain the great good which they contemplated. They ought not to despair, nor cease their endeavours, because little had been done. No individual on earth had contended against greater difficulties than Mr. Wilberforce—no one had endured more obloquy: but who was it who would not now take more than all that obloquy, to share the glory of his triumph? The Honourable and Learned Gentleman strongly impressed upon the Meeting the necessity of a clear and distinct enunciation of public opinion; as without that, no administration would be found strong enough to carry their wishes into full effect. He concluded by alluding to the presence in the room of Mr. O'Connell, and to the powerful influence he possessed over the people of Ireland, and the

assurance he felt of that gentleman's zeal to promote their objects.

Mr. W. WHITMORE said, he was fully persuaded they would find, the more the matter was examined, that the slavery of our colonies depended upon the restrictions which were placed upon the importation of any sugars but those which were the growth of our West-India islands. The removal of these restrictions would be the most effectual method of putting an end to that horrid system. One or two statements were so obvious, in support of that assertion, that he could not help noticing them. The use of slaves prevented the introduction of machinery, and all those means by which free labour assisted its efforts and thus abridged labour and cheapened production. It had been held, indeed, by Montesquieu, and other writers of eminence, that in no one instance had slavery and the use of mechanical inventions existed together. He would likewise appeal to the fact, that in all cases where free labour had been allowed to come into fair competition with slavery, it had been found impossible for the latter to maintain the competition for a moment: free labour had in every case triumphed. If, then, the mass of free labour in the East was allowed to come into competition with the slavery of the West, there could be no doubt of the result. The Honourable Gentleman then alluded to the meeting of a former year in that room, to raise a trophy to the memory of Watt, when men of all parties and of the highest rank vied in their efforts to honour his memory; and he drew some forcible arguments from the contemplation of his powers and achievements, and those of Arkwright, in favour of the free development of the human mind, opposed to the crouching indolence and brutish ignorance and apathy engendered by slavery. These were men who had risen from the rank of labourers to the proud distinction they had at last obtained of being ranked among the best benefactors of their country and mankind. Slavery put an extinguisher on inventive genius and mental effort, and on every hope of elevation from such a cause. He implored the Meeting to join heart and hand in

their efforts to remove those restrictions, which were the main supports of slavery, and concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.

Mr. SYKES, M. P., fully concurred in all that had been said by his Honourable Friend who preceded him upon the subject of the sugar duties and restrictions and the encouragement they afforded to Slavery. The best way to attack that system was undoubtedly by the abolition of all such regulations; for if they would but call to their recollection the amount of the bounties alone, 1,200,000*l*., they must be sensible, that if these were taken off, the whole machinery of slavery must be affected by the change. It ought to be fully understood, that we ourselves are in effect the upholders of slavery. The ladies who now heard him would hardly believe him when he told them, that for every cup of tea they sweetened, they had to pay a premium on Slavery. He concluded with eugolising the efforts of the Quakers in this cause, and paid a merited compliment to the philanthropic labours and enlightened zeal of that indefatigable friend of mankind Mr. Cropper of Liverpool.

Mr. RUTT brought forward a motion for a non-consumption agreement with respect to slave-grown sugar; but, after a brief conversation, it was withdrawn.

Dr. LUSHINGTON thought it a great advantage, that the quicksightedness of Mr. Denman had procured them the support of an advocate, whose influence he hoped to see exerted in Ireland, on behalf of the suffering objects of their compassion; for, without the universal cry of the whole empire urging Parliament to some decisive act, even the powers of Mr. Brougham would fail to procure a mitigation of the horrors of West-India Slavery. They were not perhaps aware, that there were no less than fifty-six Members of the House of Commons, deeply and personally interested in the continuance of colonial slavery; not all speaking in its favour, but all acting and voting in a compact body to defeat the endeavour which

had been made to remove that foul stain upon the English name; whilst Mr. Canning, on whose exertions, in the cause of humanity, the friends of the Negro population must chiefly rely; who, of the present administration in the House of Commons had manifested the deepest interest in the cause, was liable to be influenced by some of his most intimate personal friends interested in the preservation of West-India Slavery. He would repeat, therefore, that without the voice of the people from one end of the three kingdoms to the other, they must not hope to succeed. Dr. Lushington here paid some compliments to the candour and liberality of many of the West-Indian proprietors residing in this country; but that Meeting, he said, little knew of the hatred and detestation excited in the minds of the Colonists against those even among themselves who laboured with cordiality and effect to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves. A Member of the House of Commons, to him unknown save by character, having occasion to visit his West-India property, took with him a sister to Jamaica, and upon his arrival there endeavoured, in concert with her, as was natural for a feeling and philanthropic mind, to effect some alterations in the state of his Slaves, and to instil into them some rudiments of religious knowledge. But, would the Meeting believe it? the gentleman and his sister were assailed with the most violent abuse on account of these exertions, and actually libelled in the newspapers, in terms too gross for him to read to that assembly; but if God gave him the opportunity, he would read them in his place elsewhere, whenever this question came to be agitated. To what a state of moral degradation must the feelings of the White population in Jamaica have been debased, when the editor of a newspaper dares to publish, or readers be found to endure, a foul libel on one of the Colonists themselves, for no other reason than that he was alive to the voice of duty and humanity, and anxious to improve the lot of those miserable beings, over whom the law had given him almost absolute power. From this single instance may be well learned what is the general disposition and feeling of those actually resident in Jamaica, and how hopeless

it is to expect co-operation in mitigating the evils of Slavery from men who can mock, or patiently listen to the mockery of all humane attempts for the benefit of that oppressed class. The Learned Gentleman then proceeded to make some strong observations upon the conduct of the Bishop of Jamaica, who had, as one of his first acts, appointed the Reverend Mr. Bridges to be his chaplain,—the author of "a Voice from Jamaica"—the gross libeller of Mr. Wilberforce—the thorough-going advocate of the West-Indian system, and the avowed enemy of the Abolitionists. Whether the Bishop had been weak enough to allow that person to be thrust upon him, or partial enough to adopt him from choice, he, for one, begged to enter his protest against all communication coming in future from that quarter, with reference to the state of the Negro population. They who could take any objection to Mr. Brougham's proposal of doing the work themselves little knew what that state was, or the horrors which it involved. In no point of view did it strike his mind with more indignation and disgust than in its influence on domestic happiness, the dearest ties of which were torn asunder by this accursed system. He had lately seen a parallel in the Jamaica papers, in which an English peasant was compared, through all the ramifications of his condition, with a West-India Negro, and the balance in every respect, of food, clothing, lodging, liberty, and labour, drawn largely in favour of the Slave: but he would read them an extract from one of these same papers, and then ask, if in this country, there ever had been any thing approaching to it in cold-blooded heartlessness. "Run away, a female Slave named Mary Smith, from the estate of Miss ——;" and then, after offering a reward for her apprehension, it goes on to say—"It is strongly suspected that the said Slave is harboured by her husband, William Smith." If a wife were here to fly to her husband's protection, the laws of God and man would justify him in protecting her—aye, and give him here the power to do it; but there, in that favoured country, which boasts of the condition of its population, to obey God is to violate the law of the land, and to protect the wife of his affection is to

subject himself to stripes and punishment. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman, after some other observations, in which he ridiculed and exposed, in very forcible and eloquent language, the assertion that the Slavery existing in our colonies was not prohibited by the whole spirit and tenor of holy writ, concluded with recommending the formation of Associations throughout the kingdom, to excite and keep alive the interest necessary for an unanimous effort to abolish Negro Slavery.

Mr. O'CONNELL had no idea of being able, by any effort of his, to advance the cause in which this Society was engaged. But he did hate despotism so much—he did detest slavery so cordially—he did abhor cruelty so strongly—that he could not refrain from raising his voice in the cause of liberty, and joining his exertions to the labour of those who would strike off from the slave his chains, and from the Briton his reproach. The eloquent discourse of the last speaker had roused a chord in every bosom which beat responsive to the calls of humanity, and melted every heart which sympathized with the injured and oppressed. Like that mighty master of the human mind (Sterne), who, when he wished to set before his readers the blessings of liberty, did not indulge in empty declamation, or frigid discussion, but took the captive in his cell, and placed him before them—clanking his chains—solitary—broken-hearted—dying—with the iron entering into his soul, and the torpor of despair spreading over his body; so the Learned and Hon. Gent. did not speak of Slavery in its impolicy, or its impiety, or its cruelty; but he took the wife, torn from the arms of her protecting husband, and pictured to you the mother subjected to stripes and the father to chains, for their adherence to those laws which God and nature had declared inviolable. Who could doubt that the people of this land would lend their support to put down a system so atrocious? Who could doubt of the effect which the example of England must have on the world in general? It had had that influence universally, and every page of its history confirmed it. Who could imagine that there would be, at the present moment, one spark of liberty on continental Europe,

from the frozen regions of Russia to the rock of Gibraltar, if, when feudal power was merging into despotism, England had not struggled for and gained her free Constitution, giving to all the earth her glorious example, and shewing how easy it was for a nation to be free if she willed freedom? What was it but her example that had placed France under a new constitution? What was it which revolutionized Spain and Portugal? And though fortune might for a time frown upon their efforts, yet many a gallant heart now glowed with the hope that they might yet be able to follow that example, and triumph at last over their oppressors. Nor was the example set by this country confined to Europe. That example had passed the Atlantic, and expanded itself over America; for even among the echoes of the Andes the voice of Slavery was now heard no more. And here to instance Bolivar—the immortal Bolivar,—that illustrious hero, uniting in himself every thing magnanimous in ancient times, or heroic in modern;—what was the first act of his newly-acquired power? The liberation of his own Negroes. What was his first address to the assembled Senators of his Government? "I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or colour, or creed should make any distinction in your republic." And what had been the fate of such exalted virtue? Why, while man joined in the universal sound of praise, Providence had smiled upon his exertions, and victory, wherever he went, had followed his standard; and every triumph he obtained was not the triumph of the man, but of liberty—not the triumph of his country, but of the human race. But the example must go farther even than America. Who could be so absurd as to think, that, when the Negro saw warriors and statesmen of his own race, he would not make a desperate exertion for freedom? Could any man say, that, when that time came in which we should see the poet and the hero of the same cast and colour, slavery could exist a moment longer? It was utterly impossible, and, instead of being called cruel to the masters, a charge the less to be valued as it came from polluted lips, we should excite gratitude and praise for our

attention to their interests, when we besought them to grant that gradual emancipation which would secure to them the permanent enjoyment of their present property.—But to come to America, the boasted land of freedom, but among whose freeborn sons (free born *white* sons he ought to say) Slavery still existed. And this Slavery which they not only tolerated, but encouraged, was justified and defended, as a legacy left them by us. It was but too true. But might we not say to them—"You shook off the allegiance you owed us, because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act. You boasted of your deliverance from Slavery; you relieved yourselves from your bondage. On what grounds do you still exercise a despotic power over your fellow-men, and make Slavery even more bitter, by ringing, in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what you have gained—what you have done—what you have suffered for freedom?" The Americans, it was true, might retaliate upon us—they might reply by allusions to the slaveries we had created or encouraged; but what would be said of that individual who should justify the crime of sheepstealing by alleging that another had stolen sheep too? Would such a defence be listened to? Might we not then say to the freemen of America, "You boast of your love of liberty, but you are hypocrites—tyrants, not freemen. So long as you encourage Slavery among you, you are degraded and dishonoured. Dare not to stand up boasting of your freedom, while you continue the cruelties of Slavery, and treat souls redeemed by the same blood of Christ as the mere creatures of your will; for as long as there remains a single Slave in your country, there will remain a blot upon your escutcheon that all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out."—He had thus ventured to lend his feeble efforts to the promotion of the objects of the Meeting. How, indeed, could he refuse when he saw the cause of freedom advocated and supported by one of that illustrious family whom their ancestors had placed on the throne to maintain their liberties and uphold their rights; a support which for countless ages he prayed that that family might continue to afford. In conclusion, he conjured those who heard him to recollect, that in this country

the public mind upheld every thing, and that by its influence they could not fail to accomplish their object.

Sir J. SEBRIGHT then moved a vote of thanks to the Royal Chairman; which was seconded by Mr. MAXWELL, and passed with acclamation.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS said, he could not leave the room without begging the Meeting to accept his best thanks for the manner in which they had received the last resolution, and briefly expressing his feelings on the subject before them. It was with painful sensations that he had met them on this occasion, for he had expected that at this meeting they would be able to report the progress made since last year; but, unfortunately, they had not advanced a single step. However, after what had passed this day, it was impossible that the evil could last much longer. It was impossible that Englishmen could tolerate that system of slavery, which was so incompatible with the British Constitution. They were accused of innovation, of proposing something new; but it ought not to be forgotten that, in the year 1795, Lord Melville, then Secretary of State, charged them with beginning at the wrong end in attacking the slave trade first: they should have begun with slavery itself. And Lord Melville was right; for slavery was the real cause, the root, of the slave trade, and unhappily, and to the disgrace of this country, slavery was just as flourishing now as it was then. He was sure, however, that if the public voice raised in its favour should be heard by Parliament, they would most certainly attain their object. He trusted to see as respectable a meeting next year, when he hoped to be able to report to them that a more satisfactory progress had been made. His family had been brought to this country for the protection of the rights and liberties of its subjects; and as a member of that family, he should not be discharging his duty towards them if he did not recommend the sacred principles of freedom by every means in his power.

APPENDIX.

A.

Substance of the Order in Council for improving the Condition of the Slaves in Trinidad, as promulgated in that Island in June 1824, *with Observations.*

CLAUSES 1–6 & 8—refer to the appointment of a Protector and Guardian of the Slaves, to whom a variety of important powers and functions are assigned, and who is not allowed to possess any *agricultural* Slaves*.

Clause 7—appoints the commandants of the different quarters of the island to be assistant guardians †.

Clauses 9, 10. — As soon as effectual provision shall have been made for the religious instruction of the Slaves, Sunday markets are to cease; and in the mean time they are to be held only before ten in the morning of Sunday. As soon, however, as effectual provision shall have been made for reli-

* It is not obvious, why the prohibition to hold Slaves should be limited in *his* case, and indeed in that of any public functionaries, to *agricultural* Slaves. A feeling adverse to their duty, in the impartial execution of the laws instituted for the protection of Slaves, is likely to be generated by holding domestic Slaves, no less than by holding agricultural Slaves. And in the island of Trinidad, where the free Blacks and Persons of Colour are very numerous, there cannot be the slightest pretence, on the score of necessity, or even of convenience, to permit public functionaries to be the holders of personal or domestic Slaves.

† These assistant guardians are not debarred from being the possessors even of agricultural Slaves, and of plantations wrought by them; an arrangement likely to frustrate much of the benefit which might otherwise be looked for from the other regulations of the Order in Council.

gious instruction, then Thursday is to be made the market day instead of Sunday *.—The master is forbid to compel the slave to labour for his benefit on the Sunday.

* There seems to be no very adequate reason why markets should continue to be held, even for a single Sunday, till ten in the morning. If an apprehension is entertained lest, until religious instruction shall have been provided, the Slaves should abuse the day, if unoccupied by a market, to purposes of riot and licentiousness, how is the limitation of the market to ten in the morning to prevent that effect? On the contrary, is not the holding of the market at all on that day, a circumstance more likely than any other to produce the very evil which it is proposed to avoid? The Slaves are drawn together in great crowds at an early hour, on the morning of the Sunday; and they are therefore much more likely to spend the rest of the day idly and dissolutely, and to unite for purposes of disorder, than if they had been induced, as they would have been had there been no market on that day, to remain quietly at home to repose themselves after the labour of the week, or to attend to domestic occupations. The abolition of Sunday markets is thus also made to depend on a very uncertain contingency; namely, the making effectual provision for the religious education of the Slaves. This might be a reason for not preventing them to labour in their gardens or grounds on that day, but can be no good reason for continuing the Sunday market. Besides the Sunday, however, which ought to be set apart for its own peculiar purposes, of repose, worship, and instruction, they ought to have had a day in the week assigned them for cultivating their grounds, which are their only means of support. By this Order at least no such day is given to the Slave. If there exist, therefore, no other Order to that effect, the Slave will be as much compelled, by the necessity of the case, to labour for his subsistence, which is, in fact, labouring for his master's benefit, as if the master stood over him with the whip. He must work on that day or starve. But what is actually, according to the law of Trinidad, the number of week days in the year allowed to the Slaves for labouring in their provision grounds? The number usually allowed by the practice of the island is said to be twenty-six. But whether it be twenty-six, or any greater number, it would be well that the right of the Slaves to a certain portion of time were distinctly recognized. It is obvious, however, to remark, that if *twenty-six days* be the time really allowed to the Slaves in Trinidad besides Sundays, then they have fifty-six days less in the year than the Spanish law is understood to allow them. By that law, as well as by the law of Brazil, Slaves are allowed a day in every week besides Sundays, and thirty holidays in the year; and it merits inquiry how it is that under the British Government they should have been deprived of the full time to which the Spanish law, which is the law of the island of Trinidad, entitles them. In any case, now that the Sunday has ceased to be a day

Clause 11—prohibits the use of the whip, or other instrument of the like nature, for the purpose of coercing or compelling labour in the field.

Clause 12—directs that when the whip is used as an instrument of punishment by the master or manager, the number of lashes shall not exceed twenty-five at any one time, and for one offence; nor is any punishment to be inflicted till former lacerations are completely healed. Twenty-four hours must pass after an offence has been committed, before it can be punished; and when punishment is inflicted it must be in the presence of a competent witness, besides the person by whose authority it is inflicted*.

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of compulsory labour, it seems to be no more than strict justice, in addition to the number of week days hitherto enjoyed by the slaves, that a full and fair equivalent should be allowed to them for the Sundays; otherwise they either will be much worse off for the means of subsistence than they were before, or they will still be driven to the necessity of employing the day of rest in labouring for their sustenance,—which is, in fact, doing that which the Order in Council in terms prohibits, labouring for their master's benefit.

* It is impossible not to feel, in reading this part of the Order, that that must be a dreadful state of things which we must consider as being ameliorated by such a regulation as this. It is indeed most humiliating to see the British Government reduced to the necessity of assigning the number of lacerations of the cart-whip which private caprice may inflict on the bodies of human beings like themselves, and this without even defining the offence for which such shocking punishment is to be inflicted. It may be for any offence or for no offence. Ought such punishments as this in any case to be inflicted except for a defined crime and by a judicial sentence? Twenty-five lashes of the cart-whip may be inflicted, according to this ameliorated law, by a Trinidad planter on his slave, merely as an expression of the master's dissatisfaction. Twenty-five lashes! Let only the weight of the whip, or the strength of the arm which wields it be increased, and what degree of laceration may not twenty-five lashes of a cart-whip be made to produce? Every stroke may leave its deep incision. Ought any system to be cherished which can require such a tremendous discretion to be placed in the hands of any individual, he being accuser, jury, and judge, and, if he will, executioner also? And then, let it be remembered, that this is the ameliorated law of Trinidad. What must it be in the other islands? Let this one fact be kept in mind.

Clause 13—prohibits the flogging of female Slaves under any circumstances *.

Clauses 14–21—directs that on all plantations a record of punishments should be kept, specifying the crime which has been committed, and the kind and extent of punishment inflicted; the record to be signed by the parties present, and copies of this record certified upon oath to be regularly transmitted through the protector to the governor, in order to be sent to the secretary of state. Severe penalties are also imposed for the neglect or falsification of this record, and the mode pointed out of bringing the master who inflicts an illegal punishment to justice †.

Clause 22—provides for the intermarriage of Slaves; and such marriage is made binding in law, whether celebrated by a clergyman of the Church of England, by a Catholic priest, or by a Dissenting minister.

Clause 23—makes it unlawful, by any judicial process, to seize and sell, apart and separately from each other, the husband and wife, or reputed wife, or child under sixteen years of age ‡.

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* The planters of Trinidad having represented to Lord Bathurst the incongruity of this enactment with another Order in Council, which subjected free Persons of Colour to flogging for misdemeanours, his lordship signified in reply that he would correct the incongruity, not by permitting female Slaves to be flogged, but by prohibiting the flogging of free females.

† One great defect in this part of the Order in Council is, that the important measure of a record of punishments is confined to *plantations*. It is obviously as necessary, if not in some respects more so, to protect mechanic, or domestic, or jobbing Slaves, from brutal oppression, as it is to protect agricultural Slaves.

‡ Here it is extraordinary that no restrainst should be placed on the power of the owner, at his discretion, to separate such near relations as husband, wife, and child, by a sale not judicial. And this omission is the more extraordinary, as it is already a part of the Spanish law, the law in force in Trinidad, that the master shall not possess such power; and as Mr. Canning stated in the House of Commons that the provisions of the Order in Council were intended to go to this extent. It may be said, perhaps, that, if this be a part of the Spanish law, it

Clauses 24–28—ordain that the property of the Slaves shall be secured to them by law; and savings banks are provided, in which to deposit their peculium; which they are allowed to transmit by will.

Clauses 29–34—abolish all taxes and fees on manumission, and give a power, which is adequately secured, to Slaves, to purchase their freedom, or that of their children, at a fair appraisement, whenever they have the means of doing it.

Clauses 35, 36—ordain that any Slave, whom any clergyman, priest, or religious teacher, shall certify to understand the nature of an oath, shall be recorded as entitled to give evidence in courts of justice, in all cases, except in civil suits where the master is concerned, or in trials affecting the life of a White man. It is also provided, however, that the power now possessed, by courts of criminal jurisdiction, of admitting Slave-evidence, shall not be diminished by this enactment *.

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was unnecessary to re-enact it. But it was equally a part of the Spanish law that husband and wife should not be separated by a judicial sale. To specify this part of the law, therefore, to the exclusion of the rest, would seem to render it at least doubtful whether the effect would not be to give the master a power he did not previously possess, and thus to abridge rather than enlarge the privileges of the Slaves.

It has been said, that by the Spanish law husband and wife cannot be separated by sale or transfer. This is clearly indicated in the provision of the Spanish Cedula, which enjoins it upon the master to prevent the unlawful intercourse of the sexes, and to encourage matrimony among his Slaves. "Neither must he hinder them from marrying with Slaves of other masters; in which case, if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, set upon her by skilful men, who shall be nominated by the two parties, and, in case of disagreement, a third shall be appointed by the justice to fix the price. If the master of the husband does not agree to the purchase, the master of the wife shall have the same facility."—In the same way, says Mr. Koster, "The Brazilian Slave cannot be separated from his wife, for a Christian church has joined them in bonds of matrimony."

* It is stated by the Council of Trinidad, in their minute of the 9th July 1823, that by a law now actually in force in that island, the testimony

Clause 37–40—contain regulations respecting the office of protector, or assistant protector, of the Slave, and for preventing perjury in the execution of the Order in Council.

Clause 41—subjects any free person convicted of a misdemeanor under this act, to a fine of not less than 50*l.* or more than 500*l.*; or to imprisonment for not less than one, or more than six months; or to both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court convicting him. And if the conviction be for cruelty to a Slave, the court may declare the property in such Slave to be forfeited to the King. All fines are to be divided between the King and the prosecutor in equal moieties.

Clause 42—orders that if any one shall be twice convicted of inflicting, on any Slave, any cruel or unlawful punishment, he shall be declared, by the court convicting him, absolutely incapable of being the owner, or acting as the manager or

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of Slaves is received *quantum valeat*, and this, as far as is stated, without exception. As for the particular exception, now introduced for the first time, by which their evidence is rejected in trials affecting the life of a White man, it does appear to be of a questionable if not injurious import. It seems to stand on no ground of reason or principle. Or if there be any good reason for it, would not that reason equally apply to the case of a free Black or Brown man, or even to that of a Slave, as to that of a White? This new exception is introduced also in the very case where its operation is likely to be most mischievous. A White man may now murder a Slave, in the presence of a hundred other Slaves, and yet not one of them can give testimony against him. Nay by a subsequent clause (the 42d) of the Order, as now framed, a temptation seems to be actually held out to the commission of murder. Suppose that a White man is convicted of cruelly punishing a Slave, any Slave may testify against him, and convict him; and if it be his second offence he may be deprived of all his Slaves. To avoid this ruinous result he has only to kill the Slave outright: he is then secure from conviction, though the whole gang should have witnessed the murder.

But why all this alarm for the issue of such trials? Is it feared, while judges are White, that there will not be a sufficient disposition in them to protect the lives of the Whites; or that, with all the means possessed of separately sifting and cross-questioning and confronting witnesses, who have combined to deceive, the truth would not be elicited?

overseer of a Slave in the island; and all Slaves belonging to him shall be forfeited to the King *.

In reference to the subject of a note at a preceding page (p. 72), respecting the time which ought to be granted to the Trinidad Slaves, a few observations may here be proper.

Some persons have affected to question, whether it be true that the number of days allowed to the Slaves in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, in the course of the year, be really so many as has been asserted—viz. 52 Sundays, 52 week-days, and upwards of 30 holidays; in all, 134; and whether those facilities of manumission exist there which have been held up as an example, as well as matter of reproach, to Great Britain. The following authorities will probably place these points beyond further doubt.

Mr. Koster, the author of Travels in Brazil, published a pamphlet in 1816, with his name prefixed to it. It may be found in the sixteenth Number of the Pamphleteer. This valuable and accurate writer thus states the case of the Brazilian Slave. Besides his food, which is "salt meat or salt fish, and the flour of the manioc," "the laws allow him to have the Sundays and holidays as his own," p. 313. "The Brazilian Slaves, who supply themselves with food, have one day in every week for this purpose; but they are expected not to require any assistance from the master." They have also, "in the course of the year, above *thirty* holidays besides Sunday." p. 327.

The Spanish Cedula of the 31st May, 1789, says, that on holidays "the Slaves shall not be obliged or permitted to work, either for themselves or their masters, except at the time of crop, when it is customary *to grant them liberty* to work on holidays."

This is further confirmed, by a reference to a work published by Longman, in 1810, entitled "Present State of the Spanish Colonies, by W. Walton, Junior;" in which that gentleman re-

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* This clause has since been modified by ordaining that the execution of the sentence of forfeiture and disqualification shall be suspended until the case shall have been revised by the King in Council.

marks, that "a considerable impediment to the progress of culture in Spanish possessions, is the great number of feast-days that interfere with the labours of the field;" and again, that though Spanish Slaves are denied many "subordinate conveniences, they are allowed a much greater surplus of time to procure them, and enjoy more indulgences than the Slaves of other nations."—Vol. ii. pp. 140, 143.

The author goes on to say, that "a Slave has the right of redemption; and, in any dispute with his master, has the privilege of choosing an arbitrator. If he be not contented to live in the servitude of a particular person, by whom he may be ill treated, and can produce sufficient motives and another purchaser; or if he has had sufficient industry and economy to have amassed the stipulated sum of 300 dollars; he can demand his freedom, by refunding his purchase-money." "The price affixed by law for the redemption of a female, is 250 dollars. An infant, unborn, ceases to be the property of the owner, by the deposit of 100 rials (about 42s.); and after birth, by that of twenty-five dollars."

This general statement is confirmed by a more recent writer, who, in letters from the Havannah, dedicated to Mr. Croker of the Admiralty, and published by Miller in 1821, speaks of "the festivals held every Sunday and feast-day," when "numbers of free and enslaved assemble" for amusement; and he afterwards describes them as "festivalizing on a *dios de dos cruces*, or a church holiday." He also recognizes the regulation which allows the Slave "who is discontented with the treatment of his owner, to demand a *carta*, or licence to be sold; or, in other words, to change his service."p. 42.

"The many Coloured People," he adds, "whose freedom is the purchase of the extra earnings allowed them by law." "The number of free People of Colour in this island is nearly equal to the total amount of that class in all the islands together. This is attributable to the mildness of the Spanish Slave-Code, which softens the rigour of their hard destiny."—"Every Slave under the Spanish colonial law, who tenders his master the sum he was bought at, is entitled to enfranchise-

ment, *nor can his master refuse it.* It is equally permitted him to *purchase a portion of his freedom* by instalments, as his ability allows, being then said to be *coartado*, or *cut;* and such are, in consequence, entitled to a licence to work where and with whom they please, paying to their master a *rial* (5d.) per day, for every hundred dollars remaining of their value, beyond the instalment they have paid. Many who are not *coartado* are allowed by their owners to labour where they please, under similar conditions; by which means an industrious Slave may, in a few years, procure sufficient to ransom himself. The excellence of such a regulation it is easy to appreciate. The permission to purchase freedom by portions, is both a wise and merciful policy. It satisfies the master with a high interest, during the period the Slave is working out his freedom; and it imbues the latter with habits of cheerful industry, while he is, as it were, knocking off his chain link by link.". pp. 40—42.

A farther confirmation of these statements is to be found in our own Privy-Council Report of 1789, part VI., where the following provisions are represented as forming a part of the law of the Spanish Colonies, regarding slavery, viz.

" Any Slave, on proof given to the Governor of bad treatment by the owner, may insist on being transferred to another master at such price as may be settled between the purchaser and the seller; and if the latter is exorbitant in his demand, the Governor is to name a third person as umpire.

" Any Slave who by his industry and economy has raised a sufficiency to purchase his manumission, may demand his freedom from his master, on paying an equitable price; and if the master should prove unreasonable, the Governor, on the application of the Slave, is to appoint two appraisers, who are to fix the price."

The Report adds, that " it is said there are nearly 20,000 free People of Colour in the city of Havannah alone."

APPENDIX B.

PAROCHIAL RESOLUTIONS OF JAMAICA.

THE following passage is taken from a long string of inflamed and inflated resolutions passed by the freeholders and other inhabitants of the parish of Portland, on the 11th of October, 1824, as they appear in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 30th of October 1824.—

"9thly. On the subject of religion, without assuming to be righteous over-much, and disclaiming every feeling of disrespect towards any sincere worshippers of the true God, we profess ourselves at the same time inimical to the sacred cause of Christianity being polluted, perverted, and disgraced by misrepresentation and intermixture with political views and theories; and, professing ourselves at the same time sincere advocates for the diffusion of the light and the truths of the Gospel throughout our Slave population, in the mild and beneficent spirit, and after the manner, of our blessed Master, in truth and simplicity, as the only form and manner which can produce the desirable effect of rendering them *true Christians, and faithful, honest, sober, and diligent men, with good will doing service, content with the station in which it has pleased God to place them,* we ask, are not the ministers of the Established Church competent to the beneficial work? Educated and prepared expressly for that ministry, we are confident that they are, and the most proper teachers; for we can never reconcile it to ourselves that that calling, which professeth to interpret the Law and the Gospel, the sum and substance of God's covenant with man, according to God's will, intent, and meaning, is compatible with ordinary capacities, common education, and men of mere worldly views. Let doctors of no better recommendation vociferate and

proclaim their special inspiration to work the good work as much as they please, we know the Deity does not make himself so cheap with his creatures; and, from what we have observed of such spiritual teachers, pastors, and masters, they seem only like unto ourselves, labourers in the vineyard for *hire;* wherefore, to promote substantial benefit to our Negroes, and a source of grateful reflection to ourselves, it behoves us to examine with care the means by which they are to be acquired, lest, instead of sowing in their hearts the seeds of eternal life, we sow the seeds of a moral and political evil, for that cannot be intrinsically good wherein lurketh aught of evil tendency, so that we should be most scrupulously guarded against the dissemination of Methodistical Fanaticism, which, in the language of our Assembly, grafted on African superstition and the general temperament of Negroes in a state of bondage, has produced, and will again produce, direful consequences.

"10thly. Apprehending most seriously that fanatical doctrines and insidious misrepresentations, promulgated by sectarian incendiaries, and clandestinely imposed upon the credulity of our Slave population, have had the leading influence in perverting their minds, and exciting that insubordinate and insurrectionary spirit which has now for a long time agitated and disturbed the peace of the country, and which we have reason to fear is still provoked, and far, very far, from being subsided, *it is our decided sentiment that* SECTARISM *should be banished from amongst us, and that it would be highly impolitic and dangerous, at the present crisis, to advance one consideration of further indulgence to our astrayed peasantry, and not until a thorough and complete penitential change of temper and manners qualified the pretension on their parts, and guaranteed our acquiescence.* At the same time, *in justice to our own feelings, we must confess how much we lament the self-denial thus imperiously forced upon our inclinations by the necessity arising out of past occurrences, from the character of which we are sorry to add, that, instead of more indulgent,* MORE RESTRICTORY

MEASURES ARE INDISPENSIBLE, *both for the safety of the island, as well as for the reclamation of our deluded population.*

"11th. Thank God, we have a king upon the throne, as incapable, from the graciousness of his disposition and the natural goodness of his heart, of doing wrong, as he is supposed by the law to be in his political capacity; a king, who glories in being born a Briton, and in defence of whose Crown we are confident every subject in this colony would readily shed the last drop of his blood; and we acknowledge with loyalty and gratitude his late interposition in behalf of the Colonies, by the expression of his royal as well as constitutional disapprobation of the unjust and impolitic interference which has of late distracted their concerns; an interference that has appalled their energy, and, damping the spirit of laudable enterprise and industry, has, together with the depreciated value of their productions, reduced them to the brink of insolvency and ruin. Confidently relying, however, that his Majesty's paternal regard for his colonial subjects is coeval with that which he entertains for the other subjects of his dominions, we trust and hope that his exemplary, upright, impartial, independent, and constitutional sentiments, may influence Ministers and Parliament to declare themselves at once upon the moral, religious, and political rights of the Colonies, and restore to this once happy island mutual confidence, security, and peace, by arresting the further progress of the machinations of as unprincipled and designing a confederacy as ever coalesced, in the zenith of puritanical rage, to disseminate anarchy, and enfeeble the bond of allegiance (unquestionably proved by the late detection of their base perfidious interference with the army), as ever daringly and impiously compassed or imagined the subversion of church and state."

The Parishioners of St. Ann's, who met on the 13th of November 1824, thus commence their unanimous Resolutions, which are conceived in a similar strain to those of Portland:—

"1st. That although the imminent danger, which threatened our constitutional rights at this period of the last year, has been averted by the generous interference of our gracious Sovereign, and the firmness and magnanimity of his Ministers, an ample degree of danger still exists from the unjust and unwarrantable acts of the African Institution, which call for the vigilance and circumspection of every inhabitant of the Western Colonies.

"2d. That this party, thus for the present defeated in the purpose of involving these Colonies in scenes of blood and massacre, and stimulated by disappointment, have now, both by their speeches in Parliament, and by sworn engagements in their unlawful conventicles, bound themselves to use 'every means in their power for producing an event,' thus setting at nought the highest authority of the realm, violating the first principles of its jurisprudence; and, in regard to the lower classes of our society, pursuing the same incendiary measures, for which, in England, Hunt was imprisoned, Watson expatriated, and Thistlewood hanged."

The Resolutions of the Freeholders of St. Elizabeth are not less energetic. It was there also, on the 27th of October, unanimously resolved,

"That in these times, when we perceive a party which has Fanaticism and Revolution as its guides possessing such an ascendency over some of the members of the British Cabinet, it is our duty to watch with a careful eye over our birth rights, and not allow ourselves to be lulled into repose with the false idea that the danger is passed. Such will never pass until the leaders of the British Cabinet possess, and dare to shew they possess, an independence of those creatures styled by the name of Saints, from which dangerous party it is to be hoped the respectable part of the British public will soon withdraw its countenance.

"That it is but too evident the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the British Cabinet, and leader of the House of Commons (the intimate friend of our archenemy), is himself, as far as

he dare, an advocate for the abolition of existing circumstances in the American Archipelago; he, and by his own acknowledgment, was the chief cause that a neighbouring island (Trinidad) was refused the blessings of a British Constitution, which refusal has exposed it to its present misery and oppoppression *.

"That we have been treated with contempt, scandalized, and defamed. We have also been threatened. It is our duty, therefore, to shew, that he who does not fear death fears not threats. It is our duty to shew, that although we can make up our minds to live without wealth, yet we cannot make up our minds to live without honour; which we should, did we not choose to risk all in manfully defending our rights, like men worthy of them, rather than to have them crumble from us ignominiously, owing to pusillanimous and indetermined measures.

"That it is with feelings of gratitude and respect we praise the House of Assembly (which has the sole right of altering and amending our code), for its energetic conduct during last session in so firmly protecting our constitution, our properties, and our rights; and we rely on its wisdom that, during the approaching session, it will adhere to the same upright and laudable principles †."

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* The allusion intended in this place is doubtless to the imposition of the hated Order in Council.

† See the Report, page 12, line 3—6.

APPENDIX C.

REJECTED BILL OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY, ON SLAVE EVIDENCE*.

THAT the public may have some opportunity of judging of the squeamishness felt on the subject of reform by the legislators of Jamaica, it seems expedient to insert this Bill entire, which was rejected on its second reading by a majority of thirty-four to one.

A Bill to enable Slaves to give Evidence in certain Cases of Crime committed against Slaves, and of criminal Attempts to excite Rebellion and Insurrection, and of uttering seditious Language.

Whereas the Legislature of this island hath made divers enactments and regulations with a view of placing the Slave population under the complete protection of the law; and it is important to the general welfare of the community to promote so desirable an object by every practicable means: *And whereas* the conviction of offences committed against Slaves would be rendered more satisfactory and certain, if their testimony should be admitted upon the prosecution of the offences hereinafter mentioned: *We, therefore, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted: Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, and it is hereby enacted and ordained*

* See the Report, page 12, line 20—28.

by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this act, upon the trial of any indictment against a White person, or free person, for murder, or for felonious homicide, committed upon a Slave after the passing of this act, or upon any trial of a misdemeanour, committed after the passing of this act, in mutilating or dismembering any Slave, or wantonly or cruelly whipping, maltreating, branding, beating, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning or keeping in confinement without sufficient support, any Slave, or upon the trial of any White or free person for a misdemeanour in any other illegal violence against the person of any Slave, committed after the passing of this act, such Slave against whom the offence shall have been committed, or any other Slave or Slaves, shall be a competent witness or witnesses on the part of the prosecution, or on the part of the person charged with the offence: *Provided always,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the admission of any Slave to give evidence, if under the same circumstances any White person, or person of free condition, would be deemed an incompetent witness from not comprehending the obligation of an oath, or any other disqualification: *Provided also,* That the evidence of a Slave shall be admissible in no case on behalf of, or against, the owner of such Slave, or the husband or wife of the owner.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the testimony of any Slave or Slaves, on oath, shall be admitted upon any inquiry before a magistrate or magistrates, or a grand jury, into the offences hereinbefore mentioned, subject to the same exceptions.

And whereas it is proper, upon the admission of the evidence of Slaves, to prevent all temptation to perjury: *Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That in case the owner of a Slave shall be convicted of any offence which would authorise the Court, before whom the offender may be tried, to exercise the power given by the consolidated Slave law of declaring such Slave free, if any Slave shall have been sworn as a witness against the offender upon such trial, the Court in such

case shall not have any power of discharging from servitude the Slave against whom the offence was committed *.

And whereas it is necessary, for the more effectually preventing wicked and evil-disposed persons from instilling a spirit of rebellion and discontent into the minds of Slaves, or persons of free condition, that the testimony of Slaves should be admitted in certain other cases: *Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That if any person or persons shall be charged with, or shall be indicted for, maliciously and advisedly endeavouring to excite or stir up any free person or Slave to commit any act of insurrection or rebellion, contrary to the second clause of an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, passed in the fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled "An Act for the more effectual Punishment of Treason, treasonable Conspiracies, and seditious Meetings; for preventing the Administering or Taking of unlawful Oaths, and for other Purposes;" or if any person or persons shall be charged with, or shall be indicted for, uttering seditious language, or for seditious preaching to any free person or persons, Slave or Slaves, it shall be lawful, upon the inquiry into such charge, or upon the trial of the indictment, to admit the testimony of any Slave or Slaves for or against the prosecution, subject to the same exceptions as might be made to the competency of any White or free person, on the ground of not understanding the obligation of an oath, or any other disqualification: *Provided also*, That the evidence of any Slave shall not be admissible on behalf of, or against, the owner of such Slave, or the husband or wife of the owner †.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That upon the trial of any indictment, no Slave shall be admitted to give evidence against a White person or person of free condi-

* The effect of this clause is obviously to nullify the benefit of the act. What Slave would give evidence under such circumstances?

† This clause is obviously aimed against Missionaries, and against all who might ever chance to speak in conversation against Slavery.

tion, unless such White person or person of free condition, or his or her attorney at law, shall have had notice in writing days before the trial of the name and description of the Slave whom it is intended to produce as a witness for the prosecution.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Slave shall commit wilful and corrupt perjury, in giving evidence upon any of the occasions hereinbefore mentioned, such Slave shall be tried at a Slave-court, and, upon conviction, shall be liable to imprisonment to hard labour in the workhouse for such time as such court shall direct, or to whipping, or both, as the court shall think proper, according to the nature of the offence.

And be it further enacted, That in case any White person, or person of free condition, shall be charged with or indicted for the murder of a Slave, committed after the passing of this act, the dying declaration of such Slave shall be received in evidence in the same manner as the dying declaration of any White or free person would be received: *Provided,* That no Slave shall be allowed to give evidence of such dying declaration.

APPENDIX D.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF HIS MAJESTY*.

It will be proper here to record those recommendations of his Majesty to the different Colonial Legislatures which have excited such violent and unmeasured resistance among the West-Indian Colonists. A comparison of these with the language of the planters of Trinidad and Barbadoes, or with the resolutions of the freeholders of Jamaica, will enable the public to judge of the spirit which prevails in our colonies.

1. *Copy of a Letter from Earl Bathurst, addressed to the Governor of Demerara, and transmitted also to the Governors to all the other Colonies, dated Colonial Office, May* 28, 1823.

"I take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you the Resolutions which were unanimously agreed to by the House of Commons on the 15th instant; and in order that you may better understand not only the general impression of the House in coming to these resolutions, but more particularly the principles which have guided his Majesty's Government in proposing them, and which will continue to guide them in the measures to be adopted for the furtherance of the important objects to which they relate, I have inclosed the best report that I can procure, although it may not be altogether a correct one, of the speech of Mr. Secretary Canning.

I do not propose in this despatch to call your immediate attention to all the subjects to which that speech refers, but to confine myself to one of those points on which, I have not found that any difference of opinion exists, and which, being simple in its nature, may be at once adopted; viz. an absolute prohibition to inflict the punishment of flogging, under any circumstances, on female Slaves.

* See the Report, p. 15, line 23.

The system of meliorating the condition of Slaves, to which his Majesty's Government stands pledged by these resolutions, cannot better commence than by the adoption of a principle which, by making a distinction of treatment between the male and female Slaves, cannot fail to raise this unfortunate class generally above their present degraded level, and to restore to the female Slaves that sense of shame which is at once the ornament and the protection of their sex, and which their present mode of punishment has tended so unfortunately to weaken, if not to obliterate.

I should therefore have communicated to you his Majesty's commands that the punishment of flogging should for the future cease with respect to females, had I not been desirous that the prohibition should proceed from the Court of Policy; as I am unwilling to deprive them of the satisfaction which I am sure they will feel in originating and supporting a measure which has been approved by all classes.

With respect to the practice of driving Slaves to their work by the sound of the whip, and to the arbitrary infliction of it by the driver as a stimulus to labour, I am equally disposed to trust to the Court of Policy to originate measures for the cessation of this practice, which I need not to state must be repugnant to the feelings of every individual in this country. I am aware that a necessity may exist for retaining the punishment of flogging with respect to males, though at the same time it should be subjected to defined regulations and restrictions; but, as an immediate measure, I cannot too strongly recommend that the whip should no longer be carried into the field, and there displayed by the driver as the emblem of his authority, or employed as the ready instrument of his displeasure.

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2. *Copy of a Letter from Earl Bathurst to Governors of Colonies having local Legislatures, dated Colonial Office, July* 9, 1823.

In my despatch of the 12th ultimo, I apprized you that it was my intention to communicate to you, by the first packet in

the present month, further instructions respecting those improvements in the Slave Code of the colony under your government, which, in conformity with the recent Resolutions of the House of Commons, it is the earnest desire of his Majesty's Government to carry into effect.

The suggestions which I am about to make are not to be understood as affording a full development of what his Majesty's Government have in contemplation on this important subject: it is my purpose rather to point out such changes in the law as may be conveniently adopted at present, and which will (it is hoped) lay the foundation for a further and more effectual reformation. I am therefore to direct you to lay before the Colonial Legislature of the following remarks and propositions; and you will not fail to press upon that body the importance of directing their immediate and most serious attention to them.

It would be superfluous to insist upon the indispensible necessity of religious instruction as the foundation of every beneficial change in the character and future condition of the Slaves. So deeply, indeed, is his Majesty's Government impressed with this truth, and with the necessity of maintaining an adequate number of clergymen and teachers throughout the West Indies, under episcopal controul, that, if it shall appear that the revenues of the Colonies are insufficient for this purpose, they will not hesitate to apply to Parliament for such pecuniary grants as may be necessary for supplying the deficiency; nor can they doubt that the anxiety which has been manifested by the Legislature, and by the public at large, for the welfare of the Slave population, will induce Parliament cheerfully to contribute such funds as may be required for effecting this important object. But this disposition must be met on the part of the Assembly by a legislative provision for the abolition of markets on the Sunday, and the substitution of some other time for that purpose; so that the Sabbath may be appropriated to the purpose of rest from labour, and of moral and religious instruction. Unless the time withdrawn from the market were employed in the more becoming occupations of the day, it would too probably

be passed by the Slaves without benefit to themselves, and perhaps with material detriment, if not danger, to the community. The immediate abolition of Sunday markets is not insisted upon until the means of religious instruction shall have been provided. But his Majesty's Government will not recommend to Parliament the grant of any pecuniary assistance towards the expense of a religious establishment, in any case in which the abolition of Sunday markets, and the substitution of some other day for that purpose, shall not have been prospectively secured.

Religious instruction is also a necessary preliminary to another important improvement in the condition of the Slaves, the admission of their evidence in courts of justice. The permanent exclusion of the testimony of Slaves must essentially interfere with the provisions adopted for their protection. On the other hand, to declare that all Slaves shall be qualified to give evidence, would be a change in the system of administering justice in the Colonies too momentous to be introduced suddenly; it can only be consequent upon the moral and religious improvement of the Slave population. It is highly expedient, therefore, that in furtherance of the Resolutions unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, a law should be passed, declaring that the evidence of a Slave shall be received in all, except perhaps certain cases, if, upon his appearing in court to give testimony, he shall produce, under the hand of some of the parochial clergymen, or of the religious teacher authorized by the master or overseer to instruct him, a certificate, stating that the proposed witness has been so far instructed in the principles of religion as, in the judgment of the party certifying, adequately to understand the obligation of an oath. The cases to be considered must be those in which the master of the Slave is directly concerned, and such as would affect the life of a White person. For the better preventing the fabrication of certificates, it may be necessary to keep parochial registers of the persons whose competency to give evidence shall from time to time have been certified by the proper authority; and the being enrolled in such a list may be made an object of laudable ambition, and a

stimulus to attention and good conduct. Perhaps such certificate should not of itself be an absolute qualification to be received as a witness; but it might be regarded as raising such a presumption of competency, that the party producing it should be taken and adjudged to be competent, unless he should be proved to labour under some such disability as would, according to the law and usage of English courts of justice, disqualify a free person.

Religious instruction is not less necessarily the foundation of that relation, the want of which in the system of colonial Slavery excites a deep and general commiseration in this country, that of marriage. Where the conjugal and parental rights of the father of a family cannot be maintained, it would be vain to expect from this institution that infinite variety of salutary consequences which naturally belong to it in civilized society. The present want of religious teachers in the Colonies presents another difficulty; for without their instrumentality it will scarcely be possible to impress the mind of a Slave with a due sense of the sacred obligations of matrimony, or even to celebrate the mere ceremonial of marriage with any proper and impressive solemnity.

Advantage cannot be too soon or too anxiously taken of the opportunity of establishing this salutary institution: in doing so, care must be taken to encourage, as far as possible, marriages between Slaves attached to the same estates, since the insecurity of conjugal and parental rights is manifestly increased by distant connexions, which moreover tend to withdraw the interest and attachment of the Slave from the plantation to which he belongs. As part of this system, provision ought to be made by law for exempting from future labour in the field the mother of a given number of children born in lawful wedlock. Until the religious establishment shall be completed, the solemnization of marriages by persons who are not in holy orders might be permitted, and any minister of religion not engaged in any secular calling might be employed, in cases where the attendance of a clergyman of the Church of England cannot be procured. Care, however, should be taken that

all marriages should ultimately be registered at the parish church, and none celebrated without the consent of the master given in writing; but in the event of the master feeling it necessary to object to the marriage, he should be called upon to communicate the cause of his resistance to the clergyman of the parish to which the parties belong.

The next subject to which I must draw your attention, is the manumission of Slaves; every unnecessary obstacle to which must be removed. Although it appears from the recent returns that taxes have in almost every colony been imposed on manumissions, I am gratified to learn that they have in practice been generally discontinued. No difficulty can therefore be anticipated in obtaining the concurrence of the Colonial Legislature in the final repeal of all such charges; and in this I include all official fees which may have been collected either by usage or under positive enactment. The first obstacle to manumission arises from the apprehension of this being resorted to by the owner for the purpose of relieving himself from the burden of maintaining infirm or aged Slaves. I conceive it would be necessary to require the appearance of the person to be manumitted at the office either of the Colonial Secretary or Treasurer, whose duty it should be, before registering the deed of manumission, to satisfy himself that the Slave was not less than six nor more than fifty years of age, and that he did not labour under any permanent sickness or infirmity. In cases of Slaves below six or above fifty years of age, or labouring under sickness or infirmity, (but in whose cases only,) the Secretary or Treasurer should be required before recording the manumission, to take from the owner a bond to the King, with a condition that the penalty should not be enforced, unless the manumitted Slave should, within ten years in the case of the child, and fourteen in the case of the adult, become incapable of earning his own subsistence. A second obstacle to manumission seems to arise from a presumed legal difficulty. It has been urged, that a Slave, not being capable of making contracts, cannot legally contract for or become the purchaser of his own freedom: now, as this is plainly a

difficulty of form only, and not of substance, a remedy may of course be readily devised. Either the competency of the Slaves to make contracts respecting his freedom might be acknowledged by a declaratory act, or it might be provided that all such contracts should be made in the name of the King, in whose name also all actions might be brought to enforce the performance of it. A third and much more serious obstacle to manumission arises out of the legal limitations under which Slaves are legally held. Thus, for example, a Slave and his issue may have been made the subject of entails or of family settlement, or may be held under two or more successive mortgages, &c., and his manumission cannot be effected without the concurrence of a series of reversioners, remainder-men, mortgagees, or mortgagers, some of whom may be infants, and others, who may not even be in existence during the life of the Slave. A difficulty analogous to this arises from the case of doubtful or disputable titles, and from the circumstance of a Slave being regarded as assets for the payment of the debts of the deceased owner; since, in either of these cases, it is impossible for the individual prepared to emancipate such Slave to know in whom the legal right to the Slave is vested. The pendency of a suit or action involving the question of the title of the two litigant parties to a Slave, imposes on the latter the necessity of waiting the determination of the controversy before he can safely pay to either the price of his freedom.

To remove all the preceding obstacles to manumission, you will therefore propose to the Legislature of to pass a law to the following effect: Permanent Commissioners should be appointed, who (on application being made by or on behalf of any Slave with his master's consent) should ascertain the names and places of abode of every person having any interest or probable interest in him, either as tenants for years or for life, as reversioner, remainder-man, mortgagee, mortgager, trustee, executor, receiver, or creditor, of any deceased owners or their agents: all these persons should be summoned, by personal notice, if possible; and if not, then by public advertisement; to attend at the time and place of the appraisement of the Slave. The appraisement

should take place at the time and place to be thus appointed, in the presence of at least one Commissioner, and by at least one sworn appraiser; and the Commissioners should have authority, on application made within one month by any of the parties interested, to direct a new appointment, in case there should seem reason to dispute the justice of the original valuation. The second appraisement should be final. The appraised value should then be paid into the colonial treasury. The treasurer should invest the amount on good security, and every right which formerly existed in the Slave should thenceforward exist, not in him, but in the fund to be thus purchased by the appraised price of his freedom.

The last topic relating to manumission, to which I think it necessary at present to advert, is the loss of the deed of manumission. It will be expedient that provisions should be made for the registration of all manumissions, and that to secure punctuality in this respect, a simple form of manumission should be prescribed by legislative authority, and that the appearance of the party before the Registrar, or one of his deputies, should be an essential part of every act of manumission.

I have next to advert to the subject of the sale of Slaves in satisfaction of the debts of their owners. Among the whole range of projected improvements in the colonial system, there is, perhaps, none which, on an attentive consideration, will be found to present more difficulties than this.

As far as the rules of colonial law, respecting the sale of Slaves, are to be collected from the documents in this office, they may, I conceive, be stated, without any material inaccuracy, as follows:—

First, it appears to be a general maxim in our colonial jurisprudence, that the whole property of the debtor, whether real or personal, and all his interest in real estates, whether legal or equitable, may be taken in execution, and sold in satisfaction of any judgment against him. I further collect, that, in the order of sale, the executive officer, of the courts (the sheriff or provost marshal) is bound to seize and sell such property

in the following order; that is, he is first to take the several crops, then the movable goods, then the debts due to the defendant, then his plantation utensils, then his Slaves, and lastly his land, resorting to the two latter descriptions of property only in case of a deficiency in the former. It also seems, that, in every one of the colonies, a judgment has the effect of a mortgage upon all the immovable property, and upon all the interests in such property which were vested in the debtor when the judgment was entered against him: lastly, it seems that an earlier judgment will, in the order of payment, take precedence of a later mortgage.

A judgment having so much greater effect in the Colonies than in England, the number entered in the West Indies bears a most unusual proportion to the number of the free inhabitants, and to the extent of their pecuniary transactions. Another result has been, that mortgagees have usually taken judgments as a collateral security for the advances they have made. There is, therefore, a large body of persons holding charges on the Slaves throughout the Colonies, which they have acquired on the faith of laws passed by the Assemblies, and subsequently approved by the Crown. Now, if a law were introduced by which the sale of Slaves, under legal process, in satisfaction of the debts of the proprietor, were prohibited absolutely and without qualification, the rights thus acquired under acts of Assembly would be subverted; and I am not prepared to recommend a measure trenching so largely on the rights of private property. Supposing that the prohibition were prospective only, and that it therefore should affect merely those debts which might subsequently be contracted, still the Provost Marshal might put up the utensils and the land itself to sale; and it is obviously immaterial to the present question, whether the Slaves are sold without the land, or the land without the Slaves; supposing further, that both the land, the Slaves, and the utensils, were withdrawn from legal process, if the proprietor still retained the power of voluntary sale, the practical result would be this,—that men would then relieve their necessities by selling their Slaves as they could find purchasers. in-

stead of borrowing money on the credit of them as at present. It seems then to follow, that the absolute prohibition of the sale of Slaves, in satisfaction of the debts of the proprietor, would not have the effect of preventing the forced separation of the Slave from his home, unless the right of voluntary sale were also taken away. But a prohibition thus extensive is a more considerable innovation on the law than I am prepared to recommend.

It is satisfactory, however, to remark, that although the theory of the law allows the sale of Slaves to pay the debts of the owner, yet in practice such sales can only take place where the owner has the fee simple of the land and Slaves, (which, from the practice of strict entails, in the West Indies, is, in many of the colonies, unusual,) and has also not contracted any mortgage debt, which (I am afraid) is, in most of them, still more uncommon. The land and the Slaves being almost universally settled, or mortgaged as one consolidated property, the rights of the reversioner, or remainder-man in the one case, and of the mortgagee in the other, necessarily prevent the creditor from selling the Slaves apart from the land. I am therefore, disposed to infer that the great majority of Slaves who are brought to sale for payment of their master's debts, whether under the old English writ of "*Venditioni exponas*" in Jamaica, or under the general executions directed by the Court Acts of the smaller islands, are sold with the land, and suffer no other alteration from the transaction than that of a change of masters. The Slaves who are sold separately are therefore, in all probability (for the returns give no accurate information on this point), for the greater part, those who are not habitually worked upon the plantations, and are in general the domestic servants of their owners, or are employed by the lower classes of freemen in various menial occupations for the profit of their masters. Slaves thus circumstanced are not perhaps materially injured by a compulsory sale, since their employments are not such as to create strong local attachments.

Still to whatever degree the removal of Slaves from their homes, to satisfy the debts of their owners, may occur, it is

obviously fit that it should, if possible, be prevented, and that precaution should be taken against the more frequent occurrence of such removals hereafter. I am, therefore, with reference to the preceding remarks, to direct you to call the attention of the Legislature of the colony of

to the following amendments of the law upon this subject. Without infringing on the rights of any judgment creditors, who may at present hold unsatisfied judgments, provision might be made for preventing the keeping of such judgments alive after the debts for which they may have been obtained shall have been really satisfied. A time should also be fixed beyond which no existing judgment should be capable of being enforced. With reference to judgments which may be hereafter obtained, the executions to issue on them might perhaps be, both in form and effect, a sequestration rather than a sale; that is to say, the creditor might be permitted to take possession of the estate, Slaves, and utensils, and to hold them together until his claims were satisfied by the proceeds; or the rents and profits of the land, Slaves, and utensils, might be put up for sale as one entire lot, without removing them one from the other. If, however, the substitution of a sequestration for a sale, should not be practicable, the only other plan which I can suggest is that of directing, that the land, Slaves, and plantation utensils shall always be sold together in one entire lot. It may also be expedient to provide, that Slaves shall not in future be considered as separate assets for the payment of debts of the deceased owner, but that the land and Slaves, and plantation stock, shall always be sold together.

With regard to all Slaves, whether attached to estates or not, you will propose an enactment prohibiting their being sold apart from their husbands or wives, or apart from any child who may be under the age of 14. As unhappily the disuse of marriage has prevented the growth of any legal relationship between the Slaves, the prohibition must extend to the case of *reputed* husbands, wives, or children. I have also to suggest, that if the debtor should not be the proprietor

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both of the husband and wife, or of the parents and children, an appraisement should be made of the value of such members of a family as are the property of the debtor, and they should be offered at something below such appraised value to the proprietor of the other members of the family.

On the subject of the punishment of Slaves, I have already in some degree anticipated the object of the present despatch, by directing that legislative measures should be proposed for preventing the punishment of flogging in every case where the offender is a woman: I also pointed out the necessity of prohibiting the use of the whip in the field. I have now, in addition to those instructions, to direct that you will cause some effectual law to be submitted to the Legislature, for preventing any domestic punishment whatever, until the day following that on which the offence may have been committed; and even then, except in the presence of one free person, besides the person under whose authority the punishment may be inflicted. If the punishment should exceed three lashes, it should be provided that a regular entry should be made in a plantation book to be kept for that purpose,—first, of the nature of the offence; secondly, of the time when, and of the place where, it was committed; thirdly, of the names of the free persons present at the punishment; and fourthly, of the number of lashes received. The accuracy of the entries in this book should be certified quarterly by an oath to be taken by the owner, manager, or overseer, before a magistrate. As the offence of punishing a Slave in the absence of any free person would not be susceptible of direct proof, if it should happen that the Slaves themselves were not among that class whose evidence it is proposed to admit, to insure as far as possible the detection of any such counteraction of the law, it should be enacted, that if the person of a Slave should exhibit marks of recent flogging or mutilation, which he or any other Slave should state to be the traces of punishment not duly registered, such appearances should be considered sufficient to raise a presumption of the law having been broken, and the manager

overseer should be condemned to suffer a given penalty to be enacted, unless he could repel that presumption by sufficient evidence.

The last subject to which I propose at present to advert is the necessity of insuring to the Slave the enjoyment of whatever property he may be able to acquire. For this purpose, *Savings Banks* should be established under legislative authority, upon the model of those in England; but, with this alteration, viz. that the depositor should, at the time of first becoming a subscriber, state to whom, in the event of his own death, the fund is to devolve. An entry of this declaration being duly registered at the Bank, should be declared equivalent to a will, in the absence of any other.

In conclusion, I have most earnestly to impress upon you the necessity of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only with all possible dispatch, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of his Majesty's Government. More particularly, you will be attentive to have the necessary laws framed with such precaution and foresight, as, if possible, to provide an effectual security for the faithful observance of them. To this end, you will consult with the legal advisers of the Crown on the frame of the necessary bills, and you will from time to time communicate with me upon the progress you make in this work, or upon the difficulties which may obstruct its completion, and if (what I am unwilling to imagine) you should meet with any serious opposition, you will lose no time in transmitting to me the necessary communication, in order that I may take the earliest opportunity of laying the matter before Parliament, and submitting for their consideration such measures as it may be fit to adopt in consequence.

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3. The only other recommendationof Earl Bathurst, which is as yet before the public, is contained in the following Letter

to the Governor of Barbadoes, and transmitted also to the Governors of all Colonies having local Legislatures, dated Downing Street, London, 20th July, 1824. It is as follows:—

'I have the honour of inclosing a copy of an Order in Council, for the improvement of the condition of the Slaves in Trinidad; and I have also to notify to you his Majesty's appointment of two bishops—the one for Jamaica, and the other for the Leeward Islands—to whom are to be intrusted the controul of the clergy of the Church of England within their respective dioceses, and the duty of reporting upon the state of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, particularly as it relates to the Slave population, and upon the best means of diffusing the benefits of religious instruction to that part of the community.

I call your attention to these measures at this moment, for the purpose of enabling you to bring more completely under the consideration of the Legislature, the whole of the measures which his Majesty's Government have in contemplation for the melioration of the state of the Slave population.

His Majesty's Government have been anxious to prove the deep interest, which they feel in the encouragement of the religious and moral instruction of the Negroes, by at once taking upon themselves the whole charge of placing the clergy of the West Indies under Episcopal controul; and they have directed that a given sum shall be forthwith placed at the disposal of the bishops, for the purpose of providing for the more immediate wants of persons in holy orders within their respective dioceses; and his Majesty confidently expects to receive every assistance from the Assembly, to promote the establishment of a system so calculated to produce the most beneficial effects on the morals and habits of the Slave population.

With respect to the Order in Council for meliorating the condition of the Slaves in Trinidad, similar provisions to those which are contained in that Order will be extended to Deme-

raia and Essequebo, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Cape and Mauritius; with such modifications as may be necessary to adapt them to the Dutch and French laws, which are respectively in force in those possessions.

The Assembly of Barbadoes shewed their anxiety for the improvement of the Slave Code, by undertaking its revision and consolidation previously to the arrival in Barbadoes of my communication upon the subject; and I learnt with satisfaction, from an Address of the House of Assembly to you, that measures promising great amelioration of the condition of the Slave had been in a state of progress. It cannot be too much deplored that any interruption to these measures should have arisen, in consequence of want of unanimity in the branches of the Legislature upon minor questions; and it is the confident expectation of his Majesty's Government that on an occasion of such high importance to themselves, and the well being of the population under their care, and of such deep interest no less to Parliament and to his Majesty's Government than to all classes in this country, the members of the Legislature of Barbadoes will not suffer any consideration, not necessarily involved in the question before them, to interfere with their sense of duty and their concern for the public interests.

On referring to the Minutes of proceedings in the House of Assembly, I observe that petitions have been preferred to that body, by the inhabitants of certain parishes of Barbadoes, praying that the proceedings for the revision and consolidation of the Slave Laws might be immediately resumed; and that at a Meeting of the Assembly on the 18th of December, the Speaker introduced the Bill comprising that object, which had been before the House in a previous session. Under these circumstances, I assure myself that you will meet with the less difficulty in strongly impressing upon each branch of the Legislature the expediency of proceeding without delay in the consideration of those measures which have already engaged their attention; and, on attentively considering the

provisions of the Order in Council, they will not fail to perceive much, which practice has already established in Barbadoes, and to confirm which the sanction of law only is required. In comparing it with their own law, and with the amendments of that law which they have admitted to be desirable, they will observe, that upon the same principles, many of the suggested alterations must be considered as improvements, and by embodying in their statutes the other provisions of the Order in Council, they will lay the foundation of such a system of gradual improvement of the condition of the Slave population, as will prove equally honourable to the Assembly, and beneficial to those for whose advantage it appears to be more immediately intended.

You will readily anticipate the serious extent of the disappointment, which his Majesty's Government will experience, if, unfortunately for their best interests, as well as for the cause of humanity, the Legislature of Barbadoes shall reject the substance of these regulations, which they must be aware have received the sanction of Parliament, and the general approbation of the country.

It has been seen above how Barbadoes has treated these recommendations.

APPENDIX E.

TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY.

Capital £.4,000,000.

President.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

Vice-Presidents.

William Wilberforce, Esq.

Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe.	Step. Lushington, Esq. D.C.L. M.P.
Thomas Babington, Esq.	William Smith, Esq., M. P.
Henry Brougham, Esq., M. P.	James Stephen, Esq.
Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., M.P.	Daniel Sykes, Esq., M.P.
William Evans, Esq., M.P.	W. W. Whitmore, Esq., M.P.

Provisional Committee.

T. G. Babington, Esq.	Z. Macaulay, Esq.
G. G. Babington, Esq.	Henry Pownall, Esq.
Edward Carroll, Esq.	W. F. Reynolds, Esq.
James Cropper, Esq.	Anthony Robinson, Esq.
Henry Drummond, Esq.	Thomas Sturge, Jun., Esq.
William Fry, Esq.	Joseph Trueman, Esq.
G. G. Larpent, Esq.	Henry Waymouth, Esq.

Bankers.—Sir P. Pole, Bart., Thornton, Free, Down, and Scott, Bartholomew Lane; and Messrs. Drummond and Co., Charing Cross.

Solicitors.—Messrs. Tilson and Preston, 29 Colman Street.

Secretary,—John Dougan, Esq., 18 King's-Arms Yard, Coleman Street; —to whom all communications, and applications for Shares, may be addressed.

THE object of this Company is to promote, within the British Dominions, the growth of the several articles of Tropical Production, by means of Free Labour.

With respect to Indigo, this object has been already accomplished. It was once produced solely by the labour

of Slaves in the West Indies and America. In consequence of the application of British skill and capital to its production, nearly the whole of that article which is now consumed in Europe, amounting in value to about Four Millions sterling, is raised by free labour, and almost entirely in British India.

A similar effect might have been expected with respect to Cotton, had the same means been employed in the same quarter to extend its culture and to improve its quality. This, however, has not been done; and therefore the Cotton Trade of our Asiatic Dominions continues to labour under many disadvantages. Such, nevertheless, was the impulse given to the importation of East-India Cotton, on the opening of the trade with that country, that in a few years its price throughout the world was reduced to nearly half its former amount.

On this extraordinary fall of price, the Cotton of India, which is of the lowest quality, was neglected, and no further attention was paid, by Europeans, either to its culture or to the improvement of its staple. Had a contrary course been pursued, it cannot be doubted that the present alarming increase in the price of that article might have been prevented. It is now the more important to provide an effectual remedy for such an inconvenience; and for this, India seems to hold out the only certain and permanent resource.

The official value of the Cotton Goods exported from Great Britain in 1824 amounts to a sum exceeding Thirty Millions sterling. The continued and progressive prosperity, therefore, of the vast interests which are connected with our Cotton manufactures, and which obviously involve most deeply the interests of the nation at large, requires that a vigorous effort should be made to enlarge the importation, from British India, of Cotton Wool of superior quality, if possible, to any which is now grown there. Without such an effort, our manufacturers are likely to be reduced to very serious difficulties from that enhanced price of this indispensible article, which must be the effect of an increasing consumption without a corresponding increase in the supply; while a new impulse will be

given to the extension of the Slave Trade and Slavery in the possessions of Foreign Nations.

It will not be denied that much may be done, by an Association like the present, to counteract these evils, by stimulating the increased growth of Cotton in India, and by facilitating and encouraging the substitution of superior descriptions of that article, for the low and comparatively worthless kinds, which are now grown there. To this truly national object the attention of the Tropical Free-labour Company will be particularly directed.

Another main purpose for which this Company has been formed, is to promote the production of Sugar by Free labour.

The British Dominions in Asia are well adapted to the growth of this article, and are capable of supplying it to an indefinite extent; but, from the unskilfulness of the natives in the process of manufacturing it, combined with their want of capital, and the fiscal restrictions to which it is subject, little progress has hitherto been made in introducing the Sugar of that part of the world into general consumption. If effectual means, however, were adopted of obviating these disadvantages, the Sugar Trade of British India could not fail rapidly to increase.

The requisite means to this end have been fully pointed out, in a small pamphlet published by Hatchard, and entitled "East-India Sugar; or, an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies." The statements contained in it are taken from authentic documents, officially furnished to the East-India Company, and by them laid before the public. That East-India Sugar may be made a profitable article of culture, even under all the disadvantages with which it has to contend, no one, who candidly examines the evidence there produced, will doubt: What is chiefly required is, that British intelligence and British capital should be employed to give an impulse and a right direction to the industry of the natives; by encouraging the more extensive cultivation of Sugar; by improving the mode and lessening the expense of its manufacture; and by

thus, generally, raising its quality, and diminishing its cost, so as to render it an article of more enlarged and more beneficial commercial intercourse with our Asiatic possessions than it is at present.

The Tropical Free-labour Company proposes, therefore, to direct a large share of its attention to the objects of promoting the cultivation and manufacture of Sugar by Free Labour in British India, and of facilitating its admission into general use, not only in the United Kingdom, but in all other parts of the world. This would be chiefly effected by introducing into India improved modes of manufacture; and by making such safe and judicious advances to the manufacturers, and, through them, to the cultivators of the soil, as may be necessary to promote the increase of production. Such advances as may be made from year to year, with the view of promoting the growth or manufacture of Sugar, or of any other article of tropical growth, will be annually liquidated by the consignment of the produce thus raised to the Company; whose profits will arise from the usual commissions on the sale of such produce, and the interest chargeable on its advances.

The course which it is intended to pursue in this respect, has had the sanction of lengthened experience. It is precisely that course which has been uniformly pursued in similar cases by the East-India Company, and by the Capitalists of British India; and which has already proved so signally successful in promoting the cultivation of Indigo, and in otherwise developing the faculties of that vast and fertile region.

Proceeding on the data already referred to, and which stand fully confirmed by other satisfactory testimony, it appears that the whole advance which can be required for the production, for example, of a ton of Sugar would be from twelve to about fifteen or sixteen pounds, even on the supposition, which is a very improbable one, that the manufacturer possessed no funds of his own. To ensure, therefore, the production of 10,000 tons of Sugar annually, the utmost advance that could be required would not exceed 160,000*l*. And it is obvious, that, if the success of the Company should be such as may fairly be

expected, it would be possible greatly to enlarge its efforts. An additional supply of 10,000 tons of Sugar might be raised by every fresh advance of 160,000*l.*; until a sufficient amount of capital should be employed fully to meet that growing demand for Sugar which may be anticipated from the combined effect of the diminished cost of its production and the increasing prosperity of the Empire.

The advantage which would accrue to the commercial interests of Great Britain, and still more of Ireland, by the extensive creation of fresh means of making returns, to meet the rapidly increasing demand of our manufactures on the part of the immense population of British India—to say nothing of the benefits which would thus be conferred on that population—is too obvious to need to be insisted on. But it will not be the least powerful recommendation of the scheme to multitudes, that, if it should succeed, it must eventually tend to extinguish Slavery in Foreign as well as in British Colonies, and to put a final period to the Foreign Slave-Trade, which still prevails on the coast of Africa.

Although the preceding statements have an especial reference to British India, yet the Tropical Free-labour Company does not intend to confine its views to that quarter, but to extend them, as fair openings may occur, to the British Dominions in other parts of the world, and particularly in Africa and the West Indies.

The capital of the Tropical Free-labour Company is fixed, for the present, at Four Millions of Pounds Sterling, to be divided into eighty thousand Shares of fifty pounds each.

The conduct of its affairs will be intrusted to a Board of Directors in London, to be chosen by the Subscribers; but at each of the Outports of the United Kingdom, where subscriptions shall be received to the amount of 100,000*l.*, a Subsidiary Board will be appointed, to receive consignments and effect sales at such port. In the mean time, a Provisional Committee has been named, for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed plan; and to them it is left to take the necessary

measures for legally constituting the Company; to frame laws and regulations for its government; to collect further information; to establish agencies; and otherwise to promote the objects contemplated by the present Prospectus.

To enable the Committee effectually to prosecute these objects, the sum of One Pound per share will be required to be paid by the Subscribers to one or other of the Bankers named above, as soon as they shall have received notice of the shares that have been appropriated to them.

When the Board of Directors shall have been chosen, they shall be at liberty to make further calls on the Subscribers, as circumstances may require, to the amount, in all, of ten per cent., or Five Pounds per share of the capital subscribed. But, before any call beyond ten per cent. shall be made, the Directors must be authorized to do so by a General Meeting in London, specially summoned for the purpose, on a day of which four weeks' notice shall be given; before which Meeting the Directors shall lay a full view of the state and progress of the Company's affairs.

The Shares of this Company will not be transferrable without the consent of the Directors.

To this Prospectus it seems proper to subjoin the following considerations, extracted from one of the daily journals, which exhibit some of the advantages which may be expected to flow from bringing Free labour into competition with Slave labour.—

"In consequence of the high prices which Cotton, Sugar, Indigo, and Silk, now bear in the British markets, it must be allowed, that the prospect of benefit, from the judicious employment of capital in promoting their more extended cultivation, is, at present, very encouraging, even if we should look no farther than to the regular progressive increase of the manufactures of Great Britain. But when we turn our view to

Ireland, its importance is vastly increased. At a moderate estimate, we have there a population of three millions whom its agriculture cannot advantageously employ, but who have, at present, no other employment. What resource remains for them but manufactures? Manufactories, however, cannot be established without an adequate supply of the raw material; and this it is one great object of this Company to furnish. In reference, therefore, to Ireland, and also to India, still more, if possible, than to Great Britain, it may be regarded as forming a grand link in the chain of those means by which, according to the enlightened views promulgated in the King's Speech at the opening of the present session, an unrestricted commerce may be made the instrument of promoting the improvement and civilization of mankind.

"And what are the obstacles to prevent our reaping these advantages? Chiefly the remaining impolitic restrictions on trade, and above all the bounties and protecting duties which have hitherto been given to support Colonial Slavery. Slavery is a most expensive system; and it could not long maintain its ground if those enlightened principles were suffered to operate upon it which are now almost universally recognized, and which are acted upon in almost every other department of commerce. Let it not be forgotten that the direct pecuniary sacrifices which we have been making in bounties and protecting duties for the support of Slavery, and in civil and military establishments to keep the Slaves in subjection, cannot be estimated at less than about two millions annually, independently of the serious obstructions which the present system opposes to the general extension of our commerce. This system continued, notwithstanding the liberality of our professed principles, what is it but an isolated monument of our folly, which it is essential to expose in all its naked deformity, and which, when it comes to be justly appreciated, will not long remain to shock the feelings while it impedes the prosperity of the country?

"But to return to Ireland: If the people of Ireland are to be employed in manufactures, not only will a supply of the raw material be wanted, but a new market must be found for the

manufactured article. Now both these wants may be adequately supplied by British India. And what prevents it? Chiefly the narrow policy which obstructs the migration to India of an adequate number of intelligent agents, and the high duties imposed on East-Indian produce.

"The cotton trade of Great Britain does not employ more than two millions of her population. The value of our import of cotton wool in the last year did not exceed six millions sterling: but the value of the goods manufactured from that wool (including both our home consumption and our export) amounted to at least sixty millions. This amazing increase of value (tenfold) was effected by the labour of about two millions of people. And yet in Ireland we have three millions of people who, I conceive, are shut out from a like beneficial employment only by our absurd and mischievous restrictions.

"But to take another view of the subject, fourteen millions of people in Great Britain raise an annual revenue of more than fifty-two millions sterling. Seven millions of people in Ireland, if as fully employed as they are in Great Britain, would be able to raise twenty-six millions. In their present distressed and miserable condition, they raise a revenue, and that with great difficulty, of four or five millions. How largely then should we gain, even in revenue, by giving to Ireland the advantages of numerous manufactures, and an extended trade! We might then take off more than a third of our present taxes. But to produce these results, it seems absolutely necessary in the first instance to secure an adequate supply of the raw material, and a market for the manufactured produce,—objects which seem readily attainable by carrying into effect the very principles which are now universally recognised as sound and beneficial.

"But on the supposition that we refuse to act on these principles, what must be the result? The intercourse between England and Ireland, be it remembered, is now so facilitated by means of steam boats, that if we do not find employment for the people of Ireland at home, they will migrate hither in order to share our employments. And when we consider that

it is the poor Irish, whom want has driven from their homes, who half fill our gaols, at least in the manufacturing districts; and who, by cheapening labour, drive our own population to the parish for subsistence; may we not say, that millions of our poor and county rates are owing to the protracted poverty and wretchedness of Ireland?

"The people of England have well performed one part of their duty, by petitioning against the continuance of Slavery, for the support of which we make such enormous sacrifices. They have now an opportunity of evincing their sincerity by cordially supporting the present and every similar plan, tending, as they must, to undermine the very foundation on which rests the Slavery, not only of the 800,000 Negroes in the colonies of Great Britain, but of the four or five millions who are held in bondage in other parts of the Western world; and to put a final termination also to the Slave Trade, which is the disgrace of Europe and the scourge of Africa."

APPENDIX, F.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES *.

Two publications have recently appeared, giving an account of the island of Jamaica; one written by the Rev. Richard Bickell, who resided nearly five years as a clergyman in that island; the other by M. De la Beche, the proprietor of a sugar estate in the parish of Clarendon, called Halse Hall, and who was on the spot during the whole of 1824. The latter gentleman appears to feel a natural leaning in favour of the community of planters, to which he himself belongs; and yet his statements wonderfully confirm those of Mr. Bickell, and of the Abolitionists generally, in all essential points. The account, indeed, which M. De la Beche gives of the management of his own estate, and which is assumed to be correct, evinces a more than usual portion of consideration for the well-being of his Slaves. Accordingly the decrease which took place during the year of his residence was very small. In March 1823 the number returned, as being then on his estate, was 208. When he quitted the island, in December 1824, he states the number to have been 207, (96 males and 111 females,) being a decrease of only one in about twenty-one months. It would appear, however, that previous to 1823 the decrease had been much more rapid. The return made in March 1820 states the number at that time to have been 233. Between March 1820, therefore, and March 1823, the decrease must have been no less than 25, being nearly 11 per cent. in that time. This decrease may possibly admit of some satisfactory explanation, but none is given in the pamphlet of M. De la Beche. He merely states, in general terms, that there had been "'a decrease" of his

* See Report, p. 36, line 5—30.

Negroes until the year ending in March 1824, but without any specification of its amount. It would have been useful, however, to have pointed out the causes which had produced such a ruinous depopulation previously to his own visit to the island, and the nature of the changes which had arrested the course of that depopulation during the year when he himself was present, and when he appears to have paid a laudable degree of attention to the temporal and spiritual interests of his Slaves, which it were to be wished he could have said had been imitated by the planters generally. This, however, he gives his readers to understand, was by no means the case. On the contrary, almost all the assertions contained in the paragraph to which the present note is appended are fully borne out by his statements, notwithstanding the caution and reserve with which these are obviously given. It may be useful to take them in their order, and to compare them with this gentleman's testimony.

1. "The depopulation of our Colonies is proceeding at a rate which can be explained on no principle but that of the severity of their treatment."

M. De la Beche admits that his own Slaves had hitherto decreased; and authentic documents make that decrease, previously to March 1823, to have been proceeding at the enormous rate of nearly four per cent. per annum. He admits also (p. 17), that "a decrease of Negroes is *very common*" on Jamaica estates, and that in some instances this may be owing to ill treatment; but he endeavours to account for it by assigning other causes, such as polygamy, promiscuous intercourse, licentiousness, and voluntary abortions. It is very easy to excuse the planters by calling abortions voluntary. But let it be remembered, that the women work in the field, and under the whip, as long, and as laboriously, as the men; not even pregnant women being excused from their full proportion of labour, until their pregnancy is visible to the eye of the overseer. It is well known, however, that most of the abortions take place (the liability to them being then greatest) in the early periods of gestation, and long before any external marks of it are perceivable. And as for their licentious habits, have not

these been promoted not merely by the utter neglect of their moral culture, but by the profligate example, as well as by the seductions, of their superiors? There exists not to this hour, in Jamaica, a single law encouraging, legalizing, or protecting the marriages of Slaves. What can be a more decisive proof of ill-treatment than this? Even in Africa, though polygamy prevails, yet the institution of marriage is anxiously maintained and protected; while, in the West Indies, Africans and their descendants rank in this respect with the brutes. What signify the Methodist marriages of which this gentleman speaks? These have no legal sanctions; neither indeed have even marriages of Slaves by the Established Clergy. Admitting, therefore, all M. De la Beche's explanations respecting the causes of depopulation to be just, they still resolve themselves into that grand cause assigned by the Abolitionists—*the ill-treatment of the Slaves, and the state of brutish degradation in which they are kept.*

2. "They still labour under the whip without wages."

M. De la Beche says, that he has abolished the use of the whip as a stimulus to labour on his own estate; and that Mr. Hibbert has also abolished it on Albion estate. He adds, "Our Negroes have been quite as orderly, if not more so, since the carrying of the driver's whip has been discontinued; and our work is as well done, though I was gravely warned that such innovations would cause every species of insubordination." (p. 17.) He does not state, however, what it is which he has substituted in the place of this stimulus. Had he given wages it would doubtless have been mentioned. This is a point on which he ought to have been more clear and explicit, for the sake of his brother planters, who deny that the whip can be dispensed with. But what is M. De la Beche's account of the general practice in this respect? "The most common mode of calling the Jamaica Negroes to their labour, (and also from their labour to breakfast, p. 19,) is by the cracking of the driver's whip;" a "barbarous practice" which he wishes "might be discontinued." "It is much to be regretted," he adds, "that considerable *martinetism* exists on some pro-

perties with regard to the time when the Negroes ought to assemble in the morning: *then it is that the Negroes suffer most from the driver's whip; for he unfortunately can, upon his own authority, inflict punishment on those who are not in time* *; thus making him the judge of an excuse that might appear quite valid to the overseer, though I by no means wish to state, that the overseers always lean to the side of justice, believing that *not above one half of them are qualified to wield the power, that, under existing circumstances, must necessarily be entrusted to them.*" (p. 19.) So that, even by the frank admission of this planter, one half of the overseers of Jamaica, who have the destiny of the Slaves in their hands, are unfit to wield the unlimited authority confided to them. But he goes on: "With very few exceptions, the drivers on Jamaica estates carry either whips or cats; on some they are little used; but I am afraid they are not always mere symbols of authority." "On estates where the whip is permitted as a stimulus to labour, the driver stands near the Negroes, when at work, *and has the power of inflicting punishment at his own discretion upon those who may to him appear idle; a power, as may easily be imagined, liable to much abuse,* and which *should be abolished.*" (p. 21.) This is decisive language, on the part too of one who attributes to the Abolitionists the use of unmeasured invective.

3. "They are still chattels. They are still not the subjects of law, but of individual caprice. They are still without any civil or political rights. Even their marriages are still unsanctioned and unprotected by any legal recognition."

This last evil has been already adverted to. M. De la Beche does not say, that marriage is even now encouraged. All he says is, that "I have never heard or known of a late instance in Jamaica where it was discouraged." And he goes on to account for its infrequency by observing, that "the *mass* of the

* It will be remembered with what clamour and invective the Rev. Mr. Cooper was assailed, as guilty of falsehood and calumny, when he made precisely the same statement in the pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery."

Black population have still a very great objection to this state." Undoubtedly they have; and so would the population of England if the state of the law and of manners was the same in England as in Jamaica. Who would marry in England if there were no law to protect marriage; if the marriage bed could be violated with impunity; if an attempt to resent or punish the violation might be visited, as rebellion, with stripes or with death; if the conjugal tie might be abruptly torn asunder by the will of either party, or by the arbitrary will of third parties, or by their insolvency or death; if the married pair had no interest in their children, they being as much the property and at the disposal of another as the calves or the lambs of the grazier; and, above all, if no disgrace or discredit, or disqualification of any kind attached to either women or men on account of their living in illicit and unrestrained concubinage? Who would marry in England were such the case there? And yet such is the case in Jamaica. Now, surely M. De la Beche might have accounted for the objections of the Blacks to marriage on better grounds than that of their non-advancement in civilization. Does he mean then to say, that they are not as far advanced in civilization as the Africans are in their native land; as the Hottentots, for example, or as the Indians in North America, or as the Esquimaux, or as the New Hollanders? The near approximation of the Slaves to civilized Europeans, or rather their domestication with them, must, in that case, have operated inversely to its more natural and obvious tendency. But in what nation, savage or civilized, except among the Slaves of polished and enlightened Europeans, can he point out so singular a brutishness and debasement of the human nature as is implied in the non-existence of marriage among them?

The other evils mentioned above are rather implied in the general tenor of the pamphlet than expressly mentioned in it. They are so obvious, however, as not to have required any direct recognition, or they will be found involved in the point which follows.

4. "Their evidence is still generally inadmissible against free persons."

This is admitted by M. De la Beche (p. 49); and the utmost he can say is, that "some persons in Jamaica, and himself among the rest," are favourable to the principle of Negro evidence being admitted. But what a total destitution of all civil and political rights, and what an exposure to individual caprice is implied in the inadmissibility of their evidence!

5. "Their manumission is still obstructed."

In Jamaica, a bond for 100*l.* was required on the manumission of every Slave; and in a variety of cases of mortgaged or contested property, or where the owner was a minor, manumission was not practicable. The necessity of giving the bond in question, M. De la Beche says, has recently been dispensed with; although it would appear from the act, of which he gives an abstract, that even this dispensation is partial. That act professes to give facilities to manumissions, but it does so very ineffectually: indeed it is little better than a mockery. What is chiefly wanted, is not a law enabling masters, in certain specified cases, to grant manumissions, but entitling the Slaves to claim and to obtain their freedom, whenever they have the means of paying for it at a fair and equitable appraisement. On this point, M. De la Beche, contrary to his usual candour, is so far infected by West-Indian prejudices, as to object to giving to the Negro a power of purchasing his own freedom, or that of his wife and children. And the reason he assigns for entertaining this objection, is not a little singular. "To those who possess local knowledge*, or have made themselves acquainted with the Negro character, difficulties will present themselves which, if not guarded against by some regulations, might involve the planter in great embarrassment; for his best and most industrious people are alone likely to avail themselves of this right, and he therefore would be saddled with the worthless and unprofitable, with whom he would be unable to

* This gentleman's local knowledge was not very extensive. But, even had it been much more so, there often exists along with it, such a thing as local prejudice, which is apt to grow in a like proportion.

cultivate the property." (p. 50.)—Now, let any man weigh this mode of reasoning—and it is one which, it is to be feared, prevails very generally in the West Indies—and what will he find to be its result but the condemnation of the whole Negro race to perpetual and irreclaimable Slavery? The industrious and deserving are too good to be parted with, even at their fair price; and, of course, the worthless and unprofitable are never likely to obtain those means of redemption which must be the fruit either of their own industry, or of their master's favour. What a system must that of West-India slavery be, which could even suggest to the mind of a benevolent man such an objection as this, and still more, which could induce him seriously to entertain and to urge it! If a proof were wanting of the absolute necessity of parliamentary interference, to remove the obstacles to manumission, it would be found in the view taken of the subject by M. De la Beche.

6. "Even after being made free, they are still liable to be reduced again to slavery, if unable to produce proof of freedom."

M. De la Beche says nothing on this enormity. Had it ceased to exist, he would doubtless have stated the fact. But there is abundant proof of its continuance at the very time he himself resided in the island. In the Jamaica Gazette of July 3, 1824, there appears the following advertisement.

"Kingston Work-house, May 28, 1824.

"Notice is hereby given, That unless the undermentioned Slave is taken out of this workhouse, prior to Monday the 26th day of July next, he will, on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, be put up to public sale, and sold to the highest and best bidder, at Harty's Tavern, in this city, agreeably to the Workhouse Law in force, for payment of his fees.

"William Hall, a Portuguese African Negro-man, says that he was sold on the coast when a boy, to a Captain Roper, who commanded a ship called the Eliza, with whom *he went to England twice*, and *finally went away from him while there*, and came to Jamaica in the ship Duke, Captain Smith, as a

servant, in lieu of passage money, and has ever since been here."

"By order of the Commissioners,

"Henry Broughton, Superintendant."

Now, here we have a Negro man, claimed as a Slave by no one, accused of no crime, but who is seized as a runaway, put in jail, and at last sold for the payment of his jail fees. Where is he now, and what is his condition? He had been twice in England. The last time he was there, he quitted the only person who could claim any title to him, and asserted, as he had a good right to do, his liberty; but going to Jamaica, and living there for some time, he is at length, in that Christian land, in that land which boasts its free, its British, Constitution, seized and sold as a Slave. What worse could have happened to him at Algiers or Tunis? But ought not the Secretary of State for his Majesty's Colonies to interfere in a case of this atrocious nature, where, under the pretended operation of law, administered in the King's name, men entitled to his protection, are thus made the subjects of the most odious and brutal oppression? What signify our Abolition Laws, if such scandalous acts of kindnapping and Slave-trading can take place, *openly* and *legally* too, (if the word *legal* will admit of such a prostitution,) in the largest city in the British West-Indies, and within a few miles of the residence of a British Governor? If a foreign state were thus to treat a British subject, it would be regarded as justly furnishing a cause of war. But here, in one of our own colonies, the local authorities have the audacity to seize and enslave, and, in open day and by public auction, vend for his jail fees, a man who, by the laws of England, had obtained his freedom, and was as fully entitled to preserve it unimpaired as the superintendant of the Workhouse, or as the Duke of Manchester himself. Is there no process by which such an atrocious transaction as this can be brought before some competent tribunal?

But, to take another instance, no less flagrant: In the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of the 18th September 1824, is contained the following advertisement.—

"Manchester Workhouse, August 4, 1824.

"Notice is hereby given, That unless the under-mentioned Slaves are taken out of this Workhouse prior to Wednesday the 29th day of September next, they will on that day, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, be put up to public sale, and sold to the highest and best bidder, at the *Court House*, Mandeville, agreeably to the Workhouse Law now in force, for payment of their fees.

"Eleanor Davison, a Creole, 4 feet 11 inches. She has a little girl with her, and has been delivered of a male child since she has been in this Workhouse: Says she is free, and that John Davidson, a free Brown man, of Kingston, is her father.

"By order of the Commissioners,

"John Hollingsworth, Sup."

It was only in September last that this outrageous violation of humanity and justice was perpetrated, under the operation of what in mockery is called *law* in the island of Jamaica, and that not covertly, but openly. A female, the mother of two children, one recently born, is confined in jail, without a pretext of any kind for her arrest and imprisonment; and, without a single reason being assigned for it, is doomed, with her children, to perpetual Slavery. Much has been said of the violence and acrimony which mark the writings of the Abolitionists towards the West Indians. It may be, and certainly is, unjustifiable, to employ violent or acrimonious language towards the West-Indians themselves. But it would be something less than human, to contemplate such fruits of the system which they administer as this, without horror and indignation. It is impossible not again to press these matters on the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Can it be that such transactions as these do not meet the eye either of himself or of those who are employed under him? Is there no one to be found who will direct a moment's attention to the observation of such atrocities? They have only to cast an eye over the Jamaica newspapers, in order to discover them. After all that has been made known of the abuses of the West-Indian system,

and after the solemn pledges given by Government and Parliament, must it be left to accident to detect and expose such crimes as these, crimes of the very worst description, under the colour of law; of law, however, which is such an outrage on all law as could not be tolerated by any set of men, who have not been prepared for it by the presence and influence of Negro Slavery?

7. "The master may still sell or transfer them at his pleasure, without any regard to family ties. He alone still regulates the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment. He may still brand them, whether men or women, in any part of their bodies with a heated iron; confine them in the stocks, load them with chains, strip them naked, and cart-whip them at his pleasure."

Now it has been positively asserted by various writers on the side of the colonists, that the laws of the West Indies do not permit family ties to be broken. Such assertions only prove either the gross ignorance or the wilful falsification of fact on the part of such writers. M. De la Beche is superior to practising any such deception: he says, "Families ought *never* to be separated, nor is it by any means *so* common a practice *as formerly*; still, however, laws cannot be too soon enacted" (they are not then as yet enacted) "to prevent the possibility of this being done." Are such things then actually done, or is the absence of law supplied by a sense of humanity in practice? Let the recent Gazettes of Jamaica answer the question. In that of the 16th October 1824, stand the following advertisements:—

"Deputy-Marshal's Office, Kingston, Oct. 9, 1824.

"VENDITIONIS returnable October Grand Court, 1824.

"*Campbell, Alex., esquire, exor.* vs. *Thos. Hardy, free Black.*

"*Hamilton, Robert, esquire,* vs. *Same.*

"*Fishley & al. esquires, admors.* vs. *Same.*

"James, a Black, a mason; supposed age 30 years.

"Jack, ditto, ditto; supposed age 36 years.

"Billy, ditto, ditto; supposed age 34 years."

" *Hale & al. merchants*, vs. *Anthony Gutzmer, jun., esquire.*

" Maria, a Black, a waiting girl ; supposed age 13 years.

" *Chamberlain & al. practitioners*, vs. *Michael Hughes, mason.*

" William Gilbert, a Black, a mason ; supposed age 35 years.

" *Bravo, Abraham, merchant*, vs. *Edward Boyden, Gent.*

" Joe, a Black, a waiting-boy ; supposed age 12 years.

" *Glen, Frances, of Colour*, vs. *Robt. Chamberlain, esquire.*

" Betty, a Black, a drudge ; supposed age 32 years.

" *Barclay, Andrew, druggist*, vs. *Abraham Alex. Lindo, esquire.*

" Edinburgh, a Black, a labourer ; supposed age 50 years.

" George, ditto, a waiter ; supposed age 26 years.

" Take notice, That I shall put up to public sale, at Harty's Tavern, on Monday the 25th inst. between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, the above Negroes, levied upon under and by virtue of the foregoing writs of *venditioni exponas.*

" Also the following five Convicts, to be sold for Transportation :

" Betsy Morgan, Nick, *alias* Edward Bartly, William Bond, Prince, and Chance.

" William Rose, D. M."

" Deputy-Marshal's Office, Kingston, Oct. 2, 1824.

" VENDITIONIS returnable October Grand Court, 1824.

" *M'Bayne & al.* vs. *John Orr, dec. in hands of Joseph Donnell, esquire, admor.*

" Susanna, a Black, a washer ; supposed age 45 years.

" Stephen (her son), ditto, a waiting boy ; supposed age 12 years.

" Allick (ditto), ditto, ditto ; supposed age 6 years.

" George (ditto), ditto ; supposed age 3 years.

" Nancy (her daughter), ditto ; supposed age 1½ year.

" *Duffus, Wm., Gent.*, vs. *Winckworth Tonge, dec. in hands of Wm. James Murphy, admor.*

" John Young, a Black, a field Negro ; supposed age 35 years."

" *Salentin, L. L. merchant*, vs. *John B. Cadow, Gent.*

" Jane, a Black, a drudge; supposed age 34 years.

" Louisa (her daughter), ditto; supposed age 3 years.

" *Mois, John, esquire*, vs. *Mary Marquis, of colour.*

" Prudencé, a Black, a drudge; supposed age 35 years.

" *M'Mickan, Gilbert Gordon*, vs. *John Lodge, of colour.*

" Bella, a Black, a drudge; supposed age 33 years.

" *Bogle, Janet, of colour*, vs. *Wm. Henry Sowley, Gent.*

" Joe, a Black, a sailor; supposed age 30 years.

" *Millward & al. attornies at law*, vs. *Wm. Geo. Mowatt, of colour.*

" George, a Black, a waiting boy; supposed age 6 years.

" *Rieusett, Leonora Sarah, widow*, vs. *Elizabeth Crichton, widow, in hands of Edward and Joseph Boyden, exors.*

" Henry, a Black, a waiter; supposed age 30 years.

" *Henry, Peter, Gent.* vs. *James M'Queen, of colour.*

" A Cart and three Chaise Bodies.

" *Miller, Alex. merchant*, vs. *Frances Woollery, of colour.*

" Benjamin, a Black, a hair-dresser; supposed age 20 years.

" *Miskelly, John, Gent.* vs. *Robert Rainford, Gent.*

" A Dun Horse.

" *Grant, Alex. & al. exors.* vs. *James Oughton.*

" A Bay Horse.

" Take notice, That I shall put up to public sale, at Harty's Tavern, on Monday the 18th inst. between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, the above Negroes, Cart, Chaise Bodies, and Horses, levied upon under and by virtue of the foregoing writs of *venditioni exponas*.

" William Rose, D. M."

" Portland, Sept. 28, 1824.

" Notice is hereby given, That on Tuesday the 12th day of the ensuing month of October, between the hours of 10 and 12 in the forenoon, I shall set up to public sale, at the Court-House of this parish, the following Negro Slaves, distrained on for

taxes and arrears of taxes against Charles Bernard, Esq. and Mill-Bank, viz.

" Samuel Cochran, a field-man.
" Isabella Bernard, a field-woman.
" Flora Bernard, ditto.
" Frances Bernard, ditto.
" Judy Bernard, ditto.

" John Steel, C. O."

" St. Andrew's, Oct. 6, 1824.

" Take notice, That on Wednesday the 20th inst. I shall put up to public sale, at Harty's Tavern, in Kingston, between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, a field Negro boy, named Amos, levied on for taxes due by Mr. Joseph Fry.

" P. Pinnock, C. C."

" Deputy-Marshal's Office, Kingston, Oct. 16, 1824.

" VENDITIONIS returnable February Grand Court, 1825.

" *Desgouttes, Lewis, esquire,* vs. *Peter De Gournay, planter.*

" *Same* vs. *Same.*

" *Same* vs. *Same.*

" Eliza, a Black, a drudge; supposed age 30 years.
" Mary, ditto. a field Negro; supposed age 38 years.
" Thomas, ditto, a carpenter; supposed age 34 years.
" Charles, ditto, a cartman; supposed age 30 years.
" Moss, ditto, ditto; supposed age 30 years.
" Antoine, ditto, a mason; supposed age 30 years.
" Terrice, ditto, a waiting girl; supposed age 25 years.
" Thomas (her son), ditto, a waiting-boy; supposed age 7 years.
" Benjamin, ditto, a driver, supposed age 35 years.
" Gillott, ditto, a car-man; supposed age 30 years.
" Gabriel, ditto, a waiter; supposed age 24 years.
" La Croix, ditto, a cartman; supposed age 30 years,
" Charlotte, ditto, a cook; supposed age 50 years.
" Edmund, ditto, a muleman; supposed age 20 years.
" John, ditto, a field Negro; supposed age 30 years.
" Eleanor, ditto, a grass-cutter; supposed age 35 years.
" Cudjoe, ditto, a cartman; supposed age 35 years.

VENDITIONI returnable Nov. Court of Common Pleas, 1824.

"*Bravo, Abraham, merchant,* vs. *John Ashburn, of colour.*

"Hagar, a Black, a drudge, supposed age 18 years.

"Take notice, That I shall put up to public sale, at Harty's tavern, on Monday the 1st day of November next, between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, the above Negroes, levied upon under and by virtue of the foregoing writs of Venditioni Exponas. Wm. Rose, D. M."

"St. Andrew's, Oct. 9, 1824.

"Take notice, That on Monday the 25th inst. I shall put up to public sale, at Harty's Tavern, in Kingston, between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, a Negro girl named Olive, a house-servant, levied on for taxes due by Mullet-Hall Plantation, the property of the late Robert Chamberlain, Esq., dec. P. Pinnock, C. C."

Now all these advertisements occur in a single week in the Royal Gazette of Kingston. What further advertisements of the same descriptions in the same week, might be found in the newspapers of Spanish Town and Montego Bay, it is impossible to say. But here, in this one paper, is enough for the present purpose—is enough to furnish the most conclusive evidence of the fact of the frequent disruption, by sale, of the nearest and dearest family ties. The instances of a contrary kind which occur are rather the exception than the rule.

But it would be altogether to misapprehend the extent of the evil which arises from the transferable nature of this species of property, to suppose that the above advertisements comprize all the transactions even of that one week which go to attest that Slaves are chattels, the mere objects of an unceremonious and brutal traffic, literally ranking them with the beasts of the field. Taking this same one week's Gazette of the 16th of Oct. 1824, besides the sales already enumerated, there may be found in it advertisements for the sale of about 1900 Negroes, chiefly under decrees of the Court of Chancery. These are advertised to be sold either together or in families, and with or without the land. For example:—

"Portland, Aug. 24, 1824.

"To be sold, Mount-Oakley, including Lydart, 322 acres and 3 rods, with the buildings, 60 Slaves, 23 cattle, and 57 sheep; or, if more agreeable, a part of the land and Negroes, as may be most desirable to a purchaser. Time will be allowed for the payment, by instalments, on giving good and sufficient security. This property is well known to be a very healthy and pleasant residence.—Apply to the proprietor on the property.

"Thomas Oakley."

"October 16, 1824.

"For sale, Twickenham-Park, in the parish of St. Ann, on which there is a spacious dwelling-house, out-offices, barbicues, &c. &c. The situation is very healthy, and is a most desirable residence for a family. The property contains 400 acres of land, cultivated in Guinea-Grass, subdivided in pastures and pimento-walks. It has two springs of water, one of which has supplied the neighbourhood in the late drought. There are 50 able Slaves, who are also for sale; and if not sold with the property, they will be disposed of in families to suit purchasers. Application to be made to James Betty, Esq., Crescent-Park, St. Ann's; Mr. Netlam Tory, Kingston; or to the subscriber on the property. John Williams."

Let any one conceive the dismay and devastation which the sale of such gangs in *lots* must produce. What becomes now of their houses, their provision grounds*, their former associates? And what a gloomy and uncertain futurity awaits them! Death may have deprived them of a kind and indulgent master, whose very kindness may now serve no other purpose, but to embitter their present destiny. They may be doomed to form part of a jobbing gang; the only consideration with the master

* We hear much of the rights of property *practically* allowed to the Slaves. What becomes of their property in cases like this;—cases too of continual recurrence? In a single week we find in one newspaper of one island, about 2,000 Slaves advertised for sale, and thus exposed to be torn from their domiciles, and to lose, in a moment, much if not all of what they had been collecting around them, perhaps, during their whole lives.

of which may be, how many dubloons he can extract from them, by the power of the cartwhip, before they are ground down to their native dust. Of jobbing gangs M. De la Beche himself observes, that their lot is worse than that of the plantation Slaves; having generally hard labour to perform, and frequently far from their own homes, when they are obliged to take up with temporary huts which have little appearance of comfort. (p. 34.)

Then as to the other parts of the picture, there cannot surely be a more decisive witness than M. De la Beche. Though "the drivers on Halse Hall are not permitted to carry whips, neither are they allowed to punish of their own authority" (p. 5), yet even there the Slaves may be punished, at the will of the master, or, in his absence, of the overseer, by the stoppage of extra allowances, by confinement in the stocks, by switching, and, in bad cases, by the whip. Though *he* has abolished the whip as respects women, yet he is obliged to express his "surprise" "at the continuance of a practice so revolting." (p. 45.) And he admits, as has been already seen, that, "with very few exceptions, the drivers on Jamaica estates carry either whips or cats;" and that, when they do, "*the driver has the power of inflicting punishment, at his own discretion, upon those who may to him appear idle; a power, he adds, liable to much abuse.*" (pp. 20, 21.) "The usual method of punishing Negroes is by the whip, cat-o'-nine tails, and switch*, or by confinement in the stocks." This last, he thinks, should be generally adopted, as far as respects women, instead of the *present* disgraceful custom of flogging them. And though he thinks this custom not now common, yet he says there is no excuse for not doing it away entirely. (p. 33.)

Again; though, on his own estate, he gives his people an allowance of food, yet he ingenuously adds, that it is only in a few lowland districts that the people have such allowance;

* This switch, which is spoken of in such modest terms, is usually an ebony bush, full of small prickles, and draws blood from the posteriors at every stroke.

elsewhere the people supply themselves with the produce of their own labour. "When the proprietor is an absentee, he gives a power of attorney to some gentleman in whom he has confidence. The attorney then occupies the situation of the proprietor, and directs the management of his property, appointing overseers &c. Some gentlemen are attorneys for many properties."

"These arrangements," observes M. De la Beche, "would not affect the comforts of the Negroes, IF the attorney took the same interest in them that the proprietor must necessarily do; but *here matters become altered, for the interest of the attorney*" (he being paid a per-centage on the produce) "*is to make as much as possible from the estate, and the Negroes become only a secondary consideration.*" Attorneys having the management of many estates, can seldom inspect them. "They are in consequence often entirely left to the overseers, with the exception perhaps of a yearly or half yearly visit. Another evil arises from this system. The overseers look up to this person for patronage, and seldom or ever trouble their heads about the proprietors: they study his interest before that of the proprietors, and think more of making large crops to benefit their employer, than they do of improving the condition of the people." "The comforts of the Negroes depend therefore greatly on the overseers," (of whom he had before said, that not more than one half were fit for their situation,) "for these persons constantly reside among them, and have it in their power to exercise a petty tyranny over them." It is true they can and do complain to the attorney, for which purpose they undertake long journeys; yet I am afraid there is sometimes a leaning to the side of the overseer, from a idea of supporting the White people on the estate." "For any serious act of injustice," (what would be considered in Jamaica as a *serious* act of injustice?) "the Negroes complain to the magistrates, who, it is but fair to state, most commonly see them righted. The comforts of the people may still, however, be seriously affected by the conduct of the overseer, should he not be a humane man, a circumstance not always sufficiently

attended to in his appointment." (p. 38.) "Upon many properties," even "the book-keepers" (generally raw lads from school) "are permitted to order punishment, a practice that should not be allowed." (p. 39.) And besides all this, M. De la Beche states, that "at the various workhouses," (there is one in every parish,) "Negroes are often sent by individuals to receive punishment, which ought never to be done but under the authority of the magistrates," implying that it is now done without that authority. (p. 46.)

But, before concluding this overgrown note, it will be necessary to say a few words on the practice of branding. M. De la Beche does not deny its prevalence. On the contrary, he has the candour to admit that on his own estate, three were branded so recently as 1822 or 1823. He adds, "it was wished to punish the overseer who had caused them to be branded; but *as the operation had been performed by heating the small silver brand in burning spirits, and had been applied only for an instant to the back, it was by no means certain that we could do so.*" And yet, by way of palliating the practice, he gives the particulars of three convictions for *cruel* branding. One man, Joseph Boyden, was charged with cruelly, maliciously, and wantonly maltreating, by flogging, and marking in five different parts of her body, with the initials of his name and that of his estate, a Sambo Slave, named Amey. He was found guilty. He was sentenced to *six months' imprisonment*, and the Slave was made free. In another case, the same crime is stated to have been perpetrated with a *hot iron*, probably such an iron as, when heated red hot, is used to brand casks with. The culprit, a blacksmith, of the name of Lee, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, a fine of 100*l.*; and the girl was declared free, and entitled to an annuity of 10*l.* a-year for life. In the third instance, a female was branded on the breasts, probably in the same horrid manner, by a wretch of the name of Cadore, who got off for a fine of 100*l.*, the sufferer being manumitted. In these cases, there must have been some circumstances of peculiar atrocity, which ensured conviction and a measure of punishment;—but for

branding with a silver brand, heated with burning spirits, though described by M. De la Beche, as "an abominable practice," there is, it seems, no punishment. It may legally be inflicted by any ruffian, on any man, woman, or child, placed under his authority; and "brutal characters, when possessed of power, will abuse it." (p. 27.) There is at least no law against it, unless it amounts to that species of cruelty which a West-Indian jury will be found to regard and to punish as a nuisance. M. De la Beche thinks that instances of branding are now rare. He is mistaken, and the Jamaica newspapers prove that he is so.

Let him only look at the Royal Gazettes of Jamaica, that, for example, of the 19th to the 26th June 1824, while he himself was in the island, and abundant proof will there be found of the frequency of the practice. The following are notices of Slaves advertised, either for sale or as runaways:—

"Elizabeth Francis, a Creole, marked G F, G F below, not plain, on the right shoulder."

"William Bullock, a Creole, marked T S, heart on top, on left shoulder."

"Fin, a young Creole Negro boy, marked S on right shoulder."

"Edward Frazer, a Mulatto Creole man, marked R S on shoulder."

"William, *alias* Harry, a Creole, marked apparently I A on right shoulder."

"William Slater, a Creole boy, has blister marks on the left, and marked A S on the right shoulder."

"Frank, a young Creole Sambo man, mark not plain on right shoulder."

"Robert Henry, a young Creole man, marked M R *about* the shoulders."

"Sam, a young Creole Negro man, marked G J on right shoulder."

"Robert, a young Creole Negro man, marked apparently T R P on left shoulder," &c. &c.

8. "He may still deprive them of half their night's rest;

and he may leave them no alternative, with respect to the employment of Sunday, but that of toiling for their subsistence, or carrying their produce to market; and he may still shut them out from the means of religious instruction."

On the subject of night work, M. De la Beche is very frank and explicit. "During crop time," he says, "which generally lasts about four months, the Negroes are, in consequence of being but comparatively few on this estate, divided into two spells, which relieve each other, thus allowing half the night for work and half for rest," besides, be it remembered, working all day. The law forbids working the mill on Sunday night, or after a certain hour on Saturday night.

M. De la Beche appears to entertain a most honourable solicitude for the religious instruction of his own Slaves, and he engaged one of the Wesleyan Missionaries to attend them once a fortnight in the evening. The Jamaica markets, however, are still held on Sundays; but he says that a Saturday market is beginning to grow up in Kingston, owing greatly to the exertions of the Baptist and Wesleyan Missionaries. The only measure which the legislature have taken in the way of encouraging the change, has been to avail themselves of the circumstance to prevent their Slaves from being levied on for debt on the Saturday as well as on the Sunday. This, however, is as much for their own benefit as for that of the Slave.

The religious and moral instruction of the Negroes, M. De la Beche admits, has been very little attended to until lately. The curates appointed some years ago have done little, generally speaking, in this way. Indeed little religious improvement among the Negroes has been effected by the Established Clergy, except in two or three districts. "Hundreds of Negroes have no doubt been baptized: but the ceremony seems to have been considered as sufficient; no religious instruction having been afforded either before or after." The common, though not perhaps the universal, practice has been "to assemble numbers of the Negroes together: they are merely asked what their names are to be, and are then baptized *en masse*, the rector receiving half a dollar for each." (p. 27.)—"It is

only justice to add, that instances have occurred in which the offers of some of the clergy to instruct the Negroes, have been very ungraciously received, and even refused by the managers of estates." A different spirit, he says, *begins* now to prevail, and he hopes that *ere long* all the Negroes will be instructed—much being expected from the bishop *. (p. 28.) M. De la Beche ascribes whatever progress Christianity is now making to the Wesleyan and Baptist Missionaries; the former of whom especially he represents as a highly useful body of men. The supineness of the clergy he does not consider, however, as a ground of blame on the people of Jamaica; who, he says, "have nothing else to do with their appointments, than to pay the salaries attached to them." And yet he admits that the services of the Clergy have often been refused; nor does he say that any effort has been made to stimulate their exertions, except the questionable one of giving them half a dollar for each act of baptism.

M. De la Beche, it will be allowed, after this detail, is an important witness in confirmation of almost all that the Committee have affirmed or sanctioned on the subject of Negro Slavery. His book, however, contains some further matter which calls for remark; and these the respectability of the writer makes it the more expedient not to withhold. He meant doubtless to be fair and candid; but then he must, as a planter, naturally wish to convey as favourable an impression of his own occupation as possible; and his opportunities of accurate observation, during the twelve months he was in the island, with much to employ him on his own estate, could not have been such as to exempt him from error. He must have depended much on the information of others, and that information was not likely to be quite impartial.

* Two circumstances serve to damp this expectation. The first act of the bishop's administration was to appoint the Rev. Mr. Bridges his chaplain; a man notoriously opposed to all reform, and the thorough-going advocate of a system of which M. De la Beche, though no clergyman, has exhibited so dark a picture. The second was to give, probably under Mr. Bridges's dictation, a somewhat repulsive answer to a very respectful address of the People of Colour of Kingston.

It is probably to this cause that the mistakes into which he has fallen, in some instances, may be ascribed.

In fairness he ought to have distinctly informed his readers, that his description of the state of things on his own estate had little or no application to plantations generally; and he ought to have afforded some explanation of the causes of the large decrease of his own Slaves which had preceded his arrival.

M. De la Beche concurs with every other writer in representing the labour of sugar planting as greater than that incident to every other species of culture. "On cattle farms and coffee plantations they have no night work; neither have they cane holes to dig, which is hard labour when the land has not been previously ploughed." He ought to have added, that the plough is scarcely ever used in Jamaica.

He states that the labour of the Negroes begins at five in the morning during half of the year, and at half past five during the other, and continues till seven or half past six in the evening, with an interval of half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner—so that their actual work in the field, independent of the labour of going to it and returning from it, is protracted for from ten hours and a half to eleven hours and a half. He entirely omits, however, all mention of the heavy task which is further imposed upon them, after the labour of the day is over, of collecting grass for the horses and cattle on the estate, and which occupies at least an hour more of their time; making it eight o'clock before they can get to their huts, or set about preparing their supper. There are besides in his detailed statements certain little inaccuracies which serve to produce a false impression, such as "their breakfast has been prepared and brought to the field by cooks;" whereas it is first brought to the field by the Negroes themselves, and there prepared by cooks.—Again, "from choice they defer their principal repast till the evening." Not from choice but necessity; the interval allowed at noon being wholly insufficient to go home, light a fire, prepare a comfortable meal and eat it, before they must be again in the field. He labours also

to prove that Negroes prefer bad houses to good ones. (p. 26.) He bears a remarkable testimony, however, to the voluntary industry of the Negroes, which dissipates at once all the calumnies on that score of which they have been made the subjects. He represents them after having been toiling in the field, under a tropical sun, from five in the morning until half past twelve, seven hours and a half, as devoting the interval of rest to the cultivation of their provision grounds, which, in his case (a very rare one), happen to be near their houses, while their children are employed by them in collecting food for their pigs, although they also form a gang (from six to nine years of age) which is at work, like their parents, during the day. (p. 7.)

"It is generally agreed," says M. De la Beche, "that punishment is by no means so common as it used to be;" and that "the general improvement in the treatment of the people is considerable." (p. 34.) This is possible; and yet it is remarkable, that such has been the uniform language of planters from the year 1787 to the present day. All admitted the badness of the treatment at some preceding period, and maintained the existence in their own day of great improvement. And yet the Slaves still decrease; they are still chattels, they are still without marriage, they are still driven at their work, they are still cart-whipped, they are still subject to overseers not more than one half of whom, M. De la Beche allows, are fit to be trusted with the care of them. These are not very pregnant proofs of improvement. But he would infer from the familiarity with which they are often treated by their masters and mistresses, and the gaiety they exhibit in their dances and on their festivals, that the statements given of the unhappiness of Slavery are exaggerated, and that it is not that depressing institution which many suppose. There cannot, however, be a more unwarranted inference, and it is precisely what has deceived many who have had only a passing glimpse of West-Indian Slavery. But when we contemplate even M. De la Beche's own admissions with respect to

their state in what light can we view their joyousness on certain occasions, but as marking the obtuseness of feeling which Slavery never fails to engender. It resembles the revels of London during the plague, or the Saturnalia of the Romans, and is so far from proving that the Slaves are not a depressed race, that, under all the circumstances of the case, it is one of the indications of their extreme depression.

It is due to M. De la Beche to state, that he cordially approves of almost all the reforms proposed by Government, and that he condemns the Jamaica Assembly for having refused to adopt them.

In the beginning of the present note, allusion was made to another publication by the Rev. Mr. Bickell, entitled "The West-Indies as they are," which still more fully and unequivocally confirms all the positions of the Anti-Slavery Society than even that of M. De la Beche. It is not now intended to enter upon it; as a tract "entitled Negro Slavery, No. XIV.," containing an analysis of its contents, has already been published by the Society, and may be had by the Subscribers.

Looking back to the whole of the details contained in this note*, confirmatory as they are of all the Society's preceding statements, may it not be asked with confidence, whether such a state of *things* as exists in the British Slave-Colonies can be allowed to continue?

* The whole, or nearly the whole, of this article of the Appendix has been taken, after a careful examination of the authorities, from a recent periodical publication.

APPENDIX G.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING THE POPULATION OF THE BRITISH SLAVE-COLONIES.

SINCE the present Report was prepared and put into circulation, the Committee obtained access to further parliamentary returns, tending to throw light on the progress of population in our Slave Colonies; and though they modify in some degree the statements already made, they at the same time appear to add confirmation to the general reasoning. The whole of these returns are still so defective, as to do little more than afford an approximation to a knowledge of the true state and progress of our colonial population. It seems important, however, to preserve the data already obtained, and to point out their apparent bearing. It will be possible hereafter to correct both the facts and the inferences from them, by the additional authentic information which, from time to time, may be procured on the subject. All therefore that can be attempted at present is to make an accurate representation of facts as they appear on the face of the very imperfect parliamentary returns already produced. These returns are:—

1. Return of the amounts of the Slave population in each of his Majesty's Colonies in the West Indies respectively, as received in the office for the registry of Colonial Slaves from its first establishment. It was laid on the table of the House of Commons, in June 1824, and is numbered 424. This document, as far as it goes, will be made the ground-work of the following statements.

2. Return of Slave population in the West-India Colonies, laid on the table of the House of Commons, 4th March, 1823, and numbered 89.

3. Further return of the Slave population in the West-India Colonies, laid on the table of the House of Commons, 14th May, 1823, and numbered 347.

To these papers reference will be made when necessary, by their respective numbers.

1. ANTIGUA.

The Slave population of this island is thus given in the paper No. 424.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817.....	15,053.....	17,206.....	32,259
1820.....	14,454.....	16,531.....	30,985
Leaving an apparent deficit, in three years, of			1,274

No return subsequent to 1820 is given.

In the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, 32 Slaves had been imported into Antigua, and 28 had been exported. (No. 89, p. 48.)

In the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, there were 433 manumissions. (No. 89, p. 49.) This number therefore being deducted from 1274, the apparent decrease, and 4 the excess of imports over exports being added, we have the real decrease of the three years included in the registry returns, viz. 845 being about $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. in that time, or eight-ninths per cent. per annum.

There is no tax on manumissions in Antigua.

No. 89 contains letters from the clergymen of the island (pp. 49—51), stating, that during the fourteen years prior to 1821, no marriages of Slaves had been solemnized by them. By a Missionary, "several couple of Slaves" had been married in that time.

Between the years 1812 and 1816, eighteen persons had been committed to jail, as runaways in the island of Antigua alone, who claimed their freedom, but, being unable to prove it, were sold, agreeably to an Act of the island passed in 1702, and not yet, it would seem, repealed, by which it is enacted, that if any

Slave shall die three months in jail, he shall be sold for payment of his fees, the surplus to go to the public treasury. Since the accession, however, of the present Provost Marshal to his office in 1817, no atrocity of this kind has taken place. (p. 52.)

The number of Whites in Antigua, in April 1821, was 1980; viz. 1140 males, and 840 females. The number of free Black and Coloured persons was at the same period 4182, of whom 2346 were females. (p. 53.)

2. BAHAMAS.

The only return of Slaves from the Bahamas contained in the paper No. 424, is for the year 1822, and is as follows:—Males 5529, females 5279; total 10,808. In the papers No. 347 (p. 152), the Slave population, at the close of 1818, is stated to have been 11,155, which would give an apparent decrease, in 1822, of 347. It appears, however, from the same papers (pp. 150, 151), that in the years 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822, 862 Slaves had been exported, and none imported, and that 210 Slaves had been manumitted. These numbers deducted from 11,155, the population of the 1st January, 1819, leaves 10,083. But the number in 1822 being 10,808, there is an actual increase in that time of 725 Slaves; being at the rate of about 7 per cent., or $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum.

It is probable, however, from the number and scattered position of the Bahama Islands; their vicinity to Cuba, Jamaica, and the United States; the eagerness with which some of the owners sought to obtain permission to transport their Slaves to Guiana, where prices were high; the want of custom-houses in many of the islands to prevent an unlicensed exportation; and the declining state of cultivation generally; that considerably more had been exported in the years 1819—1822, than the custom-house returns exhibit. Many Slaves also, it is reported, escaped during that time to Hayti. It is not improbable therefore, that two or three hundred more might have been removed in these four years, than there is any account of; and for each hundred thus removed, 1 per cent. or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per annum, would have to be added to the rate of increase, which

has been usually stated to be not less than 2½ per cent. per annum, by the Bahama authorities themselves.

No marriages are returned as having beeen *legally* solemnized between Slaves in the Bahamas, from 1808 to 1822; but there is an intimation that Slaves are sometimes married by "Methodist Missionaries, after their manner of formally enjoining them to abide by one woman."

No tax is levied on manumissions in the Bahamas.

3. BARBADOES.

No. 424 gives the population of this island as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	35,354	42,139	77,493
1820	36,733	41,612	78,345
Apparent increase			852

By the return No. 89, it appears that in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, 102 Slaves were imported into Barbadoes, and 22 exported, leaving a balance of 80; and that the manumissions in 1818, 1819, and 1820, amounted to 412. This number therefore being added to the apparent increase, and 80 the excess of imports being deducted, gives 1184 as the real increase in three years, being somewhat more than 1½ per cent. in that time, or ½ per cent. per annum.

Had manumissions taken place in Barbadoes at the same rate as in Antigua, the number manumitted would have been 1070, or at the rate of the Bahamas upwards of 1200. In these two colonies, however, there were no taxes on manumissions, while in Barbadoes there existed, (as appears from the returns, No. 89), until August 1816, a tax of 300*l.* on the manumission of each female, and of 200*l.* on the manumission of each male. Subsequently to that date, the tax on both has been reduced to 50*l.* Such was the effect of the higher tax that from 1808 to 1816, nine years, only fifteen Slaves were manumitted "according to the colonial law," being only five in each three years. In the five following years, namely, from 1817 to 1821, the tax having been reduced to 50*l.*, 250 Slaves were manu-

mitted "according to the colonial law," or fifty in each year. But, besides these, making in all 275 persons manumitted "according to the colonial law," from 1808 to 1821 inclusive, 1438 were manumitted by means of an evasion of that law; "having been enfranchised by persons in England, who have there granted manumissions to Slaves conveyed to them for that purpose; which manumissions, being proved before some mayor or other proper constituted authority, are sent here, and, on being recorded, are allowed to be valid. These last manumissions are effected at a very trifling expense." (p. 36.) So that had the law of Barbadoes had its intended effect, the manumissions in that island, instead of taking place at the rate of about 125 in each year from 1808 to 1821, would have taken place at the rate of scarcely twenty in each year. So much for the benevolent purposes of the Barbadoes Legislature. To mark their abhorrence, however, of manumissions obtained in England and without the payment of a tax, persons so obtaining their freedom are denied the privileges which other free persons enjoy of giving testimony in courts of justice.

No marriages of Slaves had been legally solemnized in Barbadoes from the earliest period of the colony down to 1821.

4. BERBICE.

The Slave population of Berbice in 1817, according to the return No. 424, was 24,549, of whom 13,802 were males, and 10,747 females. The return in 1822 is 23,356 Slaves, of whom 13,007 were males, and 10,349 females. The apparent decrease in the five intervening years is 1193.

It appears, however, from the return, No. 89, that during these years there were exported from Berbice to Demerara 1,692 Slaves, and from Demerara to Berbice 246 Slaves, leaving a balance of 1,446 Slaves exported. The number of manumissions in that time was only 81 (pp. 103—107), the tax on manumissions being from 350 to 1,200 guilders. The real state of the population, when rectified by these returns, will stand thus:—

Slave population of 1817		24,549
Deduct balance of Slaves exported...	1,446	
Manumissions	81	1,527
		23,022
The return, however, for 1822 is		23,356
Shewing an increase in five years of.....		334

being upwards of $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., or somewhat more than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per annum.

This increase, which is indicated by the returns from Berbice, is certainly unexpected. The climate of Guiana has been justly thought unfavourable to life; and in Berbice the males outnumber the females by nearly one-fourth, or 25 per cent. What then can have produced the result of an increasing population in Berbice, when in the adjoining colony of Demerara, where the disproportion of the sexes is not greater, the decrease has proved peculiarly large? It must be owing to the principle laid down in the body of the Report, and which this unlooked-for discovery, with respect to Berbice, serves remarkably to illustrate; namely, the injurious effect of sugar culture, stimulated by bounties, on the well-being of the Slaves. The sugar imported from Berbice in the year 1824 was only 64,609 cwt. (*in* 1817 it was only 15,000 cwt.), being in the proportion to its population of about two cwts. and three-quarters for each Slave, nearly the proportion of Barbadoes; whereas the quantity of sugar imported from Demerara in the same year was 616,000 cwt., or at the rate of upwards of eight cwt. for each Slave. The population of Berbice is not quite a third of that of Demerara; the quantity of sugar which it produces is not more than one-ninth.

No marriages of Slaves have been legally solemnized in Berbice.

The White population is stated to amount to about 550; the free Black and Coloured population to about the same number.

5. BERMUDA.

From Bermuda there is only one return of the Slave population in the paper No. 424; namely, for 1820, making it 5,176, of whom 2,505 were males, and 2,671 females. There are no means, therefore, of forming any estimate of the recent increase or decrease of its population. In 1783, however, it appears, from the Privy-Council Report, that the Slave population was then 4,919. At the close of 1810 the number of Slaves in Bermuda appears, by a return laid on the table of the House of Commons on the 15th July 1815 (No. 478), to have been 4,794; the free Blacks and People of Colour being 451, and the Whites 4,755. The increase of Slaves in Bermuda, therefore, in ten years, from 1810 to 1820, appears to have been 382; and if it be assumed that 100 may have been emancipated in that time, then the increase will have been proceeding at the rate of upwards of one per cent. per annum. The number of emancipations has been taken thus low because, of all the West-India islands, the laws of Bermuda are, on this point, among the harshest and most opprobrious. There is a wanton severity in their legislation upon it, which is quite singular. This does not refer merely to their old laws,—laws which, to the disgrace of Bermuda, nay, to the disgrace of Great Britain, are still in existence *, but to their recent Acts;

* A few extracts from these laws, *still in force*, will afford some illustration of the spirit which has prevailed in Bermuda with respect to Negroes.

"Whereas Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, and other Slaves, are very numerous within these islands, and that the *wilful* killing of any such Slaves, by the strict laws of England, comes within the penalty of murder, the judgment whereof is forfeiture of life and estate: And whereas, the privileges of England are so universally extensive, as not to allow of the least thing called Slavery, and to occasion the making of such laws for the preservation of every individual subject; but here, in his Majesty's Colonies, the cases and circumstances of things are wonderfully altered," (they are indeed!), for the Negroes are "no otherwise valued or esteemed amongst us than as our goods and chattels or other personal estate: THEREFORE, our prudent neighbours in America, Barbadoes, &c., have thought fit, in case of killing any such Negro or Slave,

acts worthy of the most barbarous country and the most barbarous age, though passed in the nineteenth century, and allowed by the Government. On the 9th of August, 1806, a law* was passed in Bermuda to "prevent" the increase of free Negroes and free Persons of Colour. By this Act no owner is permitted to enfranchise a Slave of "forty years of age or under," except on condition of such Slave's quitting the island within three months; and, in case he should return, of being seized and *sold* for the public advantage, and transported from the island. For Slaves above *forty* who are manumitted a fine of 50*l.* is payable; and if this fine be not paid, a power is given to magistrates of seizing, selling, and shipping off the person so manumitted. The same cruel and disgraceful Act ordains, that no free Negro, or Person of Colour, shall be capable of acquiring, or being seized of any real estate whatever, under penalty of the forfeiture of such estate; nor is he allowed to lease a house for a longer term than seven years. It may with truth be said, that not only the earth but the British dominions are still full of the habitations of cruelty!

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to make laws to prevent the penalty aforesaid: It is therefore enacted, that if any owner or possessor of Slaves in these islands shall, in the deserved punishment of Slaves for crimes or offences by them committed, or *supposed* to be committed, accidentally happen to kill any such Slave, he shall not be liable to any imprisonment, arraignment, or prosecution, or indictment, or subject to any penalty or forfeiture whatsoever."

The same immunity is extended to all free persons who may kill a Slave found committing a felony or burglary, and endeavouring to resist or escape. But then comes a proviso; "That if any person shall maliciously and wilfully kill or destroy, or any manner of ways cause or procure to be killed or destroyed, any Slave whatsoever whereof he is owner, then such person shall forfeit and pay unto the King the *full* sum of Ten Pounds current money; and if the person killing be not the owner, then over and above the full sum of Ten Pounds current money, he shall pay the appraised value of the Slave to the owner."

There are also laws forbidding Slaves, under severe penalties, to buy, sell, or barter any goods or commodities whatsoever, or to plant, sow, or set any tobacco, corn, potatoes, or other provisions for their own use, or to raise any sort of stock, poultry, or provisions, or other things, or make any sort of cloth, &c. &c.

These laws still exist in his Majesty's colony of Bermuda!

It has been the more necessary to point out the enormities of Negro Slavery as existing in Bermuda, in consequence of an attempt having recently been made, at a public religious meeting, to palliate them, and to exhibit Bermudian Slavery as an amiable institution.

The Slaves in Bermuda, however, increase: there they grow no sugar.

6. DEMERARA.

In the parliamentary returns for Demerara, No. 424, the number of Slaves is thus given:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	44,137....	33,730	77,867
1820	43,227....	34,149	77,376
			491

In that time, however, 3,746 Slaves had been imported, and 116 exported, and there had been 127 manumissions. The real decrease, therefore, instead of 491 was 4,014, being a decrease of from 5 to 6 per cent. This statement, however, as to dates, is not consistent with a full and specific report made by the Registrar of Demerara, Mr. Robertson, respecting the last census taken by him. He there states, that (not in 1820, but) in July 1821 the Slave population of Demerara amounted to 77,376, being the identical number which stands in the registry as returned for 1820. The solution may be that the return of 1820 may not have been made up till July 1821. It appears from the same report, that in May 1823 another census was completed, when the amount of the Slave population proved to be only 74,418, exhibiting a decrease in 22 months of 2,958. During that period, however, he states, that 1,293 Slaves were imported into the colony, who being added to 2,958, make the whole decrease to be 4,251. Assuming the manumissions during the same time to have been 51, being about the average proportion of the preceding 14 years, the decrease may be reckoned at 4,200 in 22 months, being nearly at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum*.

* See above, under the head of Berbice, p. 143.

The tax on manumissions in Demerara varies according to the caprice of the Court of Policy, from 150 to 1000 guilders. In making his report upon this subject, the Governor, Murray, endeavours to palliate the iniquity of such a system by remarking (No. 89, p. 72), that "large sums are sometimes imposed, after mature deliberation on the situation of the Slaves, the circumstances of those who apply in their behalf, and not unfrequently *their irregular connexion with them.*" Those who are acquainted with the moral state of the White population of our colonies will be not a little surprised that the defence of a tax on manumission should be incautiously placed on such grounds. The tax, the Governor says, is thrown into the poor's fund, on which the manumitted persons "have an indisputable claim when circumstances compel them to seek assistance." It would have been well had he stated how many free Blacks or Persons of Colour were maintained from that fund.

The marriage of Slaves legally solemnized "is a thing unheard of in this colony." (p. 81.)

7. DOMINICA.

The returns of the Slave population of this island, contained in the parliamentary paper No. 424, are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	8624	9335	17,959
1820	7919	8635	16,554
Shewing an apparent decrease of			1,405

But between April 1817, and 21st Jan. 1820, there appear to have been exported from Dominica 2184 Slaves, and about 230 appear to have been manumitted, making together 2,414. When from those have been deducted 1,405, the apparent decrease, there will remain a real increase in three years, of 1,009, being not much below 6 per cent. in that time, or 2 per cent. per annum.

Here therefore, we discover most unexpectedly, a larger rate of increase than in any other sugar colony. But when we examine the quantity of sugar grown there, we find it to be smaller in proportion to its population, than either Berbice or Barbadoes. Its export of sugar in 1824, was only 42,000 cwt., being not more than 2½ cwt. to each Slave; another

striking proof of the advantage arising to the Slave, from a diminished sugar culture, as well as from the decreasing fertility of the soil to which it is attributable.

The tax on manumissions, previous to 1810, was 100*l*. The average number of manumissions in the year was then about seven. In 1810 the tax was reduced to 16*l*. 10*s*. Since that time the average rate of manumissions, in each year, has been about 75.

No marriages of Slaves appear to have been legally solemnized in Dominica, excepting a few by a Roman-Catholic priest.

8. GRENADA.

The returns from Grenada are more regular than from any other colony. They are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	13,737.....	14,292	28,029
1818	13,328.....	14,087	27,415
1819	13,155.....	13,905	27,060
1820	13,007.....	13,892	26,899
1821	12,398.....	13,269	25,677
1822	12,355.....	13,231	25,586

The apparent decrease, therefore, in five years, is 2,443. There is an account of imports and exports in the paper No. 89, only for a part of that time, but they seem to be nearly equal. The manumissions appear to have amounted to about 500. The real decrease therefore, unless there should have been a large import latterly, which would of course raise the rate of decrease, will not exceed 1943 in five years, or seven per cent., being at the rate of 1¼ per cent. per annum.

A fine of 100*l*. was imposed, in this island, on manumissions; and during its continuance the average number in each year was about ten. It ceased to be paid after 1814, and in the seven following years the manumissions were at the rate of about ninety in each year. (No. 89, p. 16.)

In 1820, the White population amounted to 883, the free Black and Coloured population to 2,742. (p. 19.)

"The legal solemnization of a marriage between Slaves, in this island, is a thing unheard of." (p. 14.)

9. JAMAICA.

The registry returns for this island are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	172,831.....	173,319	346,150
1820	170,466.....	171,916	342,382
Apparent decrease in three years			3,768

It appears, however, that during those years about 2000 persons were manumitted, reducing this apparent decrease to 1768; to which if the balance of imports of Slaves over the exports be added, it raises the decrease to 1800, being a decrease of little more than one half per cent. in that time.

If a reference is made, however, to the tax rolls of Jamaica, a somewhat different result is produced. In March 1820, these returns gave a Slave population of only 324,526, and in March 1823, of 317,587, exhibiting a decrease of 6,939; and if 2000 manumissions are supposed to have occurred in this interval also, the real decrease would then be 4939, which would amount to one and a half per cent. in that time, or a half per cent. per annum. In these tax rolls the smallest number of Slaves appears to be enrolled, even down to one Slave. But whatever be the principle of omission, we may presume that it operates with tolerable uniformity. On any supposition however, the difference between the registry return, and the tax returns, or the givings-in, as they are called, is so large as to require explanation. It seems improbable that 15,000, or 16,000 Slaves should be excluded from the cognizance of the parochial vestries, when the returns descend in innumerable instances to one Slave; and when even the cattle owned by persons possessing no Slaves are carefully noted. Besides, when persons omit to give in their Slaves, they are assessed by the vestries, and such assessment is specified, so that there seems to be scarcely any room left for omissions. These discrepancies require to be cleared up before any certain conclusion can be drawn from the returns of population in Jamaica.

The stamp on manumissions appears to be 10*l.* A bond has also been required to the extent of 100*l.*, which has necessarily proved a hindrance to manumissions. In Antigua, where no such obstacles exist, manumissions proceed at the rate of about 160 in each year. The proportionate rate for Jamaica would be 1600, whereas it is not more than 640.

In eight of the twenty-one parishes of Jamaica, the number of persons taken up as runaways, who claimed to be free but were sold for their jail fees, amounts in four years to 12. The parishes omitted, however, are by far the most important, as respects this species of atrocity, both Kingston and Spanish Town being among them. (No. 347, p. 131.)

The marriages of Slaves in 14 years, from 1808 to 1822, are thus given. (No. 347, p. 130.)—

	Slaves.	Marriages.
Parish of Kingston, about	8,000	1,348
St. George	13,000	47
Manchester	16,000	8
St. Dorothy	5,000	3
St. John's	6,000	1
St. Thomas in the Vale	12,000	0
Vere	8,000	1
Clarendon	18,500	2
St. Mary	25,000	35
St. Ann	24,000	0
St. Elizabeth	19,000	0
Portland	8,000	27
St. James	26,000	2
Hanover	24,000	0
Falmouth	28,500	1
Port Royal	7,000	2
St. David's	8,000	102
St. Thomas in the East	26,000	1602
St Andrews	15,000	415
St. Catherines	7,500	No return.
Westmoreland	21,400	ditto.
	325,500	3,496

10. MONTSERRAT.

In the paper No. 424, the returns from Montserrat are as follows; namely,

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	3,047	3,563	6,610
1820	3,032	3,473	6,505
Apparent decrease in three years ...			105

The balance of exports over imports, in those three years, appears to have been 33, and the number of manumissions 43. The real decrease, therefore, does not exceed 29, or not quite a half per cent. in that time.

No marriages of Slaves had been legally solemnized in Montserrat. (No. 89, p. 63.)

11. NEVIS.

The registry returns from Nevis of the Slave population are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	4,685	4,917	9,602
1822	4,583	4,678	9,261
Apparent decrease in five years			341

No return is made of Slaves either imported into, or exported from, Nevis. The manumissions, from 1817 to 1822, are 34. The real decrease, therefore, of the Slave population, is 307. or about 3¼ per cent. in that time.

There is no tax on manumissions in Nevis.

There have been no marriages of Slaves legally solemnized in that island. (No. 347, p. 147.)

12. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

The following are the registry returns from this island:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	9,685	10,483	20,168
1822	9,505	10,312	19,817
Apparent decrease in five years ...			351

The balance of Slaves exported in those years, above those imported, was 22; and the number manumitted 320; making a real decrease in five years of only 9, or a little less than $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. in that time.

No marriages of Slaves have been legally solemnized in St. Christopher's.

There exists now no tax on manumissions.

13. ST. LUCIA.

The following are the registry returns from this island:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1819	6,811	8,228	1,5032
1822	6,297.....	7,497	1,3794
Apparent decrease in three years			1245

being at the rate of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. or upwards of $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. per annum.

There are no returns either of exports or imports, or of manumissions, which might possibly reduce this rate of decrease. The tax on manumissions is 99*l.* currency. If we even suppose 300 to be manumitted in that time, we shall still have the enormous decrease of $6\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. in three years, or $2\frac{1}{10}$ per annum.

14. ST. VINCENT.

The registry returns from this island, are the following:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1817	12,743.....	12,475	25,218
1822	12,007.....	22,245.....	24,252
Apparent decrease in five years			966

The balance of imports over exports, during four of those years, is 647; 1041 having been imported and 394 exported. If a fourth more is added for the remaining time, it will make an excess of imports amounting to 808. The manumissions during four years were 189. A fourth being added will raise them to 236. This number deducted from 808, leaves 572

to be added to the apparent decrease which will then amount to 1538, being about $6\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. in that time, or a little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

Previous to September, 1820, a tax of 100*l.* was paid on manumissions. It was then taken off. Between the 17th of January and the 20th September 1821, not quite nine months, 99 manumissions took place. In the preceding thirteen years, the number had been 331, being at the rate of 25 or 26 in each year.

No marriage has been legally solemnized between Slaves in St. Vincent.

15. TOBAGO.

The registry returns for Tobago, are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1819	7,633.....	7,837	15,470
1822	6,952.....	7,363	14,315
Apparent decrease in three years			1,155

The exports and imports are not given; but they have probably been very trifling. From the accounts received from the other islands, the excess of imports appears to have been about 30, which is precisely the number of manumissions effected in the same time, balancing each other. The apparent decrease is therefore nearly the real decrease, amounting to more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in three years, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

For a time there was no tax on manumissions in Tobago; but in 1814 a tax of 100*l.* was imposed on each manumission, Previous to the imposition of this tax, the manumissions effected were at the rate of 41 annually. After its imposition, in 1815, there were only four manumissions; in 1816, three; in 1817, eight; in 1818, one; in 1819, six; in 1820, four. The tax appears to have been repealed in 1821, and by the month of September in that year twenty had been already enfranchised. (No. 89, p. 69.)

No marriages of Slaves have been legally solemnized in Tobago.

16. TRINIDAD.

The returns from Trinidad to the Registry are only for 1815 and 1819, and are as follows:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1815	14,133	11,411	25,544
1819	13,155	10,382	23,537
Apparent decrease in four years			2,007

In that time, however, there were imported into Trinidad, 2,206 Slaves, and 112 were exported, the balance being 2,094. The manumissions in that time were 499. The real decrease therefore will stand thus:

Apparent decrease	2,007
Balance of Imports	2,094
	4,101
Deduct manumissions	499
	3,602

being at the rate of $14\frac{2}{5}$ per cent. in that time or $3\frac{3}{5}$ per cent. per annum.

No tax has been imposed on manumissions in Trinidad. No marriages of Slaves are stated to have taken place in that island.

The White population in 1821 is stated to have been, males 1,879, females 1561; in all 3,440;—the free population, Black and Coloured, including Indians, males 6840, females 7744; in all 14,584. (No. 89, p. 120.)

17. VIRGIN ISLANDS.

The Slave population of these islands by the registry was as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1818	3,231.....	3,668	6,899
1821	2,975.....	3,485	6,460
Apparent decrease in three years			439

During that time the exports amounted to 9 Slaves. The manumissions were about 84; making together 93, which, deducted from the apparent decrease, leaves 346 for the real decrease in these three years, being about $5\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. in that time, or $1\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. per annum.

No tax is now paid on manumissions in Tortola; and no marriage of Slaves is stated to have been solemnized.

In stating the number of Slaves sold under executions at Tortola, the parliamentary return, No. 89, states also the price. The whole price brought by 73 Slaves was 5124*l.* currency, being at the rate of 70*l.* 4*s.* currency each, or about 35*l.* sterling. Seventeen of these were men sold, singly, for 1924*l.*, being on the average 107*l.* 5*s.*, or 53*l.* 10*s.* sterling each. Nineteen were women sold, singly, at the sum of 1454*l.*, being, on the average, 76*l.* 10*s.* currency, or 38*l.* sterling each; four of these, who appear to have had no families, went at the following prices: 143*l.*, 149*l.*, 186*l.*, and 150*l.* currency. The average of the remainder was only 55*l.* currency, or 27*l.* 10*s.* sterling. Thirty-seven were sold in families for the sum of 1856*l.*, being at the rate of 50*l.* currency, or 25*l.* sterling for each. Now these sales took place before 1822; therefore before prices could have been affected by any of the discussions which have been supposed to have had the effect of depreciating West-India property.

18. HONDURAS.

The only return of the population of this settlement, laid before the House of Commons, is dated in March 1824. It states the Slaves to amount to 2,600, the free Blacks and People of Colour to 1750, and the Whites to 150; besides 200 of the 2d West-India Regiment.

19. THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

There have no population returns been received from this colony. The Slaves are supposed to be about 25,000.

20. THE MAURITIUS.

The number of the Slaves in this island is stated by the

Registrar to have been, in 1815, 87,352; namely, 50,353 males and 24,416 females; and in 1819 to have been 80,185; being a decrease in four years of 7,167, or upwards of 2 per cent. per annum. A recent return to the House of Commons state the Slave population in 1822 to be only 63,679. If this be a correct return, then, in the three intervening years, the decrease must have amounted to the enormous number of 16,506, or 7 per cent. per annum. Can this be so? The number of Whites at the same date was 10,359, and of the free Black and Coloured population 13,475.

The following table may serve to give a clearer view of the results of the present very defective information which has been furnished on this most important subject:—

View of the Rate of Increase and Decrease of the Slave Population in each of the British Colonies, of the Quantity of Sugar which was imported from each into this Country and Ireland in 1824, *and of the Proportion which the same bears to its Population.*

COLONIES.	Estimated Rate of Decrease per Cent. per Annum.	Estimated Rate of Increase per Cent. per Annum.	Estimated Population of Slaves in 1824.	Cwt. of Sugar imported in 1824.	Proportion of Sugar for each Slave in Cwt.
1. Antigua	$\frac{8}{10}$	....	30,500	240,000	$7\frac{4}{5}$ (a)
2. Bahamas	....	$1\frac{3}{4}$	11,000	no sugar	....
3. Barbadoes	....	$\frac{1}{2}$	79,000	291,000	$3\frac{7}{10}$
4. Berbice	....	$\frac{1}{4}$	23,500	65,000	$2\frac{3}{4}$ (b)
5. Bermuda	....	1	5,300	no sugar	....
6. Cape of Good Hope	....	....	25,000	ditto	....
7. Demerara	2 to 3	....	74,000	647,000*	$8\frac{3}{4}$
8. Dominica	....	2	16,000	42,000	$2\frac{5}{8}$
9. Grenada	$1\frac{2}{5}$	....	25,000	227,000	$9\frac{1}{12}$
10. Honduras	....	....	2,700	no sugar	....
11. Jamaica	$\frac{1}{4}$	....	340,000	1,481,000	$4\frac{1}{3}$
12. Mauritius	....	....	80,000	Unknown	....
13. Montserrat	$\frac{1}{6}$	....	6,500	31,000	$4\frac{3}{4}$
14. Nevis	$\frac{2}{3}$	....	9,000	41,000	$4\frac{1}{2}$ (c)
15. St. Kitt's	$\frac{1}{100}$	....	20,000	132,000	$6\frac{3}{5}$
16. St. Lucia	$2\frac{1}{100}$	....	13,500	76,500	$5\frac{2}{3}$
17. St. Vincent	$1\frac{1}{2}$	....	24,000	247,000	$10\frac{1}{3}$
18. Tobago	$2\frac{1}{2}$	....	14,000	124,000	$8\frac{9}{10}$
19. Trinidad	$3\frac{3}{5}$	....	22,500	267,000	$11\frac{7}{8}$
20. Virgin Islands	$1\frac{1}{100}$	....	6,000	21,000	$3\frac{1}{2}$ (d)
			827,500		

(a) The average of this island is considerably below this amount, and may be reckoned at about $6\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. for each slave.

(b) This colony has trebled its culture of sugar since 1819, small as it now is.

(c) The usual crop of Nevis is considerably more; on the average, about 6 cwt. to each slave.

(d) In some preceding years the crops of these islands were double that of 1824.

* In the mention made of the quantity of sugar from Demerara, p. 143, the quantity imported into Ireland was inadvertently omitted.

By referring to the Report, pp. 28, 29, it will be perceived that the estimates there made differ in some respects from those contained in the above table. This difference arises partly from the additional information which has been obtained since the Report was drawn up and printed, partly from a different year having been taken as the point of comparison, and partly from the imports into Ireland, formerly overlooked being now taken into account. Still the *general* results are the same. When the sugar culture is large, the decrease of the Slaves is in general large; and when the sugar culture is small, the decrease is in general very considerably diminished, until, in a few instances, there is no decrease, but rather an increase. In a case of this kind it would be vain to look for any thing like an exact proportion between the destruction of life and the extent of sugar cultivation. A thousand other circumstances interfere to modify that proportion, as climate, laws, institutions, customs, religion, food, clothing, habitations, medical treatment, &c. But still, is it possible to compare the Bahamas, Barbadoes, Berbice, and Dominica, with Antigua, Demerara, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, and Trinidad, without seeing the destructive nature of that sugar cultivation, which is stimulated by bounties and protecting duties.

The Committee will close this long article with an extract from a pamphlet lately published by Hatchard, entitled, "Review of the Quarterly Review, or an Exposure of the erroneous Opinions promulgated in that Work on the Subject of Colonial Slavery."

"In 1749, according to Mr. Long, the Maroons of Jamaica, amounted by actual census to 660. In 1770, it appears by the Privy-Council Report, that they had increased to 885, an increase of one-third in twenty-one years. In 1782, Sir Archibald Campbell, then Governor of Jamaica, found them to be about 1200, having nearly doubled since 1749. In 1796 the Maroon war broke out, on the close of which upwards of 600 Maroons were transported to Nova Scotia, and thence to

Sierra Leone; yet in 1800 the number remaining in the island amounted to 893. In 1816 they had increased, according to Mr. Stewart, to 1055; being an increase of eighteen per cent. in six years; and in 1821 the same gentleman computes their number at 1200, being an increase of fourteen per cent. in five years *.

"Now, it is frankly admitted by Mr. Bryan Edwards, and no change has taken place in that respect since this time, that no attempt whatever had been made by the legislature of Jamaica to civilize or to christianize these people. Neither a chapel nor a school has yet been erected for their benefit. Polygamy still prevails among them. They are the same ignorant, vicious, idolatrous, and brutal people their parents were when first brought from Africa. Such is the picture drawn of the Maroons by Mr. Edwards, himself a planter residing in Jamaica; and yet the Maroons, because they are free, as we have seen, increase rapidly.

"The Slave codes of several of the North-American States, and particularly of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, are still more harsh and revolting than our own; and the prejudices there entertained against the African colour, are, if possible, still more deep-rooted and inveterate than those of the British colonists; and yet, if we compare the *practical* results of the treatment of the Slaves in the two cases, we shall be astonished at the difference.

"In 1790 the Slave population of the United States amounted by the census, to 676,696. In 1820 it had risen to 1,531,431, being an increase of nearly 130 per cent. in thirty years."

"In 1790, the Slave population of Jamaica was above 250,000. Without any importations, this population, proceeding at the American rate of increase, ought in 1820 to have grown to

* A recent return of the Maroons has been laid before Parliament, which shews that Mr. Stewart's statement was not quite correct. It now appears, that in July 1824, their number amounted exactly to 1,200; which though it does not give 14 per cent. in five years, yet gives that rate in eight years, being nearly 2 per cent. per annum; while the surrounding Slave population of the same race and colour is decreasing."

575,000. The actual population, however, in 1820 was only 340,000; exhibiting a deficiency, as compared with the United States, of 235,000 Slaves in thirty years. But during these thirty years, or rather during the first eighteen of them, 189,000 Slaves were imported into Jamaica from the coast of Africa, and retained in it. Without counting, therefore, on any natural increase from these importations, the number in the island in 1820 ought to have been 764,000, being 424,000 more than were actually to be found there in that year. Without calculating on any increase at all, either from the stock of 1790, or the subsequent importations, the number of Slaves ought to be 439,000. The actual population in 1820 was 100,000 less. What a bill of mortality is here to be accounted for!

"But let us take another view of the subject.

"In the year 1690 Jamaica contained 40,000 Slaves. Had these been allowed to increase since that time, at the rate of the Slaves in the United States since 1790, they would now have amounted to three or four millions; or even if they had increased at the rate at which the Maroons, a part of their own body, have, when undisturbed, been increasing, they would now amount to two or three millions. But, besides this original stock of 40,000 Slaves, there have been imported into and retained in Jamaica upwards of 800,000 Africans. Had these 840,000 Slaves merely maintained their numbers, the Slave population of Jamaica would be from two to three times as numerous as it is. But had they gone on increasing at the rate of Slaves in the United States, or even at that of the Maroons in Jamaica itself, the population would now have been quite immense.

"But if we comprehend in our estimate, not only Jamaica but the whole of our Slave Colonies, and review the progress of population in them all, since their first formation, how appalling would be the amount of human life, in fact of human sacrifice, which they have cost us, and which they are still costing us! And what have been the proximate causes of all this frightful accumulation of misery and death? Without all question, they

have been, *severity of treatment, excess of labour*, and *scantiness of food*. No other causes can be assigned which are at all adequate to the production of such effects as we have been contemplating."

"Let us now contemplate the facts detailed above. Let us consider the unexampled waste of human life, which the Slavery of our colonies continues to produce; together with all the pain and wretchedness and anguish which such waste must necessarily occasion; and then say, whether on any view, not merely of common humanity and morality, but of the most selfish and sordid expediency, it is a system which ought to be tolerated by this country. And this consideration will press more forcibly on every mind not warped by a feeling of personal interest, when he recollects, that, putting the wholesale devastation of the system, with all the anguish and agonies it involves, wholly out of the question, it actually costs us more to maintain it than it would to extinguish it. The fee-simple of all our Slave Colonies, fairly valued, would not require a larger annuity to purchase it than we now pay in the bounties and protecting duties which alone uphold Slavery, independently of the means of defence we furnish to the planters against the consequences of their own system. Will, then, the parliament and people of Great Britain suffer this system to continue? It is quite impossible. They will demand that the evil should be forthwith abated; and that it should be finally, and at no very distant period, removed.

"It has become the fashion to extol the abolition of the Slave Trade as an act of distinguished magnanimity on the part of Great Britain. Its horrors had made a deep impression on the public mind. All who pretend to a single spark of humanity, or a single feeling of justice, now concur in reprobating it. Even the West-Indians have of late been as loud as their neighbours in applauding the abolition. And yet, what was there in the Slave Trade, that consummation of wickedness, which has rendered it at length the common execration of mankind, that, on a close inspection, may not be found to characterise the Negro Slavery of our European colonies? There were, doubt-

less, humane slave-traders residing in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, who would have shrunk from any deed of blood; who gave the strictest orders for the humane treatment of their living cargoes; and who pleaded those orders in defence and justification of their traffic. So we have now humane and benevolent planters residing in England, who issue admirable instructions to their agents, but who cannot by such powerless instruments stay the hand of brutal oppression, or arrest the tide of death which sweeps over their plantations. The evil is not to be cured by such means. The Parliament of England gave the word, and its African Slave-Trade was at once extinguished. The Parliament of Great Britain has only again to cause its voice to be decisively heard, and the guilty system of colonial bondage which pollutes the national character, and converts some of the fairest portions of the empire into a charnel house, will also cease ere long universally and for ever, and with perfect safety to all concerned." pp. 96—102.

APPENDIX H.

STATE AND POPULATION OF HAYTI*.

In the New Times of the 29th November, 1824, are inserted certain Haytian returns, furnished by General Inginac, the Secretary of State of that Government, and not only signed officially by him, but accompanied by a letter assuring his correspondent of their authenticity and accuracy.

No. I.—Population.

General Census of the Population of the different Arrondissements and Districts of the Republic of Hayti.

Arrondissements.	No. of Inhabitants.	Arrondissements.	No. of Inhabitants.
Port-au-Prince	89,164	Limbé	33,475
Cap Haïtien	38,566	Grande Rivière	35,372
Cayer	63,536	Marmelade	32,852
Santo Domingo	20,076	Saint Yague	10,419
Jérémie	37,652	Borgne	29,162
Aquin	58,587	Samana	2,209
Gonaïves	33,542	Neybe	2,581
Tiburon	37,927	Azua	3,500
Port de Paix	26,058	Saint Jean	2,745
Saint Marc	37,628	Lamatte	1,026
Porte Plate	10,622	Arcahaie	4,805
Jacmel	99,108	Croix des Bouquets	13,833
Nipper	44,478	Grands Bois	6,190
Fort Liberté	21,530	La Véga	6,178
Léogane	55,662	Le Crou	3,932
Monte Christ	2,112		
Môle	17,150	Total	935,335
Mirebalais	53,649		

* See the Report, pp. 39, 40.

No. II.—Army.

Statement of the Army by Land and Sea of the Republic of Hayti in full force, conformably with the Proclamation of the President of Hayti, dated the 6th January, 1824.

	Designations of Corps	Number of Corps.	No. of Men each Corps.	General Total.
Guard of the President.	Horse Grenadiers..	1	660	660
	Horse Chasseurs ..	1	660	660
	HorseCarabiniers..	1	660	660
	Foot Grenadiers . Foot Chasseurs..	1	2,000	2,000
Troops of the Line.	Dragoons	2	520	1,040
	Infantry	33	720	23,760
	Artillery.....	5	1,012	5,060
	Sappers & Pioneers	60 Comp	60	3,600
	Gendarmerie.....	4 Legion.	1,320	5,280
	Police of the Towns and Bourgs	20 Detachmts.	100	2,000
	Military Marine ..	—	800	800
				45,520

The present force certified as amounting to forty-five thousand five hundred and twenty men.

Port-au-Prince, August 30, 1824, the Twenty-first Year of Independence.

No. III.—National Guards.

Situation of the effective Force of the National Guards of the Republic of Hayti, organised conformably with the Law of the 2d June 1818, *and completely filled up according to the Proclamation of the President, dated the 6th January,* 1824.

Arrondissements.	No. of men armed.	Arrondissements.	No. of men armed.
Port-au-Prince	13,145	Mirebalais	5,960
Cap Haïtien	5,829	Limbé	1,300
Cayer	8,617	Grande Rivière.....	1,255
Santo Domingo.....	4,344	Marmelade.....	2,034
Jérémie	5,000	Saint Yague	942
Aquin	8,055	Borgne	1,378
Gonaïves	4,819	Samana	300
Tiburon	5,233	Neybe	469
Port de Paix.....	3,078	Azua	310
Saint Marc.....	3,966	Saint Jean	345
Porte Plate	1,530	Lamatte	100
Jacmel	14,000	Arcahaie	832
Nipper	6,213	Croix des Bouquets.....	1,221
Fort Liberté	1,090	Grands Bois	926
Léogane	6,860	La Vega	716
Monte Christ.....	568	Le Crou	100
Môle	2,881		
		Total.....113,328	

These returns were accompanied by a list of fourteen schools, male and female, established in Port-au-Prince alone, containing 873 pupils; all of whom are taught their religious and moral duties, as well as reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar; and many are instructed in the higher branches of education.

When the above details are fully considered, it will be seen that it is not without reason that General Inginac, in the letter referred to above, speaks, with confidence, of the progress of Hayti in the path of improvement, and of its safety against foreign attack. "Our system of defence, both on the coasts and in the interior," he says, "is so completely organized, and our political administration moves with so much regularity in all its ramifications, that I am convinced we cannot be surprised by any enemy; and certainly we shall not become the dupes of any artifice."

APPENDIX I.

EXPENSE OF THE WEST INDIES*.

THE fiscal advantages granted to the West Indies, besides greatly cramping our trade with the East Indies, and with other parts of the world are attended with a very heavy expense to the public. They consist of the following items.

1. A bounty on the export of sugar, which raises the price of that article not only to the exporter but to the consumer, to the extent of six shillings a cwt., making of itself a sum of 1,200,000*l.*

2. A protecting duty on sugar the growth of British India, amounting to ten shillings a cwt.; the duty on West-India sugar being twenty-seven shillings, and on East-India sugar thirty-seven shillings a cwt.

3. A prohibitory duty on all other sugars to the amount of thirty-six shillings a cwt., the duty on them being sixty-three shillings.

4. A protecting duty on East-India coffee to the extent of twenty-eight shillings a cwt., and on all other coffee, including Sierra Leone, to the extent of eighty-four shillings a cwt.

5. A protecting duty of the same amount on cocoa nuts.

6. A protecting duty on East-India ginger of eleven shillings and sixpence a cwt., and on all other ginger of forty-one shillings and sixpence.

7. A protecting duty on East-India and all other indigo, of nine shillings and fourpence the cwt.

8. A protecting duty on East-India rum of six shilling and ninepence the gallon, and on all other rum of eight shillings.

9. A protecting duty on East-India and all other cotton wool, of six per cent. ad valorem.

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* See Report, p. 44, line 25—29.

10. A protecting duty on a variety of other articles, such as dyewoods, tumeric, mahogany, hides, &c. &c.

All these advantages given to the Slaveholder, to the manifest detriment of the general interests of the empire, it has been shewn above, in the Report, aggravate the misery of the Slave.

But besides these sacrifices made by the public to uphold Negro Slavery, the expense of our Slave Colonies during the year 1824, a year of profound peace, for naval and military defence and other contingencies, has amounted to upwards of 1,600,000l., and this is an expense which is going on from year to year.

Putting the whole together;—the direct expense incurred for the maintenance and defence of these colonies; the effect of the bounty on sugar, and of the protecting duty on that and other articles; and the injury done to our commerce with India and other parts of the world, by the restrictions imposed upon it in order to favour the holders of Slaves;—it would be a very low estimate to reckon the annual loss to the empire from this pernicious system at four millions of pounds sterling; to which must be added also the opprobrium and the guilt which attend it.

APPENDIX K.

PLAN FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES*.

ONE great evil of the system of Colonial Slavery has been, that the female Slaves, instead of being principally engaged, as women usually are in all civilized countries, in such domestic duties as have for their object the care and comfort of husbands and children, have had in general to undergo precisely the same kind and degree of toil as the men, and under the same debasing circumstances. They have been made to labour in the field from the morning-dawn to night-fall under the lash, and have been equally liable to be cart-whipped. By this rude treatment, which commences at an early age, at so early an age as five or six, they are not only rendered less capable of bearing children, and exposed to a variety of accidents tending to produce miscarriage†, but they are debarred from the opportunity of fulfilling their conjugal or maternal duties, or of communicating the charm of home to the domestic circle. When in the last months of pregnancy, indeed, they are usually allowed some remission of labour; and, while suckling their children, they are indulged with from half an hour to an hour in the morning and evening, and are excused from the oppressive task of collecting grass for the horses or cattle after the labour of the field is over. But at all other times the females enter the field and quit it at the same hour with the men. No time whatever is allowed them which the men do not also enjoy, for domestic arrangements, or for the preparation of meals. These offices therefore, if attended to at all, must be super-

* See Report, p. 44, line 6—2 from bottom. † See Supra, p. 115.

added to the exhausting labours of the field which they have to perform for as many hours, and generally to as great an amount as the men.

The West-Indian writers have laboured hard to shew, that much of the depopulation of their estates is to be ascribed to miscarriages designedly brought about by the women. Such a statement, however, is entirely groundless. The fact is, that these miscarriages generally occur in the first three or four months of pregnancy, during which, the proofs being not yet visible to the naked eye, the overseers, fearful of being imposed upon, allow no remission of the usual toil, nor any exemption from the usual stimulants to labour, to women pretending to be in the family way. They continue to be worked in the usual way, during the very time when the liability to miscarriage is the greatest. No one who knows the indulgence which women in that state require, and the constant but teazing indisposition, to which (without any indications of actual disease requiring medical advice or transmission to the hospital) they are liable, will deem any farther explanation of the causes of decrease among the Slaves in the West Indies necessary, when he learns, that during the first months of pregnancy the women experience no relaxation of their labour, but work in the field under the whip as many hours and as intensely as the men. Nothing can effectually remedy this evil, but their entire exemption *from compulsory* labour in the field.

In this country we deem it enough for married women in general to sustain the various pains and cares connected with the relation of wife and mother, such as child-bearing, nursing, keeping their houses and families in cleanliness and comfort, making, mending, and washing the clothes of their husbands and children, preparing their food, &c. They may also perhaps attend to the milking of a cow, the rearing of a pig, or to some light garden work, with a view to increase their little family comforts. Beyond this their labours are only occasional, such as spinning a little at home, washing, and, at certain seasons of the year, employing themselves in hay-making, reaping, &c.

If such were the employments of female Slaves in our Colonies, instead of the severe system of exaction which actually prevails there, we should have witnessed a large increase of the Slave population. Hitherto, however, as far as respects them, the prime and essential objects of female attention have never been practically thought of by the Colonists. The harsh labour of the hoe and the bill, in the field, under the whip, from early dawn to night-fall, has been, as has already been observed, their unceasing lot. Until this evil is rectified, there can be little hope of any material increase of population. In point of fact, the women who have arrived at puberty are employed, during part of the year, in doing that which, in this and every other civilized country, is the sole work of ploughs and cattle; namely, turning up the soil.

The Colonists will doubtless allege, that they cannot possibly dispense with the labour of the women in the field. It might be shewn, however, that, had they proceeded on the plan of dispensing generally with their labour in the field, they would have been gainers in various ways; as well by the higher prices they would have obtained on the diminished quantity of their sugar, as by the progressive increase and improved circumstances of the Slave population: and even now, it cannot be doubted, that they would still be gainers, if, instead of continuing to subject the women to a kind and degree of toil incompatible with the growth of population, they would treat them as they are treated in every civilized State, and exempt them altogether from compulsory labour in the field.

No West Indian would deny that it would be highly desirable, if the circumstances in which he was placed should enable him to do so, to exempt his female Slaves from compulsory field labour, and to permit them to attend wholly to their own domestic concerns, except when they might be induced to work for hire. The effect of such a system could not fail to be beneficial in a variety of ways. If, for example, such an exemption from compulsory labour were connected with marriage, it would render the desire of that institution universal among them. In that case, not only would a much greater number of children

be born, but the mother's care, which is now but partially and inadequately bestowed upon them, would promote the preservation both of health and life; and her time, set free from the compulsory labour of the field, would be applied to raise more abundant means of comfortable subsistence for herself, her husband, and her family.

But it will be said, that by such a plan as this the amount of labour would be greatly diminished, and the crops be thus greatly reduced. Supposing this to be the case, why should the planters refuse to make some present sacrifice for the sake of a future and a much more than equivalent benefit? Besides, it is the circumstance of their having so many superfluous hands out of crop, which has hitherto prevented them from adopting into use the plough, and other machines for abridging human labour, which would soon effectually make up for the subtraction of the compulsory labour of the women. At present, because out of crop, it is deemed necessary to find employment for them, their feeble frames are made to do the work of ploughs and cattle; whereas, if the exaction of such unsuitable and injurious labour were to cease, ploughs and cattle would do the same work far more economically; and in crop time, when the aid of the women might be wanted, their labour might doubtless be obtained, as female labour is with us in the time of harvest, for hire on easy terms.

Supposing, however, that the planters should still demur to this view of the case, and should argue that the experiment is too hazardous a one for them to attempt at their own risk; but that, if tried at all, it must be tried at the public expense; then it is worth while to inquire whether it would not be possible for Parliament to enter into some arrangement which might effectually obviate this objection, while it might serve the farther important purpose of accelerating, in the easiest and most effectual way, the final extinction of Slavery.

His Majesty's Government have been adopting, in the Colonies immediately subject to the Crown, and they have strongly recommended to the others, a variety of beneficial regulations for the present mitigation, and with a view to the ultimate ex-

tinction, or slavery. Would it not be possible to superadd to all these the farther measure of redeeming from the necessity of field labour, all the female Slaves in all the colonies, of about forty years of age and under? All above that age, or nearly all, are already unfitted, for hard labour, as well as for bearing children; and though, on many accounts, it might be desirable to include them also, yet, with a view to limit the expense, they are left out of the present calculation.

The number of female Slaves in all our colonies may be estimated at about 360,000; from which if a sixth part be deducted for persons above the specified age, the number to be redeemed on this plan will be about 300,000 of all ages, from a day to forty years old.

In paying to the proprietors of these women the price of their redemption, it is not proposed to confer on them, though thus paid for, absolute and uncontrolled freedom, until after the lapse of a certain time. In the mean time, they might still be considered as property (the property of the Crown perhaps), not for the purpose of subjecting them to compulsory labour, but for other ends of the highest moment to their own and the general good. The right of controlling them would be exercised, in the first place, in preventing any disruption whatever of the ties previously formed, or any change of their present domicile. They would be required to continue to inhabit the same houses as formerly; and their relations as wives or as children would remain undisturbed. The husband's or the father's house, would still be the abode of the wife or daughter, and his provision grounds would still be the scene of their exertions, and the source of their subsistence. The wife and the daughter also would naturally find a large share of their employment in attending to the concerns of the family, in going to market, and in cultivating provisions. The daughter till married, and in tropical climates the marriageable age is early, should be employed in pursuits calculated to promote her future usefulness, as a wife and mother. And whatever surplus time, either wife or daughter might have, might be given, if wanted, at some moderate rate of hire, to their former master, on the plantation

to which the husband or the father continued to be attached. The existing state of things would thus undergo no formidable disarrangement. No expense would be incurred by seeking or preparing new dwellings, or erecting any new machinery for purposes of superintendance; and things would move on pretty much as before, except that the women would be more appropriately occupied, and would be no longer subject to compulsory field labour. In point of fact, the main difference between them and the men would be in the kind and degree of their labour, (a difference which finds its parallel in every civilized community,) and in that exemption from personal chastisement, to which they are already destined by the express determination of the Government, sanctioned by Parliament. In consequence, too, of the institution of marriage, which is to be extended universally throughout the colonies, the conjugal relation would of course be maintained in its natural order. The husband, as the head of the family, would possess the requisite authority to secure due subordination, and to restrain improper or licentious conduct.

All the females in question having thus become free, without the violation of any alleged rights of property, it is obvious, that their improved state would not prevent, but on the contrary would greatly promote, manumissions among the men. Wives and mothers would naturally be desirous of aiding their husbands and sons to add to their peculium, with the view of obtaining the means of purchasing their freedom: so that, in twenty or thirty years, few traces of slavery would remain; and in any event, as the offspring of free women must necessarily be free, slavery could not fail to terminate along with the natural extinction of the existing generation.

And this happy change would, in this case, be effected without loss to the proprietor. He would be paid the value of all the Slaves who were made free; and in their stead he would see rising around him an increasing and improving peasantry, either as labourers or as tenants, to cultivate his lands, and to make those lands doubly valuable to him. In the mean time, the price received for his women would enable him to introduce the plough, and those other agricultural improvements which

would of themselves compensate to him the loss of the women's labour; while the increased comforts which his remaining Slaves would enjoy from this arrangement would have a most beneficial effect on his interests, by giving them strength and spirits to labour for him, as well as a cheering hope of their own emancipation. He would also have the further advantage of being able to obtain the labour of the women, when wanted, for hire, at a moderate rate.

The strongest objection which has been made to the emancipation of all the children, to be hereafter born, has been drawn from the danger of their being neglected, when their owners would have ceased to have any interest in their well-being. This objection would be obviated by the present plan, which secures to them the mother's care, and puts it in the power of mothers, to whose maternal feelings the matter may be safely entrusted, to devote to their offspring as much time as may be requisite for rearing them.

In most of the islands provision grounds are so abundant, that no allowance of food is there made to the Slaves beyond a little salt fish. They derive their subsistence (the females as well as the males) from the cultivation of their grounds during the time allotted to them for that purpose. These grounds, under the new state of things, would continue to be cultivated as before by the Slave and his family, but only with a greater effect and to a greater extent*. On this account it may be thought

* In the colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Barbadoes, a somewhat different course is at present pursued. The provision grounds, instead of being cultivated by each individual for himself, during a certain portion of his time set apart for that purpose, are cultivated by the labour of the united gang, no time during the week being given to the Slaves; and an allowance of the provisions thus reared is made to them weekly. But this plan it would be easy to modify, so as to suit the new circumstances in which the Slaves would be placed. In the few small colonies where they have hitherto depended, in part at least, if not wholly, on imported provisions, devoting their labour and their land exclusively to sugar, it is highly important, for the interest of all parties, even without any reference to the present scheme, that their system should undergo an entire change. Indeed, in most cases, that change has already been commenced.

proper to charge a rent for such additional land as, in their altered circumstances, might be occupied by the Slave and his family; an arrangement which might prepare the way for a system of tenantry similar to that which, according to Humboldt, exists in various parts of Spanish America, where emancipation has now become general*.

The means of education and religious instruction, which it is intended by Government to establish in all the Colonies, will of course be made to extend equally to the males and females; so that they will grow up in the enjoyment of the same opportunities of moral and intellectual improvement; and the effect

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* "We observed," says Mr. Humboldt, "with a lively interest, the great number of scattered houses in the valley, inhabited by freed men. In the Spanish Colonies, the institutions and the manners are more favourable to the liberty of the Blacks, than in the other European settlements. In all these excursions we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of Slaves. White and Black farmers had every where small separate establishments. Our host, whose father had a revenue of 40,000 piastres, possessing more lands than he could clear, he distributed them in the valley of Aragua, among poor families who chose to apply themselves to the cultivation of cotton. *He endeavoured to surround his ample plantation with free men, who, working as they chose, either on their own land, or in the neighbouring plantations, supplied him with day labourers at the time of harvest.* Nobly occupied on the means best adapted gradually to extinguish the slavery of the Blacks in these colonies, Count Torur flattered himself with the double hope of rendering Slaves less necessary to the landholders, and furnishing the freedmen with the opportunity of becoming farmers. On departing for Europe, he had parcelled out and let a part of the lands of Cura. Four years after, on his return to America, he found on this spot, finely cultivated in cotton, a little hamlet of thirty or forty houses, called Punta Zamuno, and which we afterwards visited with him. The inhabitants of this hamlet are nearly all Mulattoes, Samboes, or free Blacks. This example of letting out land, has been happily followed by other great proprietors. The rent is ten piastres for a vanega of ground, and is paid in money or in cotton." "*I love*," adds this amiable traveller, "*to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the Colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands; and that the unhappy Slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders.*"

of this education and instruction; when combined with the recognized sacredness of the marriage tie, and the due authority vested in husbands and parents, will go far to secure a tolerable degree of purity of conduct, and will at least, by checking the present unrestrained promiscousness of sexual intercourse lay the foundation for a rapidly improving state of society.

But it is necessary to consider what will be the cost of the proposed measure of redeeming 300,000 of the female Slaves, from the lowest age, to about forty. Those of the lowest age, that is to say, of one year and under, are generally appraised at the rate of about five pounds sterling each; the appraised value being always higher than the real value. For women in the prime of life 70*l.* sterling would be a high valuation; nor will the average even of adult female Slaves be found often to exceed 40*l.* or 50*l.* There may be a few exceptions, arising from extraordinary personal attractions, or from some peculiar acquirement; but, even including these, the average value of female Slaves, during the last ten or fifteen years, will be found not to exceed from 35*l.* to 40*l.* sterling, excepting in Guiana, where it may have been somewhat higher. The sales referred to above as having taken place in Tortola will serve to exemplify this calculation. (See p. 155.)

In order, however, not to underrate the expense of the operation, let the average cost of the redemption of each female be taken at the high rate of 50*l.* sterling. In this case the redemption of the whole would cost fifteen millions; which, reckoning 3 per cents. at 90, would require a perpetual annuity of half a million*.

Is it doubted whether the country would cheerfully submit to this expense, or to a corresponding terminable annuity for the sake of getting rid in a single generation of the evil of Slavery? No such doubt can reasonably be entertained. Besides, let it be considered that we are at this moment paying

* It is of course an easier operation to fix the average value of female than of male Slaves. The mechanical acquirements of many of the latter enhance and greatly vary their price. In the case of women, health, strength, and age would form almost the only material distinctions.

much more to uphold slavery, than it would require to extinguish it without affording the slightest pretence on the part of the West Indians, for complaining of a violation of property. The bounty on sugar alone has cost the nation annually, 1,200,000*l.* A large part of the 1,600,000*l.* which it pays for the government, and for the naval and military protection of the Slave Colonies, must be placed to the account of Slavery. There are besides this the various protecting duties on almost all articles of colonial produce, shutting out the produce of free labour in other parts of the world in order to favour the Slave-holder in our own colonies, and of course enhancing to us the price of his productions. And there is also the serious injury inflicted on the trade and manufactures of this country and on the trade and agriculture of our eastern empire, by the unwise and impolitic restrictions which are required to bolster up this miserable, immoral, and falling system *.

By the sacrifice therefore of half a million annually; or of a proportionate annuity terminable at a shorter period, we should not only immediately redeem 300,000 females from bondage, and by their redemption ensure the extinction of British Slavery in a single generation; but we should redeem ourselves from all those commercial trammels and oppressive restrictions which contract our energies, and prevent this country, and especially Ireland, from advancing with unexampled rapidity in the career of wealth and prosperity; we should raise India from her present state of poverty and depression; and, by the necessary effect which all this would have on the colonial system of other powers, we should put a period to those horrors of the Slave Trade which retain the whole continent of Africa in wretchedness, desolation, and blood.

If all these objects might be attained by the sacrifice of half a million of our surplus revenue, (an expense on the average to

* It has not been thought necessary to enter here into the discussion of the right of the West Indians to compensation, a right which multitudes are disposed to question: for the present, the question of right is merged in that of expediency.

each individual in the United Kingdom of only sixpence a year,) surely it would be an easy purchase.

But to return to the proposed plan, it seems to be a powerful recommendation of it, that it is in perfect accordance with the principles, in regard to female Slaves, which, as appears from the communications of Lord Bathurst to the colonial authorities, have been adopted by his Majesty's Government, as the basis of their measures—namely, that of "making a distinction of treatment between male and female Slaves,"—with a view "to raise this unfortunate class generally from their present degraded level." Such a plan too would obviate those grounds of jealousy and dissatisfaction, which it is alleged would be felt, in the case of redeeming the children *hereafter* to be born, by those who might be excluded from the same benefit; because the freedom proposed to be conferred on the women would be an advantage not to themselves only, but to their husbands and sons remaining in Slavery, to whose present comfort, and future freedom, it would contribute in a degree which could not fail to make it felt as being also a boon to themselves. The redemption of the women, be it remembered, would not prevent, though it might greatly accelerate, the progress of emancipation among the men, under the operation of laws similar to those which so greatly facilitate manumissions in the colonies of Spain and Portugal.

It is further worthy of remark, that the plan has already met with the approbation of some West Indians. The Council of Trinidad, for example, in their minute of the 9th July, 1823, give a decided preference to this plan over every other. Their deliberate opinion is, "that any system of emancipation should be commenced by the manumission of female Slaves; and that any emancipation of the children is not likely to be attended with the advantages that might be supposed to result from it, unless preceded by the emancipation of the mothers."

Whether this opinion be correct or not, it is surely no mean argument in favour of the plan, that it meets the views of the Council of Trinidad, with the concurrence and appro-

bation of which body at least, slavery might be entirely extinguished, in that island, in the course of a single generation, for an expense, even if the whole of that expense should be borne by this country, of not more than 12,500*l.* per annum.

It may be proper to remark, that, in order to give its due effect to this scheme, it is assumed that the various reforms already introduced into the Slave Code of Trinidad shall have been actually extended, as is the declared intention of his Majesty's Government, to all the Slave Colonies in the British Dominions.

Such is the plan of emancipation alluded to in the Report. It has already been submitted to not a few individuals of weight and consideration in the country, who have approved of its general tenor, and among them to some persons possessing extensive local knowledge of the West Indies. Various objections, however, have been raised to it in other quarters; and to these it may now be proper briefly to advert.

1. It is said, in the first place, that the proposed plan involves a proposition for the complete abolition of Slavery, at a much earlier period than has hitherto been contemplated.

To this objection it may be sufficient to reply, that the terms of the Resolutions adopted by the House of Commons, on the 15th of March 1823, bind both the Parliament and the Government to accomplish the emancipation of the Slaves, "at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned." Of several plans, therefore, which might be equally safe in their progress, equally considerate of the safety of the planters, and, in the end, equally efficacious, but which required different periods of time for their accomplishment, this Resolution would seem to bind the Parliament and the Government to prefer that plan which required the shortest period. If this construction of the Resolution be just, then the shortness of the time in which emancipation could be effected, would be rather a recommendation of the measure, than an objection to its

adoption. Nay, supposing it were possible that, with a due regard to the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and the interests of the Proprietors, Slavery could be abolished in a single year, the spirit of the Resolution seems to demand that its abolition should not be protracted beyond that period. The fair inquiry is, Has any other plan been proposed, which is better calculated to promote the well-being of the Slaves, and the safety of the Colonies, while it pays the same regard to the interests of the proprietor?

2. But it is argued, that the plan is new, founded on principles not hitherto recognized, and therefore likely to give birth to fresh agitations in the Colonies.

But wherein does it go beyond the fair and legitimate scope, either of the parliamentary resolution or of the provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council? Its object is simply to do that which the parliamentary resolution engages to do; namely, to abolish Slavery, at the earliest period compatible with certain specified considerations. And the means by which it proposes to effect that object are precisely of the same nature with those which are fully sanctioned, and even called into active operation, by the Order in Council, with only this difference, that they are more certain and efficacious. It will be seen by a reference to the abstract of the Trinidad Order in Council, Clauses 29—32, (supra, p. 75), that every husband or parent may redeem his wife or his child from Slavery, on paying the appraised value, either to the owner or to the treasury of the island. If the Government, therefore, should choose to appropriate funds to that object, it might now, without any new law or regulation whatever, through the husband or parent, legally redeem from Slavery every wife and child in the colony. In framing that Order, the Government justly conceived, that neither the caprice, nor the obstinacy, nor the mistaken views of interest, of the individual planter, ought to be allowed any more to interfere with the unquestionable claims of justice, humanity, and the general good, than they are allowed to interfere in the case of a canal, or a dock, or a rail-road, or a highway, or a bridge. Why then should they be allowed to interfere in the present case?

3. A third objection may be thus stated. The price proposed to be paid for the female Slaves, proceeds upon the present value of such Slaves in the West-Indian market. But it should also have reference to the value of the lost labour of their progeny, one of the principal elements of value, which enters into the price of the female Slave, being the consideration that the purchaser will be entitled to the services, as Slaves, of such children as she may bring into the world subsequently to the purchase.

There can be no doubt, however, that the present value of female Slaves in the West Indies always includes the consideration of future progeny. It does so at this moment as fully as it would do if the proposed plan were adopted. But then that the consideration of it does in fact add little to the value of female Slaves, is clearly proved from this, that female Slaves usually obtain lower prices than male Slaves, of the same age and state of health; and that barren women will generally obtain as high a price in the market, as women of the same age and the same capacity of labour who have children. To set this matter however in a clearer point of view, it may be worth while to inquire, What is the fair amount of the present value of the reversionary interest which a planter has in the future labour of the progeny of his female Slave? And in order to do this in the way most favourable to the planter, let us suppose the female to be young, and to be in the habit of bearing children. The child of this female, when it arrives at the age of one year, according to the usual estimate, would be valued at about five pounds sterling. What then would be its value a year before its possible birth? In order to ascertain this correctly, the following deductions must be made.

1. Discount for two years at 6 per cent, which will amount to twelve shillings.

2. Insurance of the life of the child for one year. This cannot be estimated with certainty, as we have no tables of mortality, among the Negroes in the West Indies, which can be depended upon. It is well known, however, that a large proportion of them, probably one half, die at a very early age. But even

assuming that the mortality is not greater than it is according to the Northampton tables, the insurance must still be estimated at 25 per cent., which is without doubt far below the truth.

3. Loss of the mother's labour both before and after delivery. West Indians state this loss to be in general equal to six months' labour, and Mr. Barham values it at ten pounds. Let it be taken, however, to amount only to four months' labour, or 100 working days, and at the moderate rate of a shilling a day, it would make five pounds. But that it may not be overrated let it be taken at four pounds.

4. Expenses attending confinement, such as widwifery, nursing, vaccination, nourishment, wine, medicines, additional clothing, &c. All these may be reckoned on a very moderate calculation at twenty-five shillings.

5. Insurance on the life of the mother. The proportion of deaths from parturition in London, is about 1 per cent. to the births. If the proportion is assumed to be the same in the West Indies, and the value of the mother be fifty pounds, then the insurance will be ten shillings.

But besides these, there are other risks which are omitted from the impossibility of valuing them; such as the risk of not becoming pregnant at all, or of miscarrying afterwards; but they undoubtedly tend to detract from that element of value, which is founded on the consideration of the labour of the future progeny. The account therefore will stand thus:

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Discount	0	12	0			
Insurance on child's life	1	5	0			
Ditto on mother's life	0	10	0			
Loss of mother's labour	4	0	0			
Other expenses	1	5	0			
				7	12	0
Value of the infant				5	0	0
Loss to the planter				2	12	0*

* Even if the value of the infant be taken to be five pounds at its birth,

The main item in this account, it will be perceived, arises from the oppressive system which makes females mere instruments of labour, and of profit derived from labour. But while they continue to be regarded in that light, and while the West-India system continues what it is at present, in various other respects, such must be the result. And such a result explains sufficiently why it is that, on correct commercial principles, the reversionary interest which a master has in the labour of the future progeny of a female Slave does not add to her value in the Slave market. It may perhaps also serve in some measure to account for the decrease of population in the West Indies; it being obviously a matter of doubt whether a speculative planter will feel that he has any *interest* in preventing it. At least it leads us to revert with somewhat more of respect to the worldly prudence which dictated the old colonial maxim, that "it is cheaper to buy than to breed."

On the whole, however, it seems clear, that the prospect of future progeny does not in the West Indies, (and certainly still less in the Mauritius,) much enhance the price of the female Slave; and that in whatever degree it affects her price, either in raising or lowering it, its value must be already fully understood, and duly appreciated, by the Colonial Slave-dealers, whether sellers or buyers.

4. But it is further argued, that the effect of the proposed plan of freeing the female Slaves would produce an immediate deterioration in the value of the male Slaves, in the proportion which exists between a life interest and a fee-simple.

Now it is quite notorious, that however the consideration of future progeny may affect the price of female Slaves, it does not, and indeed cannot, enter in the slightest degree into the estimate of the price of the male. The child does not follow the father, but the mother; and who would ever think of inquiring, when a Negro man was exposed to sale, with a view of

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instead of at a year old, the expense, deducting a year's discount, and insurance on the child's life for a year, would be six pounds one shilling, being still the loss of a guinea.

estimating his price, whether he had or had not children. The purchaser would think only of his health and age, his capacity of labour, and his mechanical acquirements, if he possesed any. In point of fact, a gang of male Slaves is never lessened in value by their having among them no females. The Slaves of mechanics, as masons, carpenters, &c., of wharfingers, pilots, owners of coasting craft, fishermen, &c., are usually only males; yet they are the most valuable Slaves of any. Their price would not be in the slightest degree affected, either by their having wives owned by their master, or by their having wives belonging to another master, or by their having no wives at all. A Negro who was incapacitated for having children, would sell as high as the father of many children, provided only the age, and health, and capacity of usefulness were the same in both. Indeed the emancipation of the women, so far from diminishing, as has been supposed, the value of the men, would infallibly increase it. As *labourers*, the men would certainly not be less valuable after the redemption of the women than they were before it; on the contrary, they would be more valuable; and it is only, and can only be, by the profit they are likely to yield as *labourers*, that the value of male Slaves, who can have in fact no progeny, ever has been or ever will be estimated. When purchased, it is only a life interest, and not a fee-simple, which is obtained; and by no possibility, in the existing state of things in the West Indies, can the property possessed in male Slaves be made more than a life interest.

The various positions assumed under this and the preceding head, may be easily verified by a complete return of the particulars of the sales in the West Indies, by the Marshall, during the last ten or twenty years.

5. The measure, however, it is further said, being of a compulsory nature, it would be altogether unjust to the planters to force it upon them. They are the best judges what Slaves they can conveniently emancipate, and the matter therefore ought to be left to them.

Neither the Parliament, however, nor the Government, nor the body of West-India Planters resident in England, have

deemed this objection to be of much weight: if they had, it would have applied with equal force to those provisions of the Order in Council which compel the master to emancipate his Slaves whenever they offer him an equivalent. The inconvenience, whatever it may be, is at least as great under the Order in Council as on the proposed plan. But what is the amount of that inconvenience? Under the Order in Council the most valuable Slaves on an estate are likely first to obtain their freedom. Their price would of course have respect to all the circumstances of their state and qualifications immediate or contingent, the risk of loss by death, &c. In lieu of them, the master would have their full value in perpetuity; whereas the Slaves themselves are held by a very uncertain tenure indeed. But then he wants their services, and he cannot now compel them to labour for him as formerly. He may, however, hire them, or others in their stead, to work when he wants them; and the capital he has received for them will enable him to do so; while at the same time he is freed from the burden of supporting them in sickness and in old age, and from the risk of their entire loss by death without any equivalent; and, in the case of the men at least, without any progeny to replace them.

The case of the planter would be precisely similar on the proposed plan. He would receive the full value of his female Slaves; and this capital he would enjoy henceforward, unaffected by the casualties of sickness or death, by the interruptions of pregnancy and nursing, or by the cares and expense incident to the rearing of children, who, for many years, could make him no return. And in the mean time, he may by means of this capital obtain the labour of the individuals for hire, when he wants it and they are capable of giving it, without being subjected to any expense when that labour is not wanted. And this is exclusive of the consideration of those improvements in agriculture, which, as has already been remarked, could not fail to follow the adoption of the proposed plan.

6. But a great loss, it is supposed, would be incurred, by the deterioration of the value of land in the Colonies, were this plan to be adopted.

The probability, however, seems to be, that land would rise instead of fall in value. Every individual who obtained his liberty would be a fresh competitor for the occupancy of fertile land, favourably situated, and having ready access for its produce to market. And as the best lands of that description are already located in all the islands, their value, whether sold or leased, could not fail to rise considerably. And this view of the subject is independent of the effect of that increase of population, which could not fail to follow such a system; and which would necessarily add to the value of land. It is independent also of all those agricultural improvements, such as the plough, &c., which would infallibly accompany the progress of things from slave to free labour.

7. But many of the West-Indian proprietors may be disposed to maintain, that the price proposed to be paid for the female Slaves is, considering all the circumstances of the case, far below the fair remunerating rate.

Instead of being below that rate, it might be shewn to be greatly beyond it. If the *bona fide* sales which have been effected in the West Indies generally, during the last twenty years, be taken as the criterion, the price proposed to be given will be found to exceed, very considerably, the average price obtained at such sales; so that it is the public and not the planters who would have fair ground to complain of such a bargain*.

But this is not all: Mr. Barham, whose authority, in a case of this kind, especially when opposed to West-Indian interests and prejudices, is entitled to great weight, calculates the whole of the net income arising, to the proprietors in the Slave Colonies, from the whole of their property including Slaves, lands buildings, stock, &c., at the rate of three pounds for every Slave they possess. But an income arising from such property

* An estate was sold at Garraway's in August or September 1824. The land, buildings, and 54 Slaves which were attached to it, sold, it is said, for 830*l.*, being a little more than 15*l.* for each Slave, including the land, &c. If it be objected that West-Indian property has recently undergone a great deterioration, still there can be no reason why the market price should not be ascertained by the actual sales of Slaves during the ten or twenty years preceding 1822.

where interest is at 6 per cent., and where the property itself is exposed to many peculiar hazards, and much of it is held by a very uncertain tenure, cannot fairly be estimated at more than fifteen years' purchase. According therefore to the statement of Mr. Barham, the fee-simple of the whole property of our colonial slave-holders, including slaves, land, buildings, &c., ought not to exceed the average rate of forty-five pounds for each Negro, male and female, young and old. Reckoning the Slaves at 800,000, this would amount to 36 millions, a sum which, valuing the 3 per cents at 90, might be redeemed by a perpetual annuity of twelve hundred thousand pounds, being about the sum we now pay in bounties on sugar alone.

8. But a graver and still more fundamental objection remains behind. It is an objection not likely indeed to be preferred by the West-Indian planters, but by parliament and the public:—Have the holders of Slaves any claim on the ground of right, to be reimbursed the market value of their Slaves, in case they should be set free by an act of the Imperial Legislature? Have they, in short, a right to indemnity, either legally or morally?

It is not intended to examine this question; nor is it necessary for the present purpose to do so. Undoubtedly much may be said on both sides of it; and there are certainly many intelligent individuals in this country, and their reasons are neither few in number nor trivial in weight, who altogether deny the right of the slaveholder to any compensation for the enfranchizement of his Slaves*. The preceding discussion, however, has proceeded on the assumption that whether such a right exists or not, it may be expedient to accede the principle, so far as to afford the basis of a compromise, which may obviate the evils of protracted suspense and agitation, and which may induce the holders of Slaves to co-operate cordially in the work of terminating the evils of slavery; evils, the magnitude of which, many of themselves have by no means been backward in acknowledging.

* Those who wish to examine the subject more attentively, may find it treated at some length in a pamphlet published by Relfe, in 1823, entitled "East and West India Sugar, or a Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonists, to a protecting Duty on East India Sugar," and also in the pamphlet of Mr. Barham already referred to.

APPENDIX L.

IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM*.

ANNEXED is a map of the world, on Mercator's projection, intended to illustrate the extreme impolicy of the commercial restrictions which are employed to bolster up the tottering and unprofitable system of Colonial Slavery. In a sheet published by the Society, entitled, "Impolicy of Slavery," (of which the annexed map forms a part,) this subject is fully treated. There is room at present only for a brief extract.

"Let us look at the map of the world. We know that sugar can be produced for about thirty degrees on each side of the equator: we know, also, that an acre of good land, in those climates, will produce as many pounds of sugar as our land does of wheat; and that, if it were not for duties and bounties, sugar might be supplied in great plenty at a very cheap rate. Who, then, can sufficiently condemn a policy, which holds in chains of bondage 800,000 of our fellow-beings; and, for the sake of maintaining this oppressive and wicked system, confines us to a few little colonies for our supply of one of the most valuable and important of all foreign productions! Who can sufficiently condemn a policy, which, for the sake of furnishing to these poor, miserable beings, the few things with which their masters may choose to supply them, restricts and sacrifices an unforced and beneficial commerce, with tens, nay hundreds, of millions in Asia, Africa, and America, whose unrestrained choice would range through the almost indefinitely varied field of our manufacturing inventions!"

"No one who will take the pains to examine the subject can entertain any doubt that the earth is capable of producing a sufficiency for all its present inhabitants; and that, by the aid of machinery, comforts and luxuries may be manufactured to an extent far beyond what any country now enjoys. There

* See Report, p. 45, line 4—17.

CHART OF THE WORD,

ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE IMPOLICY SLAVERY.

Sugar may be grown, so far as Climate is concerned, about 30 degrees on each side of the Equator, — bounded by the yellow lines.

The parts entirely red represent the colony of Demerara &c. on the Continent of South America, the Island of Jamaica, and the West India Islands under the British Flag; and are the countries to which we are at present confined for the supply of Sugar, except by paying higher duties on that article from other quarters.

The part coloured blue, includes nearly the whole of Africa, from which we are prevented obtaining Sugar

by the ... by pro... The ... our tr... The ... of the ... Arabia ... other ... ritory ... prohib... All ...

...vastating effects of the Slave trade, and ... ...tions for the support of Slavery in the W. Indies; ...ink colour represents Hindostan, from which ...e in Sugar is restricted & limited by high duties ...arts coloured green (covering nearly the whole ...ntinent of South America, the whole of Mexico, China, New Holland, the Indian Archipelago, ...lands &c.) represents the large extent of ter... ...hom which we can derive no Sugar, owing to ...tory duties.

...these duties and prohibitions, restricting or pro...

...Editing as fr... in Sugar with those vast territo... ...rise, and cons... from the advantages of a proper ...ugar increas... consumption of British manufac... ...tures, to an ... would give employment to the ...ture, to an ... Ireland and Great Britain, all are ...dustrious popul... ...ive protection and support of slave ...imposed for the ... Indian colonies; colonies which ...cultivation in ... speeks in the map, in point of ex... ...ferr, but insig... insignificant and inadequate with ...ten, as ind... increase of commerce commensurate ...reference to the p... ...tions of British capital, enterprise & industry ...with the warmer...

Exclusive of the above restrictions, a burthen is incurred by this Country to the ... ...ALLY, to raise the price of Slave grown Sugar ...

Published by J. Cross, 18 Holborn, also ... ...ed by Hatchard & Son, Pinnacles, J. & J. Arch Cornhill, & Jerley & Son, The ...

...nount of ONE MILLION, TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS ...

can therefore be no imaginable limit to the further extension of commerce, but that of the power of the earth to produce, or of man to manufacture, the comforts and luxuries of life to the full extent of the desire to enjoy them. The object of commerce being to make those exchanges of the products of manufacturing or agricultural industry, which difference of climate, soil, or other circumstances render advantageous, such exchange will be most extensive and beneficial between countries where those differences are most varied.

"Sugar and cotton being the great productions of warm climates, must consequently be great objects of the foreign commerce of Great Britain; and to them these remarks are intended chiefly to apply.

"The people of this country, or Ireland, have no disinclination to consume sugar if they can obtain it: it is estimated, that many individuals do consume eighty pounds of raw sugar, equal to about fifty pounds of refined sugar, per annum; being about five times as much as our present average consumption for each individual in the British empire. If the duties on sugar were reduced as the consumption increases, the revenue would sustain no loss.

"No objection exists any where on the part of the people to the use of British manufactures, which are, with little exception, cheaper than those of any other country; and it is shewn, in the Report of the Liverpool East-India Association, that if the duty on sugar was removed, a native of India would be able to procure five pieces of British calico in return for the sugar which his labour, if applied to its cultivation, would produce, in the time which would be occupied in manufacturing one piece of such calico in India; but the high duty on the sugar, to be received in payment, prevents the sale of the British goods as effectually as a duty laid on their export. The population of England, and especially that of the cotton districts, is now generally well employed. And Great Britain having about double the population of Ireland, it is fair to calculate, that one half more added to our present foreign commerce would be more than sufficient to relieve that portion of Ireland which is now in distress from want of employment."

"The probability of obtaining such increase may be judged of by the following facts:—

"I. The consumption of cotton in Great Britain is about 160,000,000 of pounds annually.

"II. If one half that quantity is consumed at home, it will be four pounds for every individual, and no one who has seen much of the poor in England, and more especially of Ireland, will contend, that even all our population are sufficiently clothed.

"III. If the population of our Eastern dominions took from us half a pound weight each of cotton goods, being only one-eighth part of the rate of consumption in Great Britain, it would be enough to give ample employment to Ireland.

"IV. The Slaves in our West-India Islands, by being made free, would not only raise more produce, but also consume much more of our manufactures. Thus would Great Britain find within her own dominions, abundant scope for the extension of her commerce, and share with the rest of the world the vast field which would be opened beyond them.

"V. If the population of the whole world be estimated at 900,000,000, and if their habits were improved so as to enable them to consume as much as the population of the British dominions, it would probably amount to about eight or ten times the extent of the present cotton manufactures *of the whole world;* leaving an ample field to reward the exertions of other countries which might adopt the same enlightened policy. But though, with respect to Africa, it may be truly said, that the crimes and devastations of ages cannot be repaired at once; and ages may still elapse before she is restored to the state in which European commerce found her; yet, though this may be true, it is no argument against making a commencement.

"In conclusion, we may say, that among all the absurd and impolitic restrictions which still fetter our commerce, *the greatest obstruction of all to its extension, is to be found in the effects of the devastation made to procure Slaves on the coast of Africa, and the sacrifices we are now making to support the system of Slave cultivation in the West Indies.*"

APPENDIX M.

PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS *.

SINCE the above Report has been published, a great mass of papers connected with the general subject of Colonial Slavery, which had been laid on the table of the House of Commons, has been printed. It will be impossible to furnish any analysis of their contents, without greatly delaying the completion of the present Report, and swelling it to an inconvenient size. Measures however will be taken to lay the substance of them as soon as possible before the public. In the mean time, it will be sufficient to state, that nothing appears in these papers which makes it necessary for the Committee to modify the statements contained in their Report.

* See Report, p. 15, line 18—29.

ERRATA.

Pp. 114—137 passim, *for* M. De la Beche, *read* Mr. De la Beche.
P. 152, line 11, *for* 1,5032, *read* 15,039.
——— line 8 from bottom, *for* 22,245, *read* 12,245.

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THIRD

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE

OF

THE SOCIETY

FOR THE

MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

Read at a Special Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Society, held (on the 21st of December 1825) for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on the Subject of Slavery.

WITH NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

AND SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND J & A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

1826.

PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND HENDERSON,
GOUGH SQUARE, LONDON.

At a General Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Society, held at Freemasons' Hall, on Wednesday, December 21, 1825, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery;

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. in the Chair;

The Report having been read, it was unanimously Resolved as follows:—

I. That the substance of the Report now read be printed without delay, under the revision of the Committee: and that they be requested to circulate it as widely as possible.

II. That this Meeting desire to express their satisfaction with the Resolutions on the subject of Colonial Slavery, which, on the motion of Mr. Canning, were unanimously adopted by Parliament, and which were to the following effect, namely:—

"That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population of his Majesty's Colonies.

"That through a determined and vigorous, but at the same time judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for the participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

"That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of these purposes at the earliest period that may be consistent with the welfare of the slaves themselves, the well-being of the Colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein."

That this Meeting desire further to express their high sense of the ability promptitude, and zeal, with which, as appears from Earl Bathurst's official correspondence with the Colonies, his Majesty's Ministers have laboured to carry these Parliamentary Resolutions into effect; and they deeply lament that the opposition of the colonial authorities has hitherto succeeded in almost wholly frustrating their benevolent purposes and efforts.

That the various official documents on the subject of Slavery, and the treatment of Slaves, recently laid before Parliament by his Majesty's Ministers, afford additional and incontestible evidence of the injustice and cruelty of the system of Slavery now prevailing in the Colonies, and render desperate the hope of its extinction, or even of its effectual mitigation, without the direct and authoritative interference of the Imperial Legislature.

That from the same authentic sources of information, this Meeting have learnt with regret, though not with surprise, that the Colonial Legislatures have either treated the recorded wishes of Parliament, and the beneficient recommendations and urgent remonstrances of his Majesty's Government with neglect, or have met them with decided opposition; and that even in those Colonies where attempts have been made to frame an ameliorated Slave Code, the new enactments manifest the same substantial disregard of the most sacred principles of justice which characterised the old; that the existing laws, in their practical administration, evidently afford no effectual protection to the Slaves, and have been made, on many recent occasions, an instrument of the most grievous judicial oppression; and that the general treatment of the Slaves continues to exhibit the same harsh and disgusting effects of the domestic despotism prevailing in the Colonies, which first excited the indignant feelings of the British Public, and which should now lead to a fixed determination, on the part of every individual who values British freedom, and the blessings of Christianity, to do his utmost to prevent their continuance.

That this Meeting are further anxious to record their conviction that this unjust and immoral system, as it exists in the British Colonies, derives great support from those commercial regulations, which, by conferring bounties and protecting duties on the produce of Slave Labour, not only materially enhance its price to the British consumer, but increase the miseries of the Slaves, and render their liberation more difficult.

That if called upon by Parliament to contribute to the same, or even to a larger extent, for the purpose of extinguishing Slavery, than they now pay for its support, this Meeting would cheerfully obey the call; but that to the existing regulations of the Colonial Trade, they entertain insuperable objections; because, while these regulations violate the recognised principles of sound commercial policy, and impose on the nation a heavy pecuniary burden for the maintenance of Slavery, they tend to counteract the hope of its reformation, they serve to aggravate and perpetuate its evils, and they involve the people of this country still more deeply in the guilt of upholding it.

That it appears to this Meeting to be their bounden duty, and that of every individual who acknowledges the claims of humanity and justice, to promote, with all their influence, the fulfilment of the pledge given by the Government and Parliament in 1823, on this subject; and for that purpose to lose no time in earnestly and respectfully petitioning both Houses of Parliament, that they will be pleased to take the great work of Colonial Reformation into their own hands; and in accordance with their own Resolutions, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, to bring the state of Slavery itself to the earliest practicable termination in every part of his Majesty's dominions.

III. That the Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, grounded on the above Resolutions, which have now been read, be adopted as the Petitions of this Meeting; and that they be left at the Freemasons' Tavern, and at such other places as the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society may appoint, in order to receive the signatures of all who concur in their prayer.

IV. That his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, whose unavoidable absence on this occasion the Meeting lament, and whose invaluable services they are desirous of gratefully recording, be respectfully requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords; and Mr. Fowell Buxton that to the Commons.

V. That this Meeting eagerly embrace the present opportunity both of presenting their heartfelt acknowledgments to their revered Vice-President, William Wilberforce, Esq., for his gratifying attendance on this day, and for his conduct in the chair; and of testifying their deep sense of the services, which, during a long and arduous parliamentary life, he has rendered to his country, and to the world at large; and especially of that indefatigable, but tempered zeal, with which he has so unceasingly and successfully consecrated his powerful talents and fascinating eloquence to the vindication and relief of suffering humanity.

THIRD REPORT,

&c. &c.

SINCE the publication of the Second Report of the Society, read in this place on the 30th April last, a large mass of most important information, on the subject of Colonial Slavery, has been laid before Parliament. A digest of the most material parts of this information has been published, under the title of "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves." As this pamphlet has been largely circulated, it will not be necessary to enter into a detail of the statements which it contains, or of the fresh horrors which it develops. It has admitted us to a near view of the interior of society in one of the slave colonies, Berbice, where the Fiscal had been so attentive to his duty as to preserve some record, though an imperfect one, of the causes of complaint, on the part of the slaves, which came before him. We are not to suppose that the slave system in this colony is marked by features of peculiar atrocity. The presumption, on the contrary, is rather in favour of its comparative lenity, because it is one of the few slave colonies in which the population does not diminish. We have unfortunately no similar disclosures from any other of those colonies. But when we consider what a mass of suffering is laid open to our view in the account which has reached us from this single colony, containing only 23,000 slaves, being about a fortieth part of the whole slave population, how frightfully would that mass have been augmented had we received a similar report of the remaining 800,000! Over *their* sufferings the veil of oblivion has been drawn. Of *them* no record has been pre-

served. We may imagine, indeed, what they must have been, from the glimpse which has been afforded us in the returns from Berbice; but the full amount of their horrors can now be known only to Him whose eye makes inquisition for the blood of the innocent, and by whom not one sigh of the oppressed is disregarded.

Revolting, in every point of view, as is the delineation, contained in these papers, of the state of British colonial slavery, as it exists in law and in practice, there is at least this advantage attending the melancholy detail, that it serves amply to confirm the view of the nature and effects of that cruel system which has been sanctioned and circulated by this Society, making *their* statements to appear even cold and tame in the comparison *.

These parliamentary documents are particularly valuable, as exemplifying the unchanged spirit of colonial legislation on the subject of slavery. The local legislatures have refused, without a single exception, to comply even with the moderate requisitions of his Majesty's Ministers †, as these are embodied in the Order in Council for Trinidad; and the colonists, generally, exult in the refusal, encouraging each other to persevere in the same contumacious course. Their tone of secure and triumphant irony is remarkable. "We beg you to observe," says the editor of one of their newspapers—and we give the passage only as an *illustration of the*

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* Compare, for example, with the recent returns from the colonies, the statements contained in Mr. Wilberforce's "Appeal;" in "Negro Slavery as it exists in the United States and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica;" in the *Appendix* to the "Debate" of 15th May 1823; in the "Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery;" in the *tracts* entitled "Negro Slavery," Nos. 1 to 15; and in the Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society; and it will be clearly seen how every assertion which this Society have sanctioned is far more than borne out by the official communications from the colonies themselves.

† They are justly called *moderate*; for they are only the *first step* in the progress of the *gradual* emancipation to which Parliament has pledged itself. The West Indians cannot say that that progress has not been sufficiently *slow*. Three years have nearly elapsed, and this very first graduation in the scale of reform has not yet been taken, except in one colony; and even there its adoption has been compulsory. The succeeding steps, it is to be hoped, will follow each other more rapidly.

prevailing spirit—"We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies" (meaning the colonies having legislatures of their own) "have had the *civility* to comply with Earl Bathurst's wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, *in the most earnest and feeling manner, of the serious extent of the disappointment which his Majesty's Government would experience if they rejected his application. We sympathize most sincerely with his Lordship on the unexpected event.*"

Attempts, it is true, have been made, by several of the colonial legislatures, to ameliorate their slave codes; and they boast of their new laws as models of wise and beneficent legislation. But it has been shewn, by the digest of these laws already laid before the public, that, vaunted as they have been, they are nevertheless an outrage on every just principle of legislation; and afford, at the very moment they profess to protect the slave, a decisive proof of his utter want of effective protection, and of the depth of his legal degradation *. And if such be the character of their recent enact-

* This point was happily illustrated by Mr. Brougham, in the speech he made on the occasion of this meeting. "Previous to 1824," he remarked, "there was no law in Barbadoes by which cruelty to a slave, or even the torture, or mutilation, or dismemberment of a slave, was punishable. In 1824, however, a clause was introduced into the new act to the following effect; and here let me beg the attention of the meeting, and they will at once perceive the nature and extent of the protection afforded to the wretched slave, even by this last and best edition of the Barbadoes slave code.—'Whereas it is highly expedient to restrain owners, and others having the government and the direction of slaves, from indiscriminately, wantonly, and cruelly exercising the power they possess over slaves; and as the cruelty of punishment by flogging necessarily depends much more on the manner of inflicting it than upon the number of stripes, it is therefore most conducive to the ends of humanity' [not to limit the number of lashes, but] 'to trust to the discretion and good feelings of the justices before whom complaints shall be made.' Here, then, are the wretched slaves not protected by law, but turned over to the 'humanity' first of the master and his delegates, and then of the justices (they themselves always slave-owners), before whom complaints shall be made! It is further enacted, and I beseech you to mark the extent of protection extended to the Negroes by this 'wise' and 'salutary' measure. It is enacted, that if any person commits, or causes to be committed, any wanton act of cruelty towards any slave, or shall wantonly, maliciously, and cruelly whip, beat, or bruise any slave,

ments, deliberately framed in the strange hope of satisfying the expectations of the parliament and people of this country, —if the colonial legislatures can have so egregiously misap-

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such person, on conviction before two justices, may be —— what do you think? Subjected to some adequate punishment? Oh, no: he may be fined 25*l.* currency, or about 17*l.* sterling! So that you see any one may torture a slave; he may bruise and crush his body; he may inflict upon him every cruelty short of dismemberment or death, even cruelties from which death would be a relief, and yet does he pay not more than about 17*l.* sterling: and observe, that the 17*l.* mentioned here is the *maximum*, and may be reduced to 17*d.* according to the pleasure of the justices before whom the complaint is made. And yet this act received the sanction of the legislature of that island; nay, it was even described by the gentleman who proposed it as an act which would do honour to themselves, and endear their remembrance to posterity. Nor is this all. By the same act, any person may maim, mutilate, or dismember a slave, and be liable, on conviction, only to fine or imprisonment, (no *minimum* or *maximum* being fixed), as the Court shall think fit. It was in this island that, previous to 1805, the *murder* of a slave, when it could be proved, was punished by a fine of 11*l.* sterling. In 1805, that act was repealed, and, in its stead, it was enacted, that any person wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and *without provocation*, killing any slave, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. But the nature of the provocation was not defined; so that let a slave but hold up his finger—nay, let him but look cross or dissatisfied—let him even use an irritating or contemptuous expression, there is at once sufficient provocation, the poor wretch's life may be taken with impunity. The words 'without provocation' have since been erased from the law; but it still remains the law, that if any person shall unfortunately kill by accident the slave of another, he shall only be liable to an action at law for the value of the slave; or if any slave shall be killed while committing or attempting to commit any robbery, theft, burglary, or arson, or in the attempt to maim or injure any White person, the person killing any such slave shall not be punished for the same either capitally or otherwise." Such are some of the enactments which will endear the remembrance of the Barbadoes legislature to posterity!

"Let us now," continued Mr. Brougham, "look at the other side of the account, and contrast with the impunity of the White the punishments to be inflicted on slaves, as well as the sort of offences of which they may be guilty. I find it enacted, for example, 'that any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of insolent language or gestures' [mark that] 'to any White person; or of swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches; or of drunkenness, or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fire-works; or of cock-fighting, or gaming; or of riding on a faster gait than a walk; or of driving on a faster gait than a gentle trot; or of cruelly whipping or beating any horse, mare, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of negligently driving any cart, &c.,

prehended the whole current of British principle and feeling, —would it not be the height of fatuity to continue to look for any useful reforms from that quarter? The work must be undertaken and executed by the British Parliament. They alone are competent to the task. In no other way can a reasonable hope be entertained, either of effectually mitigating the rigours of colonial bondage, or of finally abolishing that opprobrious state of society.

It cannot be supposed, that, in the hands of the men who framed, and who boast of having framed, such enactments, the administration of the slave laws should manifest any remarkable traits of lenity and forbearance, or indicate any peculiar respect for Negro life or Negro comfort. On the contrary, the parliamentary papers exhibit many atrocious cases of judicial oppression, which have taken place in the colonies, and which may possibly become the subject of early parliamentary investigation *. If so, we trust they may lead to the institution of some adequate securities against the effects, on the lives and happiness of the Negro and Coloured races, of the blind and irrational alarms, and headstrong and ungovern-

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or of *any* disorderly conduct or behaviour, shall, on conviction before a magistrate, be—What do you think? sentenced to a week's imprisonment, or fined a few shillings?—No; shall be whipped at the discretion of such magistrate, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes! Again, it is wisely enacted, that 'any slave who shall hear any other slave speak any words *tending* to mutiny or rebellion, or shall know of his having gunpowder or arms in his possession for purposes of rebellion, and shall not immediately disclose the same, shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court may think fit.' Here is legislation with a vengeance! You see that the slave who hears another slave use words *tending* to rebellion (of which *tendency*, mind, he is, in the first instance, constituted the sole judge) must make up his mind not only that such is their tendency, but also that the White judge to whom he is to make the communication, will also make up his mind that such is their tendency; and if he does not do this—that is to say, if he does not make up his mind beforehand, to be of the same opinion with the White judge to whom he is to make a communication—then is he to be hanged without benefit of clergy, or be liable to such other punishment as the Court may think fit. It is needless to say much more upon this act, which is to entitle its framers to the grateful remembrance of posterity."

* The trials of the alleged insurgents in Demerara and Jamaica are here more particularly alluded to.

able passions, of the dominant party, who exclusively act as judges and jurors.

But of all the harsh features of the colonial slave-laws, none is more revolting to every feeling of humanity and justice, than that which makes the very act of complaining a crime in the slave. In him, even the murmurs of suffering nature must be suppressed. We may see this lamentable perversion of all established principles of just legislation fully and strikingly illustrated in the recorded proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice; of whom, at the same time, it is but right to say, that he appears to be a person of much natural mildness of disposition.—Four Negroes, belonging to the Hon. Mr. Katz, complained to the Fiscal of harsh usage by the manager. On the mere denial of the party accused, the Fiscal punished three of the complainants, with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty.—Again: three Negroes belonging to General Murray, late Governor of Demerara, complained to the Fiscal of overwork, and want of food, and severity of treatment. Two of them were selected by the Fiscal to receive the torture of seventy-five lashes each *.

But it is needless to proceed. Similar instances might be multiplied without end. Nay, the laws of almost all the colonies provide that, in the case of a slave complaining of ill-treatment, the magistrate may, if he deems the complaint unfounded, punish the complainant with the cart-whip at his discretion †. And yet, be it remembered that, as Negro evidence is not admitted in proof of the complaint, the complainant has no possible means, should the accused deny it, of establishing the most undoubted fact.

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* See Parliamentary Returns from the Fiscal of Berbice, pp. 19 and 50. See particularly his instructions to one of his officers, pp. 57 and 58, for a curious specimen of West-Indian justice.

† See, for an example, a law much vaunted by Mr. Dwarris, the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica, of December 1816, section 28; where we find that two magistrates *may*, if they think proper, inquire into the complaint of a slave; but that if it shall appear that such complaint was groundless, they "SHALL PUNISH the *complainant, and the person giving information thereof*, IN SUCH MANNER AS TO THEM MAY SEEM PROPER." This is what is called protecting slaves in the West Indies.

Since the publication of the abstract to which reference has hitherto been made, another official document, of considerable importance, has appeared; namely, "A Report on the Civil and Criminal Justice of the West Indies," by the only surviving commissioner, Mr. Fortunatus Dwarris, employed to inquire into that subject.

This gentleman, it appears, is the proprietor of a considerable sugar estate in Jamaica, cultivated by about 220 slaves*; and although we have no doubt that it was his purpose fairly to represent the case which he was employed to investigate, yet we must lament that it should have been found necessary to select a person in his peculiar circumstances for this delicate and difficult task. It surely never can be expedient to place any public functionary in a situation in which private interests, early prepossessions, and the most cherished associations and attachments, may be found unavoidably to clash with the uncompromising claims of public duty. If his Majesty's Ministers have felt it incumbent on them to determine, that henceforward no governor, or judge, or fiscal, or protector of slaves, shall be the owner of a plantation cultivated by slaves†, it surely is still more indispensable that the persons who are expressly delegated to inquire into the abuses of a particular system should not be chosen from the very class whose interests, as well as whose strongest prejudices, are deeply involved in its defence. We have been almost involuntarily led to this reflection, by the manifest anxiety which Mr. Dwarris evinces to prevent his exposure of the many evils in the judicial administration of the West-Indies, from producing an impression adverse to West-Indian planters, or to that system of Negro slavery, which, as planters, they are naturally solicitous to accredit.

The general view of the condition of the Negro slave, which Mr. Dwarris has in this case gone out of his way to give, is, without doubt, widely different from that which a consideration either of general principles, or of the facts of the

* Mr. Dwarris's estate is Golden Grove, in the parish of St. George's. In March 1823, there were upon it 221 slaves.

† See Preface to the Debate of 15th May 1823, pp. xxvii—xxxii.

ease, would permit any disinterested and unprejudiced individual to form.—"The poor slave, if left to himself," the Reporter informs us, "is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached"—(we shall presently see by what tenure he holds this spot)—"Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master" (a master, be it recollected, generally 4000 miles off, whom he never sees, and cannot therefore look to, but) "looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws." This, be it remembered, refers more immediately to Barbadoes; the very colony where, a few years ago, hundreds of Negro lives were sacrificed with breathless dispatch, by the operation of laws which the Report represents as only *impotently* furious.—"A little more time, and a little less work, form," adds the Reporter, "the narrow boundary of the wants and wishes of the Negro *." And what has reduced the Negro to this abject and brutish state of existence; a state which this gentleman considers as a subject even of satisfactory contemplation?—And, supposing such a picture as that of Mr. Dwarris to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident planters, yet in what respects does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of this gentleman, are, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind. Are we, then, to shut out of our view that the Negro is a human being, born with the power of looking afore and after; possessing the capacities of thought, intelligence, reflection;—that he is endowed with desires, affections, cares, passions, responsibilities, and—may we dare to add—RIGHTS,—in common with ourselves? Shall we forget that the poor slave was formed, like his master, in the image of God: has shared in the same moral ruin; has been re-

* See Mr. Dwarris's Report, p. 15.

deemed by the same blood; and is an heir of the same immortality? If, then, the delineation of Mr. Dwarris were as generally true as it is notoriously the reverse; still, to level the Negro's highest enjoyments with those of the brutes that perish; to make his whole existence, its comfort and even its duration, to depend, like theirs, on the will, the caprice, the prudence, the health, or the life of another; to put it within the discretion of that other not only to be himself the sole arbiter of the destinies of his slave, the food he shall eat, the clothes he shall wear, the labour he shall undergo, the stripes he shall receive, the indignities, nay, the tortures, he shall suffer, but even to delegate these tremendous powers to third parties;—what is all this but a cruel spoliation of man's inalienable rights; an impious usurpation, for which nothing can compensate; an insult to the Majesty of Heaven itself?

Some idea of the wretched insecurity of the tenure, by which slaves enjoy even the spot to which the Report tells us they are attached, together with all the dearest ties and charities of life, may be obtained from the case of a Mr. Padmore, who was driven to the necessity (a necessity of common occurrence in the West Indies) of selling his estate to satisfy his creditors. "The slaves," it is stated, "he *could* have sold separately (detached from the estate), at a much higher rate; but they came to him in a body, with most distressing cries, and threw themselves on the ground before him; when a spokesman, appointed by the rest, fell down at his feet, and implored him, in all their names, not to separate them, both from himself and the estate. They were ready to follow him to the other end of the island; but if he could not retain them about himself, if his necessities compelled him to sell them, they besought him not to part friends and relations, husbands and wives, parents and children; not to tear them from their houses and gardens; but to let them go with the land. He could not resist such an appeal, and he lost at least forty pounds a-head by it." (p. 22.) This occurrence says much, it is true, for the ruined individual who had the courage and the feeling to make this sacrifice;—but what does it say for the system? for that state of society, that state of law, which can for one moment tolerate and sanction such

enormities? Even Mr. Dwarris admits, that, by the law of Barbadoes, there is no express direction that families should be sold together; nothing in any Act prohibiting the separation of husband and wife, parents and children. (p. 39.) He endeavours, however, to palliate the effect of this statement, by remarking, that *many* of our other islands had adopted, with the best effect, a humane provision to prevent the separation of families. In venturing to make this statement, in which, however, we believe him to be mistaken*, he ought at least to have named the islands in which such a provision had been adopted; especially as, in the case of the only two other islands, Tobago and Grenada, whose laws he speaks of, he himself distinctly tells us, that "unattached slaves are ordered to be sold one by one, except mother and child under twelve years of age." (pp. 81 and 103.) We find him, indeed, becoming the apologist of that general principle of separating the slaves from the land, which destroys, root and branch, even the miserable semblance of property which a slave can be said to possess in his house and garden. "However desirable it may appear," he observes, "to prevent the slave from being torn from his home and garden, it would be found very difficult, *consistently with a due regard to the interest of creditors,*" (the paramount consideration, of course, in the minds of colonial legislators,) "to provide any remedy for the evil." It would be unsuitable to a state of things in which the support of credit, and the security for borrowed capital, form the *first* object of attention, and even of legislative care and provision." (p. 39.)—The first objects of attention, therefore, are, not human life and human comfort—at least in cases where the skin happens to be darkly tinged—but the security of credit and capital; and that even in the

* There is a provision in the laws of Jamaica, that when slaves are *sold by the marshall*, members of the same family shall be sold together. But to make this regulation of any material use, the members of the same family should be seized, as well as sold, together. There is no restraint whatever in any of the colonies on the power of the *master* to sell his slaves separately. In Jamaica, the seizure and sale by public auction of single slaves (which slaves must have parents, or children, and other near relations,) for the king's taxes, is an event of weekly occurrence. See the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, passim.

estimate of the author of this Report—a Report which, while it affords some curious illustrations of the regard paid to the Negro as an article of the *master's* property, one of *his* chattels, one of *his available securities*, exemplifies no less strikingly the utter disregard of all his *rights* and *feelings* as a man, as a rational and sentient being.

We shall say nothing of the scandalous abuse of those forfeitures to the Crown, by means of escheats, by which the name of the King is abused to purposes of oppression and wrong, in a manner altogether unconstitutional, as well as most disreputable*: but let us take a view of the proceedings of what are called Slave Courts in Barbadoes.—"In cases of *capital* offences by slaves" —and these cases are very numerous—" the court is composed of two justices, and three freeholders of the neighbourhood of the place where the offence is committed. These five compose the court, and are all judges both of the law and the fact. They are not appointed to meet at any fixed time, but only as occasion requires." " When the court is assembled, no indictment is preferred, or bill found by a grand jury. The magistrate before whom the complaint was made is taken to have decided that there is sufficient ground to put the slave on his trial, and this magistrate sits upon the trial."—The evidence may consist of the evidence of slaves, but not upon oath, unless they have been baptized. " They are sometimes sworn on grave-dirt, according to a superstition. A Negro's wife's evidence is admitted" (against him) " because it is in general a nominal, and not a legal marriage.

* Slaves escheating to the Crown from intestacy, &c. are not considered as freed. " The escheater reports the verdict to the chancellor in court. If there are slaves, the chancellor directs them to be sold, with the real estate, if they are annexed to it; separately, if they are unattached. The nett proceeds, *after deduction of heavy expenses*, are brought into court, and placed at the disposal of the chancellor. The Attorney-general fears extreme hardship has arisen in some cases." (p. 83. See also p. 43.)—What a monstrous system of oppression has grown up in our slave colonies! And in this instance, as in many others, we have the Crown aiding, and profiting by, the wrong. The accident of intestacy throws a number of wretched beings into the hands of his majesty. His majesty, instead of protecting them as subjects, and giving them freedom, is made to sell them into interminable bondage, even separating, in some cases, the nearest and dearest connexions, and all for his own profit, or for that of his officers.

In the case of false evidence given by a slave, the justice, or the court, before which the false evidence is given, directs the offender to be" (we presume forthwith) " flogged." " There is no regular record: the magistrates who try the case keep an account of the proceedings. These are not returned to any public office; and, after the lapse of a few years, it would be difficult to procure evidence to prove a former acquittal, if a slave were to be apprehended a second time for the same offence, while neither the slave nor the master has any remedy for the malicious prosecution of the slave. If the five members of the court are agreed, a conviction takes place, otherwise the prisoner is acquitted. Upon conviction, *sentence of death must be passed in all capital cases.*" An appeal may be brought *by the owner* (but by him only) " before the governor and council. If there is no appeal, no copy of the trial is laid before the governor, or report made to him or any other superior authority, before the execution takes place. The warrant of execution is directed to the constable who attends the trial; and he executes it *without delay.* There is no fixed time or appointed place for the public execution of slave malefactors." " That the owner may not be discouraged to detect and discover the offences of his Negroes, a condemned slave is always appraised, and the value" (not exceeding a limited sum) " paid to the owner out of the public treasury, the party injured being first indemnified;" but if " the master had not duly provided for the support of the slave, and NECESSITY might have COMPELLED the Negro to commit the offence, the whole appraised value is to be paid to the party injured, and nothing to the master." And yet " the execution of the slave might proceed!" The trials of slaves in this island, the Report goes on to remark in duly measured terms, " are very unsatisfactory. We heard them pronounced disgraceful. The judges, it was said, are ignorant; the proceedings are slovenly; the charge, being unwritten, shifts with the case. A disposition to favour, where it exists" (and the Reporter might have added, a disposition to condemn where it exists,) " receives no check from the want of publicity. There being no assigned place or appointed time for the execution of slave malefactors, the

wretched convict, *as soon as sentence is passed, is fastened to the nearest tree*; unless, which frequently happens, the owner of the soil is at hand to prevent it. In such case, *the miserable culprit is dragged from tree to tree, from estate to estate; and in one case, of then recent occurrence, the constable was at last forced to throw the exhausted sufferer off the town bridge, securing the rope by a lamp-post,*" pp. 48—50.

Is it necessary to add a single word more to these revolting statements? Yet we cannot forbear referring to the authority of Mr. Dwarris on one or two other topics. After the eulogy pronounced by him on the general treatment of the slaves in Barbadoes, the Meeting will scarcely be prepared for the following representations of the same gentleman in the very same Report. "Slaves in this island," he says, "are without legal protection or redress for personal injuries." "The slave has no remedy, in case of the greatest oppression by the master or his delegate, or the grossest injury by third persons, though the *master* (in case of his slave being assaulted and robbed) may have reparation in damages for *the loss of service, or the injury to his property, in the slave.* The murder of a slave, *wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and without provocation**, is now a capital crime. But there is *no* other legislative provision, restraining the absolute power of the master over the slave, or inflicting punishment upon the owners or others, in cases of mayem, mutilation, dismemberment, or cruel treatment †. No other Act of Assembly has been framed for the protection of slaves; no tribunal is specially appointed for inquiry into their wrongs. A slave who is, or thinks himself, aggrieved, looks in vain, in this island, for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint. *It can no where be received.*" "*Murder is the only case in which the law interferes.*" "*For*

* Mr. Dwarris does not seem to be aware that the words "without provocation," which formed a part of the Act of 1805, were omitted in a subsequent Act, that of 1817.

† This, we suppose, was written before the Act of 1824 had passed. The amount of the protection afforded by that Act against the evils enumerated above, may be seen in the extract from Mr. Brougham's speech, in a preceding note, p. 8.

the punishment of general oppression and maltreatment of a slave, there is no provision by any law of Barbadoes. If inflicted by the master, it would be *dispunishable.* If perpetrated by a third person, the *owner* would have *his* remedy by civil action; but the slave would still be without redress*." "There is not, in Barbadoes, any law regulating the quantum and kind of punishment, the hours of labour and rest, the provision of food, and (except nominally) of clothing. These are dependent on the performance of moral duties, of which good men feel the obligation, but of which the breach is not cognizable before any earthly tribunal. A wicked and cruel master or delegate (so that he do not kill or maim † a slave) may inflict on him ANY degree of severity of punishment. *No man, or set of men, has legal power to call him to account for working his slave as long as he likes; for whipping him as much as he pleases; for chaining, for starving him.*" "*A master has uncontrolled, undefined, and absolute power.*" Where then, asks Mr. Dwarris, very justly, however inconsistently, "where then is the protection of the slave, and where, in case of accident, the justification of the master?" In a case even of a very grievous bodily injury, inflicted upon a slave by a manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free persons on the premises should have been *designedly* sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. *Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered,*" (I am putting, says Mr. D., the most aggravated case), "his wounds must be the only tongue permitted to relate his wrongs." (pp. 62—66.)—These, however, will speak for him in this country, if they do not speak for him in the colonies ‡.

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* The truth of these statements is hardly affected by the opprobrious and inefficient provisions of the Act of 1824. If these provisions were far less exceptionable in their terms, they would still remain a dead letter, where Negro evidence is shut out.

† The exception of *maiming* is inconsistent with the other statements of Mr. Dwarris, and with the law of Barbadoes prior to 1824.

‡ The observations of Sir James Mackintosh, on the inconsistent statements of Mr. Dwarris, were peculiarly just and forcible. "One passage," he observed, "to which I shall call your attention, shews the grievous disqualifications under which the Negroes labour in procuring redress for

But to proceed; "It is generally held," says the Report, "as a principle in slave colonies, that slaves cannot acquire property, except for the benefit of their owners. By law they cannot, but only by indulgence." (p. 111.) Again, "the slave

injury." Mr. Dwarris, in the Report of the Judicial Establishments of Barbadoes, states:—'In a case of even very grievous bodily injury, inflicted upon a slave by a manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free persons on the premises should have been designedly sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. *Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered,* his wounds must be the only tongues permitted to relate his wrongs!' Such is the condition, the degraded and defenceless condition, of the unfortunate and devoted inhabitants of our colonies. What then must be our surprise to meet in the statements of this very same reporter, an eulogy on the happy state in which the slaves live under this degraded condition? 'But left to himself,' the reporter informs us, 'the poor slave is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws.'— What! is it then possible that a human being, who may be 'maimed, mutilated, disfigured, and dismembered' with impunity, can frisk and dance, and dream away life in thoughtless ignorance of his unprotected condition? Are these the persons, who, we are to suppose, lead, as they are described to do, a life of luxurious enjoyment? Should we not rather say, that there could not be a more humiliating picture of human degradation than that presented to us by persons who could be contented under such a condition of existence? As has been very properly suggested in the Report just read, 'supposing such a picture as this to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident planters, yet in what respects does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of Mr. Dwarris, are, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind.' The illustration is most appropriate; the comparison is just. It would appear to me that this ingenious writer, Mr. Dwarris, had studied poetry more than truth. He appears to have had in his view a well-known passage of one of our most celebrated poets (Pope), in which he points out the wise dispensations of our Creator in assigning ignorance to the brute creation as a mitigation of their condition:—

"The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
Pleased to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,
And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood."

This was the passage which doubtless Mr. Dwarris had in his eye, when he spoke of the gaiety with which West-Indian slaves could dance and

has *not* any means of acquiring his freedom without the consent of the master. There is no redemption of the slave in this island by force of law;" (nor in Tobago and Grenada, nor, indeed, in any of the islands;) and "every Negro is presumed to be a slave, unless he can legally prove the contrary." p. 67.

To much the same effect is the view given of the legal rights of slaves in Tobago and Grenada. In the former island, the chief justice, Mr. Pigott, testifies as follows: "A manager sent all free persons out of the way, and then gave a Negro 150 lashes. The Negro was brought, in a state in which he might have died, to us, the sitting magistrates. We had no means of proving it. I proposed a bill to admit slave evidence, or to make the accused purge himself on oath. The bill was not approved." (p. 89.) The testimony of the attorney-general of Tobago is to the same effect: "*I know*," he says, "*as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty that have passed unpunished for want of slave evidence.*" "*It is very common, when they wish to be cruel,* to send free persons out of the way. *I have known many such cases**. I think it a very

amuse themselves, whilst the same cruelty could be extended to them as is shewn, and often, I must say, with wantonness and depravity, shewn to the brute creation. This is a passage which the poet introduces to 'justify the ways of God to man:' it shews how, by *ignorance of their sufferings, he mitigates the condition of the brute creation.* And it suggests to our ingenious writer, the parallel case of a million of our fellow-creatures reduced to a similar degradation. If this, then, is to be regarded as a state of happiness, it is a state of happiness that can only exist by extinguishing within human beings, the capacities of thought, intelligence, and reflection,—by depriving them of the desires, affections, and passions of ordinary men—by brutalizing them—nay, by worse than brutalizing them: for to reduce a human being to the level of a brute, it is necessary to deprive him of reason and reflection; and the degradation thereby inflicted upon him is greater than even that of the brute. So it was that this gentleman thought proper to represent these degraded Negroes, like the lamb,

"Pleased to the last, he crops his flowery food,
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood."

* And yet we are told by the Quarterly Review, in its last Article on this subject (No. LXIV.), and in the face of all the official documents laid before Parliament in the last session, (*to not one of which*, no, not even to the Berbice Fiscal's Report, *has it once referred,*) that the amelioration of slaves in the West Indies is proceeding at a rapid rate. This is, however, but

common cause of discontent among the slaves, that, when they have been ill-treated, and bring their fellow-slaves as evidence such witnesses cannot be received. They go away with a feel-

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one of the numerous mistatements which abound in every page of that article, evidently the work of a West-Indian proprietor, who knows enough of the public feeling in this country, not violently to outrage it; and who knows enough of the West-Indian system to be studious to draw a veil over it. From the internal evidence, it may be safely affirmed, that it is the work of a writer who is labouring, by means of the general belief of the official character of the work, and by the assumption of a certain air of official moderation, to make the friends of Government believe that Government itself is receding from its solemn pledges on the subject of Colonial Slavery. In this point of view, the wrong it does to the character of the Colonial Office is far greater than any injury it can do to the Anti-Slavery cause. A man who could write on colonial subjects, as he has done, with the late parliamentary returns before his eyes, and not once allude to them, must have deep interests or strong prejudices of his own to contend with: we leave him to the discredit which so disingenuous a proceeding cannot fail to secure for his statements, with a single remark.

The reviewer is extremely anxious to fix the charge of inflammation on the Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society. In order to this, he cites two passages in speeches made at its General Meetings, in which few besides himself will see any thing but truth forcibly stated; and a passage from one of the Reports, the censure of which sufficiently betrays the prejudices of the colonial planter. This passage, and we are glad to repeat it, is as follows: —"The civil degradation which they" (the free People of Colour) "themselves are doomed to sustain are many and galling; and the Committee believe that they are sufficiently enlightened to have at length a just and settled conviction, that the slavery of their colour is the real root of the evils they experience; and that, while that slavery is perpetuated; while the slave continues a *British*" (the *original* [illegible] *brutish*) "outcast from the pale of society, deprived of his natural rights, a mere [illegible] of burden, a mere instrument of profit;—they who partake of his colour must partake also of his debasement." To this quotation the reviewer adds, that such language is calculated to produce, and actually has produced, mischief in the West Indies. (p. 526.) The colonists, however, must have thought differently from their advocate; for they republish in the colonial newspapers such passages as these without the slightest reserve. Besides, does he mean to deny, (he has not been bold enough to deny,) the correctness of every sentiment which the passage contains. And would he have the Society (as he and his friends have been doing so long, and on no occasion more than in the framing of this review), to conceal from parliament and the public, for whom they write, the real state of the case? If the disease be not known how is a suitable remedy to be applied? And the reviewer is challenged to point out a single particular in the above sentence, in which the diagnostics

ing of injustice." (p. 89.) The same gentleman has since expressed an opinion that by the *new* Tobago Act, "the power of the master has been limited in almost every point essential to the well-being and comfort of the slave." This opinion only shews how easily some men may be satisfied with the shew of reform. Lord Bathurst wisely disallowed the very act which the Attorney-general thus commends.

The Report from Grenada, though varying in a few points, is not more favourable than that from Tobago. Some of the Grenada laws are extremely harsh, and even manifest what may be properly called a wantonness of severity. (pp. 95, 96.) And as for the appointment of guardians of slaves, of which we have heard so loud a boast, it is admitted by the present Report to be inefficacious. No independent men, we are expressly told, can be found to fill the situation; but it is filled by overseers or managers, who cannot be expected to denounce their employers (p. 98); and "in all cases between Black or Coloured persons and Whites," observes the Attorney-general, "the prejudice of juries is very strong in favour of Whites." (p. 99.)

Neither in Tobago, nor in Grenada, "are there any public institutions, by which infant or adult slaves are instructed in religious principles or useful knowledge*. There are no Sunday-schools." The Wesleyan Methodists alone have given any instruction to the slaves of these islands (p. 53 and 112.) In Barbadoes, only one school is said to exist for Black or

of the disputed question have been overstated, Mr. Dwarris himself being substituted the judge.

The real character of this article is very happily described in the succeeding Number of the Quarterly Review (No. LXV. p. 6.) where, speaking of Mr. Lingard's historical work, the reviewer observes,—"After all, the work is by no means so effective as might be expected. The overstrained pretension to candour excites distrust. The tone *appears* dispassionate, not because the mind of the author is temperate, or resolved to be impartial, but because it is full of suppressed rather than subdued passion. The very speciousness and elaborate plausibility have in them something suspicious. And while the author strains every nerve to convince us of his indifference to all but truth, it is impossible not to feel, as we read, that we are occupied only with the artful statements of a very zealous partizan."

* In the latter island, it is said, "there are some schools on estates." (p. 112.)

Coloured children (p. 18), though the Black and Coloured population amounts to about 90,000.

Such are some of the material *facts* brought to light, in the most authentic form, by this recent Report; in which, however, we must admit that many *opinions* are expressed which it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile with those facts, or, indeed, with the notorious realities of the case. Take an example:—Mr. Dwarris states it to be the *only just ground of complaint against the present inhabitants of Barbadoes*, that they had not repealed a certain act, which inflicts the punishment of slitting the nose, and burning the face with a hot iron on a *Negro* who strikes a *Christian* a second time. But when Mr. Dwarris thus sweepingly cleared the Barbadians from every other charge, had he not heard of the atrocities of 1804, reported by Lord Seaforth?—of the wholesale massacres of their slaves in 1816?—of the destruction of the Methodist chapel, and the expulsion of the Missionary Shrewsbury in 1823? or of their new slave law of 1824? And is it not this very gentleman, whose report of the Barbadoes slave-courts, and of the summary and brutal executions of their convicts, and of the unprotected state of the whole slave population, we have just been reading? How are we to explain such strange incongruities as these?

But it would require far too detailed a statement, were we to go through all the inconsistencies and incorrectnesses which might be pointed out in this, in some respects, invaluable Report*. On the whole, however, we [redacted] extremely thankful for its appearance, and we cannot doubt that it will do much to open the eyes of the public to the multiplied abominations of this unchristian and merciless system.

Never, however, let the people of England forget, that of this unchristian and merciless system they will continue to be the criminal upholders, if they now refrain from lifting up their voice against it; or if they silently acquiesce in contributing, as they now do, largely and directly to its support. On this part of the subject, however, we mean not now to enlarge. In the Second Report of the Society, the question

* For a few examples, we refer the reader to the Appendix.

of bounties and protecting duties has been amply discussed; and not only their impolicy, but their malign and wasting influence on the happiness and increase of the slave population, as well as their pernicious effects even on the interests of the masters, have been fully and, as we believe, most incontrovertibly established*. We will therefore now content ourselves with remarking, that it is absolutely vain for us to be hoping to succeed in abolishing slavery; or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or by the strength of our resolutions, or even by the severity of our enactments, we shall be able very materially to abate this evil, if we continue, as we now do, to extend to the slaveholder those solid marks of our favour which are conveyed to him in bounties and protecting duties; thus supplying to him the very means of maintaining his iniquitous system, against the united wishes of the parliament and the people of England.

And now, after the statement which has just been given, combined with all our previous information, are we not entitled to call upon the people of England to come forward to strengthen the hands of the Government, in the righteous work of carrying into effect the hitherto abortive resolutions of Parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery? † We call upon them therefore to assemble in every county, and

* See Second Report [illegible]

† The colonists in almost all the colonies, seem to think that what they require, is to have their case fully and fairly exhibited before the British public. It is strange they should not yet have discovered that every attempted vindication of their system has only ended in rendering its maintenance more hopeless. Under the influence of this infatuation, however, they have subscribed large sums of money to enable Mr. Macqueen of Glasgow to repair to London, and there establish a daily paper expressly for their defence. We have no doubt that Mr. Macqueen will labour diligently to earn his wages; but his employers will be sadly disappointed if they expect that, by his best efforts, he will achieve any thing beyond the echo of their own sentiments, the gratification of their own peculiar tastes and resentments, and the applause of their own little circles. Some estimate may be formed of the reliance which may be placed on this gentleman's fairness as a controversialist, by consulting a pamphlet which has just appeared from the pen of Mr. Stephen, entitled, "England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies." pp. 45—49.

city, and town, and even village of the United Kingdom, in order to testify their abhorrence of this impious system, and to implore of the Legislature, respectfully indeed, but most earnestly, to relieve them from its guilt and its burden. Let no man in this free and happy country, where the voice of the very meanest has its appropriate weight in Parliament, imagine that he can discharge himself from the performance of this solemn duty; or—should his application to Parliament fail of its effect—from adopting every other expedient in his power, such as abstinence from slave-grown sugar, the promotion of cultivation by free labour, &c. for wiping away this foul stain from the national character. And we would address this call to men of all political parties in the state. Those of every party who have sympathized with the victims of despotism in Spain, in Italy, and in Greece, have now an opportunity of combining to deliver 830,000 of their own fellow-subjects from a still more grievous despotism. The friends of the Government are bound to see its orders respected, and to repress that insubordinate and contumelious spirit in the colonists which would set those orders at nought. The members of the Opposition are bound by all their professed principles, and by all the recollections which are associated with the venerated name of Fox, to unite heart and hand in undoing the fetters of our own fellow-subjects. Above all, to avail ourselves of the language of one of the ablest advocates of [redacted]—above all, we would call on CHRISTIANS of every name to [redacted] word to lend their aid as one man to deliver their country from this [redacted] national iniquity—"to reform this cruel and impious system which shuts out the light of the Gospel; which violates, in the grossest manner, all its precepts; which keeps, in a cruel thraldom, the minds as well as bodies of its unfortunate victims; and which adds to its other enormities the fierceness of anti-christian persecution. There would surely be an inconsistency in the charitable efforts now making to convert our fellow-creatures in the most distant regions of the globe, while we suffer our fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny, which our own power,

within our own territories, alone upholds." To all, then, we would say, in conclusion, in the words of the same eloquent writer, "Come forward with your petitions. Instruct your representatives. Give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament, and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause. If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution. You will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven." "If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could 'to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free;' and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert *."

One word more: we rejoice to be able to report, that the number of Associations, and especially of Ladies' Associations, for the abolition of slavery, has been increasing of late. We trust that they will be largely multiplied both in the metropolis and in the country at large.

The present meeting, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, has, we are happy to say, been anticipated in several places, by the impulse of that popular feeling which furnishes the best pledge of our ultimate success. [illegible] this important line of service Norfolk has led the way, and has been followed by the city of Norwich and York, and by Birmingham, Hull, Surrey, Derby, and Ipswich; as it had been preceded, though not for the purpose of petitioning, by Edinburgh. In all these places our cause has been advocated with remarkable power and effect, and has happily united the general suffrage. The Corporation of the City of London has signalized itself by its zeal in the same cause; and we are anxious to record the high sense we entertain of the advantage which must accrue from the nearly unanimous and energetic declaration of the chief authorities of the first commercial city in the world, against

* See Mr. Stephen's pamphlet, "England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies."

the principle of colonial monopoly, and in favour of the claims of injured and outraged humanity. The influence of their high example will, we trust, induce the mercantile and manufacturing classes, throughout the kingdom, to come forward to vindicate the commercial character of this country from the discredit, and its commercial interests from the the injury, caused by the prolongation of the existing colonial evils.

It would be ingratitude in this connexion to withhold our warm acknowledgments of the great services which have been rendered to our common cause, since we last met, by the able, zealous, indefatigable, and successful efforts of Mr. Cropper of Liverpool.

These various indications of the general sympathy in our labours are strong incentives to perseverance. And we must all feel it as not among the least cheering and encouraging circumstances, which we are called to acknowledge with gratitude to the Giver of all good, that we should once more behold among us, and in the chair of this assembly, that loved and revered individual, dear to all to whom the interests of humanity are dear; who, having consecrated the strength and flower of his days to the vindication of the wronged and degraded African, and having at length signally triumphed in the protracted and painful conflict; now, though bending under the weight of added years, still marshals our way, as we trust, to victory, in a no less arduous struggle—in the endeavour to break the yoke of [redacted] as well as our, and to achieve the rescue of the oppressed, in every corner [redacted] British dominions. May it please God to spare him to witness the [redacted] mation of this labour of love and mercy!

APPENDIX.

EXAMPLES OF THE INCORRECTNESS AND INCONSISTENCY OF THE STATEMENTS OF MR. DWARRIS.

FIRST, of his incorrectness.—

I. (p. 10.) Mr. Dwarris speaks of the "vast improvements which have already taken place" in the statute law of Barbadoes. It is a great pity that he did not specify them. We certainly can see no "vast improvement," even in the law of 1824, as compared with those of 1688, &c. which he chooses to represent as obsolete. As for the single point of admitting free persons of Colour to give evidence in all cases, it is only doing what almost every other island had done long before. Even now, none are so admitted who have eluded the tax of fifty pounds on manumission.

II. (p. 12.) "It is an incontestable fact, that slaves are less frequently and less severely punished for crimes, than are freemen, either in the Colonies or in England."—Here we have assertion without a tittle of proof. We believe the fact to be altogether untrue. The slave, be it remembered too, is amenable to a domestic tribunal, as well as to a public one.

III. (p. 13.) The singu[illegible] Mr. Dwarris, "of the sloth, and apathy, and pr[illegible]igate courses [illegible] Negroes, &c." (meaning by the "&c." [illegible] free People of Colour, and Indians) "is established beyond c[illegible]tradiction, by concurrent testimony, as existing in every age."—Now Mr. Dwarris seems bound to produce some adequate authority for this fact of his, other than West-Indian authority. It is a most groundless assertion, which Mr. Dwarris himself must have seen disproved, in the island of Grenada, during his stay there. In that island, a memorial was presented to him, and to Mr. Madock, from the free Negro and Coloured inhabitants, in which they appeal to the testimony of the whole community for their uniform loyalty and good conduct; "contributing, at the same time," they say, "by our resources, to

the revenues of the state, and constituting in ourselves a considerable defence and security to the colony." We comprise, they add, "by far the greatest part of the free population," (the Whites being about 900, the Blacks and People of Colour about 2700,) "and possess no small portion of the property in this colony, particularly in the capital, where at least two thirds are owned by persons of this class." Then follows a most masterly exposition of the grievances under which they labour. But these assertions of the free Negroes and People of Colour, it may be said, are as gratuitous as those of Mr. Dwarris himself. We reply, No. Their truth was examined by the colonial assembly, the very body by whose laws they were oppressed and degraded; and what was their decision? They resolved unanimously, "that the free Coloured inhabitants of these islands are a respectable, well behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony:

"That a bill be immediately brought into the house of assembly, for the purpose of repealing certain clauses" of acts which are specified, "in so far as the rights and privileges of the free Coloured inhabitants are affected thereby:

"That the elective franchise ought to be extended to the People of Colour, possessing the qualifications required," &c.

Now, it does seem extraordinary, that Mr. Dwarris should have entirely omitted, in his Report, the most remote allusion to this recent transaction (June 1823), and should have gone to the unoited records of "every age" for his sweeping charge against a whole race of men. The pledge of the Grenada Assembly, we are sorry to say, has, we believe, been only very partially redeemed.

IV. (p. 18.) Mr. Dw[illegible]logizes for the severity of the Barbadoes laws, respecting slaves, by remarking, that there, *proportionably more than in other colonies*, the slaves compose a numerous and powerful body. The very reverse of this statement is the fact. The proportion of Whites to slaves, in Barbadoes, is more than double what it is in any of the other colonies, and three, four, or five times as great as in some. The returns on the table of the House of Commons will prove this fact.

V. (p. 17.) "In some of the islands," says Mr. Dwarris, "it was felt to be desirable to restrain the delegated power of the manager or overseer. Accordingly an act was passed" *(in some of the islands!* Could not Mr. Dwarris have named them, and specified the acts?) "restricting the number of blows such person should

have the power of inflicting to ten lashes. The *manager* accordingly always stopped at the prescribed number, TEN; but instances of abuse soon occurred, in which, after a short respite, the punishment was repeated. A new act was framed, providing that a *manager* should only give ten stripes, and no more, for any one and the *same offence*. It was easy however to allege a new offence, and punish, as original, the second constructive delinquency. It was then enacted, that only one punishment, of a limited number of blows, should be inflicted on one and the *same day*, as well as for one and the same offence. It was presently discovered, that the severity of the punishment depended much less on the quantum of the blows, than the degree of force with which they were administered. The last, and perhaps the best, of these ineffectual provisions directed that no punishment should be inflicted on any slave, whatever his demerits, until he had recovered from the effects of his former punishment."—What doctrine, on the subject of Negro Slavery, Mr. Dwarris wished to establish by this statement, we know not, except it be the incurable viciousness of the system, and the necessity of destroying it root and branch. We suspect, however, that its real object was, to shew the anxiety of the legislatures in *some of the islands*, to protect the Negro from ill treatment; and certainly it would be calculated in some measure to do this, if it were a correct statement. But the fact is, and we challenge Mr. Dwarris to shew the contrary, that *in no island is there any law restraining the* MANAGER *of an estate to* TEN *lashes*. The whole of this beautiful fabric of legislative care and solicitude, for the protection of the Negro, has therefore no foundation whatever. Mr. Dwarris has doubtless been imposed upon by some wily informant, who was desirous of obtaining, by any means, the testimony of the Commissioner to "the genuine excellency of the Creole character." (p. 16.) It is impossible for Mr. Dwarris to cite a single written authority in support of the above statement.

These instances of incorrectness in Mr. Dwarris may suffice to shew the caution with which his dicta, unsupported by proof, are to be received. They are, in fact, of no value, but as marking either his credulity or the strength of his prepossessions.—But we have charged him also with inconsistency; and we are therefore bound to support the charge. We proceed to do so; but here, as in the former case, we can only select a few particulars from the mass.

1. (p. 14.) "Of cruel masters, we indeed sometimes heard; I believe *three* instances were mentioned to us in twelve islands."—

Where Mr. Dwarris sought his information, he does not state: doubtless it was from the masters themselves, and not from the slaves. Had he made the same inquiry in Berbice, he would probably have received the same answer; and yet we should hardly have considered his testimony as weighing a feather against the hundreds of instances revealed to us by the records of the Fiscal of that colony. But how Mr. Dwarris could have made the assertion in the face of the evidence he himself adduces in another part of his Report, we are at a loss to imagine. It so happens, that almost all his laudatory passages are in the first eighteen pages of a Report containing 310 closely printed folio pages, while the contradictions can only be had by wading through the whole. This is a labour to which few will submit. Mr. Dwarris has therefore very judiciously put nearly the whole of his attractive and poetical passages in the first eighteen pages, when he bars the reader's way to any farther research, by a long and dry detail on the Court of Chancery. The bulky volume, therefore, is apt to be put down with a full conviction of the badness indeed of certain obsolete statutes, the work of the Buccaneers of the seventeenth century, but of the mildness, probity, and genuine excellence of the present race of White islanders, and of the comfort and happiness, and "*plumpness*" of the Black. Not one blow did Mr. Dwarris see a Negro receive from the driver; and he only heard of three instances of cruelty in twelve islands!! Mr. Dwarris never seems to have suspected, that, during the little month he was in each of these islands, care might be taken that *he* should not be a witness of any instance of field discipline. But when he says he heard of only *three* instances of cruelty in twelve islands, we must confess our utter amazement at the statement; and the ground of our amazement is furnished by Mr. Dwarris himself.

First, as respects *Barbadoes*: he tells us, in addition to passages already quoted in the text, "Slaves, in this island, are without LEGAL PROTECTION, or REDRESS FOR PERSONAL INJURIES." (p. 62.) "The slave is without *any* security from injury, and hopeless of redress, because NO LEGAL PROTECTION is afforded him, and *most of all*, BECAUSE HE CANNOT COMPLAIN." (p. 66.) But when we advance near 200 pages farther into this capacious volume, we find the senior justice of the peace for Barbadoes, speaking more explicitly. "I know," he says, "as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty"—he does not say how many—"that have passed unpunished for want of Negro evidence." "There *may* be

cases in which there would be a risk to a slave in returning to his master, after having preferred a charge of cruelty against him." Shall we then wonder that Mr. Dwarris heard no such complaints? But the worthy magistrate proceeds: "It is *very common*, when they wish to be cruel, to send all the free people out of the way; I have KNOWN MANY SUCH CASES."—Now, be it noted, that Mr. Dwarris's eulogy on the humanity of the planters stands at p. 14: this answer of the senior magistrate of Barbadoes stands at p. 231!!— In the Report respecting Tobago, we have similar testimony adduced. (p. 89.)

2. In his apology for Barbadoes (p. 16), Mr. Dwarris gives us a proof of the improving spirit of its inhabitants. "I allude particularly," he says, "to the establishment of schools for ALL."—Any one reading this passage, and reading no farther, would naturally conclude, that the liberality of the Barbadians had founded schools for the instruction, not only of the 16,000 Whites, and 10,000 free People of Colour, who inhabit the island; but for its 80,000 slaves; for it is of the slaves he is treating. But, if we read on, what shall we find to be the fact? We shall find that there are TWO schools; *one* for poor *White* children, the other to which children of ALL COLOURS are indiscriminately admitted."

3. Again, Mr. Dwarris tells us (at p. 15) of "the paucity of crimes" in Barbadoes, as a proof of the comfort of the slave. But, at p. 233, we have from the senior justice of the peace this fact, that "since last October twelvemonth," he himself had before him "2500 complaints," breaches of the peace and misdemeanors; "*most* of these complaints, by free Coloured persons against slaves, and against each other." If Mr. Dwarris meant crimes of slaves against their masters, the paucity of these may surely be referred, rather to the power of the master to punish his slaves to any extent, short of death or dismemberment, without the trouble of applying to a magistrate, than to peculiar tenderness for the slave. If he meant crimes of masters against their slaves, be it remembered that he himself has told us that slaves "CANNOT COMPLAIN;" their complaints "CAN NO WHERE BE RECEIVED."

4. Mr. Dwarris, at p. 16, speaks of the *Guardian Act* of Grenada, as establishing the *high reputation for humanity* which that island has uniformly maintained. Compare with this statement the following extracts from Mr. Dwarris's own Report of the laws of that island. "Receivers of stolen goods, and harbourers of felons, are to suffer death." (p. 95.) "Slaves contemptuously treating any

White or Free person," "shall be punishable *at the discretion* of ONE justice of the peace, not to extend to life or limb." (p. 96.) The Attorney-General states of the Guardian Act; "It is not a dead letter: but the misfortune is, that proper persons cannot be found to carry it into effect: they are those who may be liable to it themselves, who are the guardians. Perhaps a man may be a guardian one year, and his neighbour the next, which would prevent his acting strictly according to the act." The governor of the colony testifies, that "there are no persons to be found to fill the situation of Guardian, such as must have been contemplated by the act, who are, as they ought to be, independent: they are chiefly overseers or managers. Can *they* be expected to say, that the clothing or food furnished by their employers is insufficient? or if they do, may they not be afraid of the charge being retaliated?" (p. 98.) But, surely, enough has been cited to justify our charge of incorrectness and inconsistency against Mr. Dwarris, and to induce those who read his Report to exercise a salutary distrust of every statement he makes, and of every opinion he enounces, which is not supported by clear testimony, instead of resting on the vagueness of general assertion.

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Bough Square, London.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed, we have seen the Ordinance published by the Governor and Court of Policy of Demerara, in reluctant imitation of the Order in Council for Trinidad; in which, however, some of the most important clauses in that Order are wholly omitted, and others modified so as to deprive them of their value. His Majesty's Government will, of course, not be satisfied with this partial and inadequate compliance with their instructions.

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REVIEW

OF THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW;

OR,

AN EXPOSURE

OF THE

ERRONEOUS OPINIONS PROMULGATED IN THAT WORK

ON THE SUBJECT OF

Colonial Slavery:

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

A SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH APPEARED IN THE "NEW TIMES" OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1824.

WITH

NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.

1824.

REVIEW

OF THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

&c. &c.

THE Sixtieth Number of *The Quarterly Review*, which has recently been published, contains an article entitled "West-India Colonies." In that article the Reviewer has given currency to some fallacious statements on the subject of SLAVERY, which it is the purpose of the present publication to examine and refute.

The Reviewer begins with referring his readers to a former discussion of the same topic, which appeared in the Fifty-eighth Number of his work, as containing "a detailed sketch"—and he means, of course, that it should be considered as an authentic sketch—"of the actual condition and treatment of the Slaves in our West-India Colonies." Whoever will take the trouble of turning to that article will find that it consists chiefly of assertions without a shadow of evidence. The Reviewer, who, it is plain, never visited the West Indies himself, instead of citing authentic documents, or adducing unimpeachable testimony in proof of his statements, supports them with extracts from anonymous letters, and with loose and unauthenticated details, obviously taken from the mouths of West-Indian planters

anxious to vindicate themselves in the eyes of the public. And these extracts and details he seems to expect will obtain implicit credit with the public, in consideration of the dispassionate tone in which they are communicated, and the kind of demi-official character which the work enjoys. At the same time, it would be difficult to select, from the immense mass of our periodical criticism, an article which has less claim to accuracy of statement, and more contemptuously sets at defiance those received maxims of political economy which, on other occasions, this journal has ably defended. It is not meant to accuse the Reviewer of any intention to mislead the public. Others doubtless have abused his confidence, and made him the unconscious instrument of misrepresentation.

In a similar strain of unfairness, an article entitled "Mexico" has been employed, in the following Number of the same work, to institute a comparison between the productions and trade of Mexico and those of Jamaica, in order to establish, what seems a favourite hypothesis with the Reviewer, That slave labour is more productive than free labour. The attempt, in the present era of light and knowledge, would be ridiculous enough from the pen of the meanest scribbler; but when it appears in the pages of *The Quarterly Review* it merits reprobation rather than ridicule. The Reviewer actually seems to perceive no cause for the superiority he assigns to Jamaica, except that cultivation is there conducted by slaves, and in Mexico by free men; just as if the miserable policy and oppressive institutions of Spain, its restrictive laws, its ruinous exactions, the absence of all encouragement to industry, the total want of security to property—as if all these were nothing in the scale! Nay, he even overlooks, in his estimate of the causes which have depressed the productive industry of Mexico, the civil war actually

raging there at the time; and of which he admits, in other parts of *the Review*, the destructive effects.

But to come to the more recent article on this subject: The Reviewer professes there to give a true account of the reception which the recommendations of Earl Bathurst, on the means of improving the condition of the slaves, met with in the West Indies. Jamaica and Barbadoes, he admits, took the lead in protesting against them; and much irritation and violence prevailed, especially in the former of those islands. He might have said, in both; witness the destruction, in open day, at Barbadoes, of the Methodist Chapel, and the violent expulsion, at the hazard of their lives, of the missionary and his wife. "The impression," he goes on to remark, "produced in other colonies was various. In some, the discontinuance of the stimulus of the whip in the field, and of the punishment of female slaves under any circumstances by flogging, was protested against as a measure incompatible with a state of slavery and with the necessary authority of the masters over their slaves. In others, these innovations did not appear to create any alarm. In the Address of St. Vincent, it is observed, that these practices had been virtually discontinued, and the Government are reproached with their ignorance of the fact. In Demerara, the Court of Policy were particularly zealous in assenting to, and expressing their readiness to enforce, those two particular regulations. In Antigua, the draft of a bill was submitted to the Legislature for ameliorating the condition of the slaves; but it was lost on the third reading." —Again; "No legislative measure has hitherto passed any Assembly comprehending the whole of the improvements suggested" by Lord Bathurst.

But I would ask, has any legislative measure passed any one of the Assemblies since their receipt of Lord Bathurst's despatches, which comprehends, I will not say the whole, but any of his Lordship's suggested

improvements?* The Legislature of Antigua cannot deserve much credit for having *rejected* a bill for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, which is all they seem to have done; and whatever zeal the Court of Policy of Demerara may have shewn in *inditing* resolutions for the abolition of the driving whip and of the flogging of females, we have not heard that it has extended beyond the council table; and the general and violent hostility to improvement prevailing there is too notorious to be denied.

There is, however, the island of St. Vincent, which, the Reviewer tells us, had, by its own account, virtually discontinued the practice of flogging women, and of driving the slaves in the field by the stimulus of the whip; and the planters of that island, it seems, even reproach Government with their ignorance of the fact. The planters of St. Vincent's, I admit, do insinuate something of this kind; but the Reviewer ought not to have given his sanction to the insinuation, without reading the proof to which they refer, in support of it,—namely, the 18th

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* This is an error: it ought to have been noted, in justice to the Reviewer, that there was one exception—the small island of Tobago. In this island, containing 14,000 slaves, a law has been passed by which, in cases "of wilful murder or mayem of, or cruelty to, any slave by any White or Free persons, it may be lawful, in case no White or Free person was present, or can be produced to prove the facts, to admit the evidence of two slaves to prove the facts and circumstances attending such imputed murder, mayem or cruelty, and the concurrent testimony of such two slaves, if unimpeached as to their credibility, shall have the same effect in point of law as if a White or Free person had proved the same facts and circumstances." A clause is introduced to secure the personal property of slaves, and another to abolish Sunday markets, substituting Thursday, and allowing to the slaves thirty-five days in the year for their provision grounds. Arbitrary punishments are limited to twenty stripes and if more than twelve are given it must be in the presence of a free person, other than the person punishing. It is creditable to Tobago to have thus far preceded the other colonies in the march of improvement. Much, very much, however, is wanting even here, in order to fulfil the instructions of Lord Bathurst.

clause of their new Slave Law passed in 1820. Now this very clause, on being examined, stands directly opposed to their statement. Indeed this clause, as well as every other part of the Act, is little more than a copy of the Slave Law passed in Jamaica in 1816. The St. Vincent's law on the subject is as follows :—

"That in order to restrain arbitrary punishment, no slave on any plantation or estate shall receive more than ten stripes at one time, and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, or manager of such estate or plantation, having such slave under his care, shall be present: and no such owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, or manager, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine stripes at one time, and for one offence; nor inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of stripes in the same week, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under a penalty of not less than 15*l.* (7*l.* 10*s.* sterling) or more than 30*l.* (15*l.* sterling) for every offence."

It would not be very easy to shew how this clause (at this moment the law of St. Vincent) operates to prohibit the flogging of women, or the driving of the slaves in the field by the stimulus of the whip. On the contrary, it comprehends *all* slaves, male and female, and that under the insulting pretext of *restraining arbitrary punishment*, within the scope of the terrible power which it gives to *every* owner, attorney, guardian, administrator, and manager, to inflict upon them, at their discretion, and without the possibility of any *legal* remedy, thirty-nine lashes of the cart whip; and it leaves to inferior agents the no less terrible power (considering who *they* are) of punishment, to the extent of ten stripes, without any limitation whatever as to the frequency of their infliction. The act moreover imposes no restraint on the power of whipping slaves not belonging

to plantations.—And this is the boasted law of St. Vincent, of which so much has been said, and the humanity of which the Government are reproached for not having recognised !!!

But the Reviewer appears to believe, that these practices, according to the St. Vincent's Address, have been "virtually discontinued." And what is the proof of this? —The assertion, at most, of the planters of St. Vincent: and not even their *assertion*—their *insinuation merely; and this in the very teeth of their law.* But in what one of the colonies has it not been asserted over and over again, in resolutions and addresses, that the slaves are better off than the peasantry of Great Britain? Has the St. Vincent's Address gone beyond this? And yet the Reviewer has virtually lent the sanction of his authority to the delusive statement, that the island of St. Vincent has discontinued the practice of flogging women and driving the Negroes in the field, although that statement is in direct contradiction to its own recent law! *

There is one passage in Mr. Canning's speech, quoted by the Reviewer, which will shew how liable even a mind so penetrating as Mr. Canning's is to be misled on this question. Mr. Canning observes, that "it is but just to state that, under certain qualifications, the evidence of slaves is already admitted in the Courts of Justice of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and I believe St. Christopher's and Tobago." Now certainly in no law which has *appeared* from Grenada, St. Vincent's, and St. Christopher's, can any ground be discovered for this assertion. Indeed, with respect to St. Vincent's, the very contrary is

* The Reviewer intimates, that the innovations proposed by Lord Bathurst did not excite any *alarm* in St. Vincent's. The Address of that island, however, opens with a very opposite sentiment. Lord Bathurst's despatch, it says, "contains matter calculated by turns to excite alike our alarm, our astonishment, and our indignation."

the fact. The improved Slave Code of that island, passed in 1820, which has been vaunted as having anticipated all Lord Bathurst's suggested improvements, contains a clause (the 61st) which expressly enacts, "That the evidence of any slave or slaves, on oath, shall be taken for or against slaves, but *in no other case whatever* be admissible."

The slave law of Dominica admits, in certain cases, the evidence of slaves; but this admission is restricted and guarded with such excessive jealousy as to render it really of little or no use*.

All must agree with the Reviewer in regarding the Order in Council for the regulation of Slavery in Trinidad as a most important and beneficial measure. At the same time, it appears, in some particulars, to deteriorate the state of the slaves in Trinidad, instead of improving it. To shew this, it will be sufficient to contrast some of the provisions of the Spanish Slave-Code, which was, or ought to have been, the law of Trinidad, with the corresponding provisions of the Order in Council.

1st. By the Spanish law, the slaves, besides Sunday are understood to be entitled to a day in each week, and to thirty holidays in the year, to be employed for their own benefit †.—By the Order in Council, no time, exclusive of

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* In a preceding note it will be seen, that Tobago has also admitted, under certain qualifications, slave evidence, in the case of murder, mayem or cruelty, perpetrated on a slave by a White or Free person; a regulation which forms a direct contrast to that enacted, on the same subject, by the Order in Council for Trinidad. (See below, p. 11.)

† This is also the case in Brazil. Mr. Koster, the author of Travels in Brazil, published a pamphlet in 1816, with his name affixed to it. It may be found in the sixteenth Number of the Pamphleteer. This valuable and accurate writer thus states the case of the Brazilian slave. Besides his food, which is "salt meat or salt fish, and the flour of the manioc," "the laws allow him to have the Sundays and holidays as his own," p. 313. "The Brazilian slaves who supply themselves with food,

Sunday, is allotted to the slaves. This defect must, of course, have arisen from a mere oversight in the framers of the Order; and they will doubtless be desirous of immediately remedying it.

Here, however, it is necessary to advert for one moment to a Minute of the Council of Trinidad on this subject, dated the 9th July, 1823. One of the propositions discussed by the Council is this: "That the Sunday should be devoted, by the slave, to repose and religious instruction; and that other time should be allotted for the cultivation of the provision ground." On this proposition the Council remarks—"No objection to this, under the guarantee, already pledged by his Majesty's Government, of allowing full compensation to the proprietor for the loss of the additional day."

The fair inference from this reply is, that hitherto the slaves in Trinidad have had no time but Sunday for cultivating their grounds, and providing for their subsistence and that of their families. But, if so, how is it that the authorities of the island have not enforced the provisions of the Spanish Law?* Instead of indemnity to the planters,

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have one day in every week for this purpose, but they are expected not to require any assistance from the master." They have also "in the course of the year, above *thirty* holidays besides Sunday." p. 327.

* The Spanish Cedula of 31st May, 1789, says, that on holidays "the slaves shall not be obliged or permitted to work either for themselves or their masters, except at the time of crop, when it is customary *to grant them liberty* to work on holidays."

This is further confirmed, by a reference to a work published by Longman, in 1810, entitled "Present State of the Spanish Colonies, by W. Walton, Junior;" in which that gentleman remarks, that "A considerable impediment to the progress of culture in Spanish possessions, is the great number of Feast-days that interfere with the labours of the field;" and again, that though Spanish slaves are denied many "subordinate conveniences, they are allowed a much greater surplus of time to procure them, and enjoy more indulgences than the slaves of other nations."—Vol. ii. pp. 140 and 143.

He goes on to say, that "a slave has the right of redemption; and,

for appropriating a day in lieu of Sunday to the slaves, they ought to be punished for violating the law, by having

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in any dispute with his master, has the privilege of choosing an arbitrator. If he be not contented to live in the servitude of a particular person, by whom he may be ill treated, and can produce sufficient motives and another purchaser; or if he has had sufficient industry and economy to have amassed the stipulated *sum* of 300 dollars, he can demand his freedom, by refunding his purchase-money." "The price affixed by law for the redemption of a female, is 250 dollars. An infant, unborn, ceases to be the property of the owner, by the deposit of 100 rials (about 42s.); and after birth, by that of twenty-five dollars."

This general statement is confirmed by a more recent writer, who, in letters from the Havannah, dedicated to Mr. Croker, of the Admiralty, and published by Miller, in 1821, speaks of "the festivals held every Sunday and Feast-day," when "numbers of free and enslaved assemble" for amusement; and he afterwards describes them as "festivalizing on a *dios de dos cruces*, or a church holiday." He also recognizes the regulation which allows the slave "who is discontented with the treatment of his owner, to demand a *carta* or licence to be sold, or, in other words, to change his service," p. 42.

"There are many Coloured People," he adds, "whose freedom is the purchase of the extra earnings allowed them by law." "The number of free People of Colour in this island is nearly equal to the total amount of that class in all the islands together. This is attributable to the mildness of the Spanish Slave-Code, which softens the rigour of their hard destiny."—"Every slave under the Spanish colonial law, who tenders his master the sum he was bought at, is entitled to enfranchisement, *nor can his master refuse it.* It is equally permitted him to *purchase a portion of his freedom* by instalments, as his ability allows, being then said to be *coartado*, or *cut*; and such are, in consequence, entitled to a licence to work where and with whom they please, paying to their master a *rial* (5d.) per day, for every hundred dollars remaining of their value, beyond the instalment they have paid. Many who are not *coartado* are allowed by their owners to labour where they please, under similar conditions; by which means an industrious slave may, in a few years, procure sufficient to ransom himself. The excellence of such a regulation it is easy to appreciate. The permission to purchase freedom by portions, is both a wise and merciful policy. It satisfies the master with a high interest, during the period the slave is working out his freedom; and it imbues the latter with habits of cheerful industry, while he is, as it were, knocking off his chain link by link." pp. 40—42.

A farther confirmation of these statements is to be found in our own Privy Council Report of 1789, part VI, where the following provisions are represented as forming a part of the law of the Spanish Colonies, regarding slavery, viz.

"Any slave, on proof given to the Governor of bad treatment by the owner, may insist on being transferred to another master at such

withheld it from them. Or do they pretend to have a right, by any law Divine or human, to the labour of their slaves on the Sunday; that labour being, in fact, given to the master, which is appropriated to feeding the slave? Who would have believed it possible, prior to this Minute of the Council of Trinidad, that if any day besides Sunday should be allotted to the slave for raising food, to enable him to work for his master, the master would claim to be indemnified for so doing by the parent state? Without a doubt these gentlemen will find themselves mistaken in supposing that the Government has guaranteed to them any such indemnity. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that the Order in Council should have overlooked this important part of the case; and, while it prohibits the Sunday to be employed in labouring for the master, should have omitted to allot any other time to the slave for his provision grounds.

2. By the Spanish law husband and wife cannot be separated by sale or transfer*.—By the Order in Council the

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price as may be settled between the purchaser and the seller; and if the latter is exorbitant in his demand, the Governor is to name a third person as umpire.

"Any slave who by his industry and economy has raised a sufficiency to purchase his manumission, may demand his freedom from his master, on paying an equitable price; and if the master should prove unreasonable, the Governor, on the application of the slave, is to appoint two appraisers, who are to fix the price."

The Report adds, that "It is said there are nearly 20,000 free People of Colour in the city of Havannah alone."

* This is clearly indicated in the provision of the Spanish Cedula, which enjoins it upon the master to prevent the unlawful intercourse of the sexes, and to encourage matrimony among his slaves. "Neither must he hinder them from marrying with slaves of other masters; in which case, if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, set upon her by skilful men, who shall be nominated by the two parties, and, in case of disagreement, a third shall be appointed by the Justice to fix the price. If the master of the husband does not agree to the purchase, the master of the wife shall have the same facility."—In the same way, says Mr. Koster, "The Brazilian slave cannot be separated from his wife, for a Christian church has joined them in bonds of matrimony."

prohibition to separate them is restricted to judicial sales. A proprietor therefore, it would seem, may now sell them separately at his discretion, which by the Spanish law he could not have done. This defect in the Order is the more remarkable, as Mr. Canning, in his speech of the 15th March 1824, stated, that "in all future sales, families shall not be separated;" and yet, if the 23d clause of the Order be examined, it will be found that the prohibition applies to judicial sales exclusively.

3. By the Spanish law (see the Minute of the Council of Trinidad of the 9th July, 1823), the testimony of slaves is received in all cases *quantum valeat* *.—By the Order in Council, this general admission of slave evidence is laid under several new and important restrictions. It cannot *now* be received unless the slave is certified by some clergyman or religious teacher to understand the nature of an oath. Neither can it be received in civil suits against the master, nor *in any trial affecting the life of a* WHITE *man*. This last exception, wholly unknown to the Spanish law, makes a most unjustifiable distinction between the *White* and all other classes, although half of the slaves and other property in the island belongs to Free Persons of Colour. But, independently of this circumstance, it is impossible to use terms too strong in describing its hurtful tendency. If a *White* man, against whom, till now, slave evidence might have been legally adduced, should murder a slave, though a thousand slaves may have witnessed the fact, not one of them can be heard in evidence. It moreover holds out an actual premium to murder. If a White man should be twice convicted of cruelly treating a slave, he forfeits, according to the Order in Council, all the slaves he possesses. All therefore that is now necessary

* One of the propositions discussed by the Council is, "That the testimony of slaves be received *quantum valeat*;" on which the observation is, "A law to this effect is already in force."

for him to do, in order to protect himself from this calamitous result, is to kill the slave outright. No slave evidence can then be received against him. The following extract of a letter from Trinidad, dated the 17th of June, 1824, will be found to confirm this view of the clause in question. It is from a proprietor of Colour:—

"The draft of the Order in Council of the 15th March has quite disheartened us, and has completely removed every doubt concerning the system which his Majesty's Ministers propose following with respect to us. I confine myself to the 36th clause, by which, in capital cases, the evidence of a slave is rejected against a White man, and received against a Coloured individual; and yet the Order is said to be for the melioration of slavery! It is quite the contrary. Under the Spanish law, the evidence of a slave *was* admitted againt a White man; so that, instead of bettering his condition, it has deteriorated it. At this time, murder may be perpetrated by the privileged class with impunity, unless a free person be present*."

It is readily conceded to the Quarterly Reviewer, that the resistance of many of the West Indians, to the measures now pursuing for the mitigation and extinction of slavery,

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* Let it not be supposed that there is the slightest wish to impute blame to the framers of the Order, on account of this or other defects. They did what they believed to be best, under all the conflicting circumstances of a very difficult and delicate case. But it would be treachery, both to the Government and the Slaves, to shrink from representing in their true colours the effects likely to follow from such regulations as these. Government acted, doubtless, with the purest intentions. That, however, will not alter the tendency of this particular provision. It is remarkable, that the Assembly of Tobago have admitted slaves to give evidence in the very case which forms the exception in Trinidad.

The references made to the Order in Council are made to that draft of it which was laid on the table of the House of Commons, on the 15th March, 1824, and was afterwards printed along with Mr. Canning's speech on that occasion. The writer cannot find that any other edition has been published, or is to be obtained, in this country.

is produced more by their dread of the loss of property than by their abstract love of slavery; and that the crime of creating and upholding the slavery of the West Indies is a national crime, and not the crime of the slaveholders alone. For the loss, therefore, which individuals may incur by its abolition, they have a claim on the public. The Reviewer, however, admits, that nothing can be more absurd than the pretensions of the West Indians on this subject; and he instances the claim preferred by Trinidad (a claim also preferred by other colonies) of indemnity for the concession of Sunday to the slaves, and of a day in lieu of it for the cultivation of the food which is to sustain them in toiling for the benefit of their masters. Now the principle which has led the Reviewer to this just and reasonable conclusion with respect to Sunday, will be found to apply to many other usurpations, contrary to all law and all justice, to which the Mother Country has been no party; nay, which have been studiously concealed from her knowledge. Something may also be to be said hereafter on the claims of those mercantile speculators, who, within the last twenty or thirty years, have become the chief possessors of sugar estates in the West Indies. But, concurring with the Reviewer, that wherever a claim to indemnity can be *fairly* established, it ought to be *fairly* met, it is unnecessary now to enter on this wide field of discussion.

The hypothesis of the Reviewer, however, that the resistance of the West Indians to the proposed reforms of their system arises solely from a dread of the loss of property, certainly takes too narrow a view of the question. If it were just, would almost all the great West-Indian proprietors resident in this country have concurred in Mr. Canning's Resolutions? The clamour against these has proceeded chiefly from men of little or no property, many of whom are the salaried servants of those very proprietors.

The resident White inhabitants of the West Indies have been the chief opponents of Lord Bathurst and Mr. Canning; and they are described by Governor Elliott, in his despatch to Lord Liverpool of November 21, 1810, to consist of "attorneys, managers, overseers, self-created lawyers, self-educated physicians, and adventurous merchants, with little real capital and scanty credit."

But the Reviewer blames the Abolitionists for not having been more complimentary to the West Indians: it was very imprudent, to say no more, and unnecessarily offensive, to represent them as likely to perpetuate their resistance.—Certainly, if the leaders in the cause of Abolition had to deal only with the West-Indian proprietors resident in England, and acting under the influence of public opinion in this country, the complaint of the Reviewer might have been more just. But the decision of the question at issue, it is plain, lay not with those gentlemen. And as the experience of thirty-five years had left no doubt as to the reception which the proposal of reform would meet with in the West Indies, it was only fair to warn Government and Parliament of the hopelessness, and not of the hopelessness only, but of the danger also, of the course they were pursuing in referring the matter to colonial deliberation. Had the Abolitionists, considering the views which they entertained, been silent upon this point, they would have been as guilty, as the Reviewer deems the Missionary Smith to have been, of neglecting a plain and obvious duty.

In discussing the question of free labour, and the advantages to be derived from its substitution for slave labour, the Reviewer has confined his objections to a single point; namely, that "no example exists of free Negroes collectively performing the duties required in the cultivation of the sugar cane, the staple production of the

Tropics." The sugar cane, however, is not *the staple*, but only *one* of the *staple* productions of the Tropics; and it is no small concession on the part of the advocates of slave labour virtually to admit, in this early stage of the discussion, the practicability of cultivating the other staples by free labour, and to be driven, in their defence of slavery, to entrench themselves within the line of sugar planting.

The Reviewer seems to assume, that the cultivation of the sugar cane must of necessity be *collectively* performed in order to succeed. This assumption, however, is disproved by facts. The sugar cane is cultivated to a great extent in Asia. In most cases, its cultivation is pursued by the farmer, with the aid alone of his family, and occasionally of a few hired labourers. The Reviewer cannot think of sugar-making, except as it is practised in the West Indies, where the labour is performed by slaves, and where the cultivator of the cane is also the manufacturer of the sugar. But in the East Indies, where each individual husbandman plants a few acres of canes, he either sells the canes when ripe in the market, or their juice, when expressed and boiled into a thick syrup, to the adjacent manufacturer of sugar. In some parts of the East, however, in Java for example, large plantations of sugar belonging to Europeans are conducted entirely by means of hired labour. The proprietor contracts, perhaps, with an intelligent native of China to perform the requisite work at a fixed sum. The contractor procures the labourers, and pays them, ploughs the ground, &c.; and the work is both well and cheaply done.

That sugar then can be grown by free labourers, either collectively or otherwise, the Reviewer will not deny. Would he, or would the West Indians, be content to admit the free growers of sugar to a fair competition with the growers of it by gangs of slaves? If they would, why do they maintain with such pertinacity the protecting duty

against East-Indian sugar? Let our sugar market be but thrown open to the world at large, or even to our own possessions, and a short time will prove that neither whips, nor chains, nor collective cultivation by slaves, are necessary in order to supply us regularly with as fair and as cheap sugar as ever has been produced by such miserable expedients *.

But the Reviewer, perhaps, intends to rest the strength of his argument on the word *Negroes*. Is there then, in reality, something in the nature of the *Negro*, which renders him incapable of being acted upon by the same motives which operate on the Hindoo, or on the natives of Siam, China, or Java? If the Reviewer's theory were true, that, because the climate of the West Indies supplies the wants of nature almost spontaneously, the free Negro will not work, it would be equally true of Hindostan, Java, or Siam: it would be equally true of the multitudes of Free Blacks and People of Colour scattered over the West-India Colonies, and the competition of whose aspiring industry the dominant White has hitherto found it necessary to keep down by harsh and oppressive restrictions. "It is the nature of the African to be indolent," says the Reviewer. His metaphysics on this particular subject seem as little entitled to respect as his political economy. Is it not then the *nature* of the European, the American, and the Asiatic to be indolent also? If the whip were the only stimulus applied to extract *their* labour, would they be less reluctantly incited to exertion than the slaves in the West Indies? Let those who have tried the compulsory labour of convicts in New South Wales, or of parish paupers in England, be consulted, and their report will uniformly be, that they would prefer paying high wages to the free labourer, to being

* See a pamphlet recently published by Hatchard, entitled East-India Sugar.

forced to employ, for his bare food and clothing, the convict or the pauper, who derives no benefit from his exertions. Now the Negro slave derives no benefit from *his* exertions in his master's service, beyond that of saving his skin from the lash: and why should he do more than is sufficient for this purpose? As for food, and clothing, and shelter, and medicine, he must have some share of these, or he can do no work at all; any more than a horse or a mule that is not fed. The Reviewer, therefore, seems bound to try the effect of higher motives—of wages, for instance—before he inflicts upon the Negro his metaphysical malediction, and excludes him from the brotherhood of humanity. If we look around the West Indies, shall we not find many thousands of emancipated slaves and their descendants, toiling industriously, accumulating property, acquiring knowledge, fulfilling the relative duties of life, rising into moral distinction, and struggling manfully and perseveringly, but submissively, against the civil and political evils which tend to crush their efforts? "Oh, but," says the Reviewer, "they will not cultivate sugar *collectively*." Be it so; and what then? Shall we not be able to procure sugar for our tea and coffee, because the free Negroes of the West Indies may not choose to cultivate the cane in gangs?

The Reviewer is aware that the Negro slaves in the West Indies even now voluntarily raise, in considerable quantities, for their own benefit, such articles as they *dare* to raise or cultivate, and as will bring a good price in the market—such as hogs, fish, poultry, firewood, grass, vegetable provisions, and fruit. As for "sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, or other goods or merchandise of any sort," (see St. Vincent's Law, clause 73), slaves are interdicted from selling them under severe penalties. But let us suppose that a sugar plantation in Jamaica were divided into little farms of five or ten acres each, and let to the

more industrious of the Negroes, and that the proprietor kept the sugar works in his own hands, assuring those who might continue to cultivate the sugar cane of a ready market for it at his manufactory. The same stimulus at least would exist in this case, which now exists for their raising, during the brief pittance of time granted them to provide food for themselves and their families, that superfluous quantity of yams and plantains, and those oranges and pine-apples, and pigs and poultry, with which they supply so abundantly all the markets of the islands. Can the Reviewer assign any good reason why they should not grow sugar cane to supply the neighbouring mill, as readily as they now grow other articles to supply the demand of distant markets; or does he fear that labourers could not be *hired* to assist in manufacturing sugar, if adequate wages were offered?

The advocates of slavery are very inconsistent in their reasonings. It has become the fashion among them of late, to represent in glowing and certainly exaggerated colours the property accumulated by slaves, the produce of their own voluntary labour during the fragment of time allowed them by their masters. Thus, Sir Ralph Woodford tells us how the slaves in Trinidad may amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy. Thus, Mr. R. Hibbert's affidavit-men describe the slaves on Georgia estate as wallowing in abundance. Thus, a Dr. Stobo, with a parade of minute statistical research, has produced a flaming account of property accumulated by the slaves of Tortola. In short, we hear from all quarters of the West Indies, not only of the desire of the Negroes to acquire property, but of their efficiently employing the means within their power to that end. And under what circumstances is this effected? With a mere scantling of time at their own disposal,—and with every temptation to seek repose, in preference to active employment, which

can be supplied by natural indolence, or by the exhaustion of unremunerated labour under the lash, for five or six days of the week, for the benefit of another,—they nevertheless so diligently and skilfully appropriate that scantling, either in cultivating their grounds, or in working for hire, as to add greatly to their comforts, and even to amass wealth. Such is actually the statement, not only of many of the West-Indians, but of the Quarterly Reviewer himself, in his Fifty-eighth Number (pp. 491 and 492).

The Reviewer's difficult and perplexing problem is therefore already solved. He himself may be adduced to prove, that a stimulus has been already found of far greater potency than the whip. Why then should he leave it to be inferred that the whip is alone capable of rendering the labour of the Negro beneficial to the planter? He will find it hard, by the utmost exertion of his metaphysical skill, to convince reasoning men in this country, that if a Negro will work industriously, from *moral* motives, on a Sunday or Saturday, he will not also be influenced by the same motives to work industriously on the other five days of the week. The problem, then, is solved by the concurrent testimony of the West-Indians and the Reviewer. Their own statements and admissions, if followed out to all their consequences, would be sufficient to prove, not only that the Negroes are fit for freedom, but that their freedom would be a pecuniary benefit, no less to their masters than to themselves.

The Reviewer says he is anxious for a fair and temperate inquiry into this subject. So, unquestionably, are the Abolitionists. Twice has Mr. Whitmore attempted to obtain a Committee of the House of Commons to investigate it, and twice has he been foiled in the attempt by Mr. Huskisson and the West-Indians. To what, in fact, did Mr. Whitmore's motion respecting the Sugar Duties, to what indeed *could* it tend, but to a full and radical development of the

grand question of free and slave labour. It is therefore to be hoped, that in the next session of Parliament all whom the Reviewer can influence will support Mr. Whitmore, when he renews his motion on this subject.

With a very imposing gravity, the Reviewer next tells us, that "those who advance facts of the correctness of which they are not absolutely certain, allow themselves a latitude very nearly approaching to criminality." This is, without a doubt, a very just remark. He adds, however, "We are sometimes afraid that there are persons engaged in polemical controversy *upon this subject*, so hurried on by their detestation of slavery, so morbidly anxious for its extinction, that they are disposed to adopt the most dangerous of all human principles of action, that the end may occasionally sanctify the employment of means which, in themselves, and abstractedly taken, cannot be justified." Has the Reviewer no fear, then, with respect to those who take the opposite side in this controversy? Are there no criminal misrepresentations to be apprehended on the part of those who love, as well as on the part of those who detest slavery; no dishonourable means to be suspected among the partisans of the former, for attaining an end which they think important? And is it no indication of the partiality of the Reviewer, that he should deem it necessary to preach exclusively to the Abolitionists, as if they alone were capable of resorting to base and unworthy arts to promote their objects? But on what does the Reviewer found this severe monition to them? Instead of a sly insinuation against the honesty of their principles, would it not have been more manly to have denounced the detected delinquency on which he grounds his reproof? If he meant to direct it against the Anti-Slavery Society, he ought to have shewn that any thing has been either done or written by them, which, in this particular respect, will not bear his keenest scrutiny

And with respect to individual writers, though some of these may be ill informed, yet he would find it difficult to prove his charge even against them. At least I know of none who have given currency to representations half so inaccurate, or, being inaccurate, half so mischievous, as some which have been made by the Reviewer himself. And as for the Sunday-School Tract which seems to have excited his solemn rebuke, although several expressions in it certainly require qualification, yet it contains no very material inaccuracy of statement, and is well adapted to promote a distaste for colonial bondage in the rising generation.

But this system of diffusing a knowledge of the real nature of slavery through the land, the Reviewer tells us, he "decidedly reprobates." And why does he reprobate it? The reason is curious. "We do not object," he says, "in the slightest degree, to a deep-rooted hatred of slavery, or a thorough knowledge upon that or any other subject."—This is precisely the kind of preface to be expected when a man is about to defend slavery, or to plead *against* diffusing a knowledge of it. He therefore proceeds—"But we protest against this thorough knowledge or deep-rooted hatred being confounded with religious feeling, or employed for party purposes." There is really something ludicrous in this sort of protest. Does the Reviewer mean that we are not to decide the question of slavery on religious grounds? That in this case alone we are not to try our conduct by the immutable principles of right and wrong, which are laid down in the Word of God? That in this case alone we are not to appeal to the Christian maxim of doing to others as we would they should do unto us? That here alone we are not to bring into operation that Divine charity which seeks to relieve our fellow-creatures from temporal misery and oppression, from mental degradation, and from spiritual death? And what again does he mean by *party purposes?* Is it that the energies

which are enlisted in favour of the freedom and happiness of mankind, in favour of the oppressed against his oppressor, are to be likened to a scramble for place, or some paltry question of party politics? Who are the parties? On one side 800,000 colonial bondsmen, with nearly the entire British nation: on the other, less than 2000 proprietors of sugar estates (for the question, even as the Reviewer himself has put it, has now become a sugar question) in the West Indies, aided by those in this country whom their Parliamentary influence, or their good dinners, or their common hostility to Saintship, or the mere ties of blood or interest may attach to their cause. Party purposes! Yes, the purposes of truth and justice and humanity—the promotion of the universal freedom of man—the cause of morality and religion—the cause of their country—the cause of God! May the people of England, young and old, be ever found devoted to such purposes! the zealous, unswerving, unshrinking partizans of such a cause!

The Reviewer, however, still argues that we act immorally, nay, that we are guilty of *a breach of faith* in agitating this subject. He says, "Parliament having deliberately placed in the hands of the Executive Government the solution of this difficult and fearful question, we consider it a breach of public faith to thwart and impede their measures." It is certainly a begging of the question that we thwart and impede their measures. And as for the compact here spoken of, when was it made, and what are its conditions? Is it binding on one party only, like the Reviewer's admonition; or does it bind both? When was it ever heard before, that because Government or Parliament had entered on the consideration of a great public question, interesting to the feelings of every man in the community, that question was to be withdrawn from free, unrestrained, general discussion, and that those who should venture to discuss it would be guilty of *a breach of public*

faith? It seems, however, to be the Reviewer's object to silence those only who would advocate the cause of Negro freedom: he accuses them alone of breaking faith with the Government. In what light, then, does he view the whole host of colonial journalists, and of some journalists at home, and of colonial writers of different descriptions, who have been incessantly squirting out their filth and venom on this subject during the last year? Has he no monitory voice for them? These are secure from the Reviewer's castigation. He reserves his ire for the Abolitionists. They must be arraigned for breach of faith, if, in order to set their cause right, they do but exhibit a plain statement of facts, and expose the misrepresentations (for to their ribaldry and invective they reply not) of their opponents.

But what has the Quarterly Reviewer, whose high displeasure the Abolitionists have incurred, to say for himself upon this point? Is it no breach of faith in him to have marched into the field of battle, and to have mingled so vigorously and efficiently in the conflict? Mr. Canning's resolutions, according to him, ought to have shut every honest man's mouth on the subject. And yet, from the hour when these resolutions were passed to the present, who has been the most active, efficient, and quietly pertinacious controversialist on this interdicted question? Why, the Quarterly Reviewer himself. Already have three ponderous articles proceeded from his pen, in opposition to the Abolitionists; all, we presume, in perfect loyalty to the Government. But no sooner does some unlucky wight, who happens to think differently from him, attempt to parry the deadly blows which, under the guise of a specious but hollow neutrality, he, or others under his shield, have been aiming at the very vitals of the cause of Negro freedom, than our ears are dinned with exclamations of bad faith! Such conduct is very intelligible. But is it also candid

and impartial? It might be excused indeed in a West Indian, but is utterly reprehensible in the Quarterly Review.

The respectable character of *The Quarterly Review* makes it difficult to suppose, that, in order to maintain any argument, or to serve any cause, its conductors would wilfully pervert the sense of a writer, by mutilating a passage cited from his work, so as to make him seem to contradict himself, and to inculcate the very opinions which it is his main endeavour to refute. Such, nevertheless, is the effect of the way in which the Reviewer cites and reasons upon the language of Mr. Stephen in *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*.

In that pamphlet, written and published at the outset of Bonaparte's counter-revolutionary attempt on St. Domingo, and while his true objects were yet veiled with the deepest dissimulation, the author demonstrated that his design was the restitution of slavery, and pointed out the formidable difficulties which would oppose him in that perfidious project. Among the considerations which probably had determined the Chief Consul to make such an attempt, Mr. Stephen noticed the impatient wish he felt for the restitution of the agricultural and commercial interests of France in her colonies, to which Negro liberty *seemed to be* an insuperable obstacle; and reasoning, as he supposes Bonaparte to do, he puts strongly the contrast between the great productiveness of St. Domingo, when cultivatied by slaves, and the then contracted state of its exports.

"While the Negroes were in bondage, the colony was rich and flourishing by the effects of their labours; since their enfranchisement, it has become a comparatively neglected waste. All the solicitations of the officers of the Republic, all the influence and authority of their own favourite Chief, have failed to recal them to any tolerable degree of regular industry. What then remains, but either

to restore the rigid yoke of the private master, and renew the coercion of the cart-whip, or permanently to leave this fine island in its present unprofitable state?"

After citing this passage, the Reviewer adds, "And is this all that *remains?* We trust not:" just as if the dilemma propounded had been one that the author himself was disposed to maintain, and with reference to the present time; whereas his very next words, following the quoted paragraph, are—"*Thus it appears, at first sight, not unnatural for the Chief Consul to reason;*" and he proceeds to shew, in no small part of the work, the unsoundness of such reasoning, and the gross impolicy of the measures founded upon it.

It is freely admitted to be impossible that the Quarterly Reviewer could mean to produce the unfair and fallacious effect which is thus produced. But it is at the same time very unfortunate that it was not prevented, by adding to his extract those two important lines, especially as the pamphlet is not now to be bought, and as the whole object of the citation is to mark the opinions of Mr. Stephen, who is styled (unquestionably with perfect truth) one of the most able and indefatigable advocates in the cause of Abolition, as being incompatible with those he and his friends now entertain. Even if the Reviewer's intention was to cite this writer, not for opinions, the reverse from what he really held, but for the fact of the neglect of agriculture, at that time, in St. Domingo, it was still no small breach of candour to withhold the explanation of that fact which the author subjoins; an explanation which renders the authority neutral at least, if not directly hostile to the critic's purpose. Mr. Stephen ascribed the aversion from agricultural labour among the Haytians, not to any native fault in their character, such as the Reviewer wishes to establish, but to the effects of that odious system which it is his object to palliate. Mr. Stephen described the driving method

in use upon sugar estates, and pointed out, among its other pernicious consequences, that it precluded the influence of those moral and rational motives, by which a repugnance to regular industry is overcome in the minds of free persons; while it rendered the particular species of labour formerly exacted by the lash, not only degrading, but odious in the eyes of the enfranchised Negroes. But the author shall speak for himself: and it is well that the Reviewer has afforded the opportunity of reproducing, at this juncture, before the public, the following powerful and striking statement:—

"Man," says Mr. Stephen, "is naturally indolent and impatient of bodily restraint. Though spurred by his hopes and fears into activity, and often to the most ardent exertions, he is with difficulty bent to the yoke of uniform and persevering labour.

"The suggestions of foresight, however, are very powerful impulses, especially when seconded by habit; and the great Author of our nature has conferred on them a mild as well as a rightful dominion. When we bow to the golden sceptre of reason, obedience has many facilities, and its pains many mitigations. Nature is not thwarted more rudely than the rational purpose demands; and the mind, while it urges on the material frame, cheers it, in return, with refreshing and invigorating cordials. Look at the most laborious peasant in Europe, and, if you please, the most oppressed: he is toiling, it is true, from painful necessity; but it is necessity of a moral kind, acting upon his rational nature; and from which brutal coercion differs as widely as a nauseous drench in the mouth of an infant from the medicinal milk of its mother.

"Is the impelling motive fear of want, or dread of a master's displeasure? yet he sees, on the other hand, the approbation and reward attainable by exertions, whereof the degree, at least, is for the moment spontaneous. Self-complacency alleviates his toil, and hope presents to his

view the hearty, well-earned meal, the evening fireside, and perhaps the gratifications of the husband and the father, in promoting the well-being of those dearest to his heart. Is his work fatiguing? He is at liberty, at least, to introduce some little varieties in the mode, or breaks in the continuity of it, which give him sensible relief. He can rest on his spade, or stay the plough a moment in the furrow; can gaze at a passing object, or stop a brother villager to spend a brief interval in talk.

"To the reflecting mind, these little privileges will not appear unimportant, when contrasted with the hard and cheerless lot of the field Negro. *He* is not at liberty to relax his tired muscles, or beguile his weariness, either by voluntary pauses in labour, or by varying its mode: he must work on with his fellow-slaves, let fatigue or satiety groan ever so much for a moment's respite, till the driver allows a halt.

"But far more deplorable is the want of all those animating hopes that sweeten the toil of the European peasant. To the Negro slave, driven to his work, his involuntary exertions, as they can plead no merit, can promise, in general, no reward. His meal will not be more plentiful, nor his cottage better furnished, by the fruits of his utmost toil, viz. in his master's service. As to his wife and children, they can hardly be called his own. Whether the property of the same or a different owner, it is upon the master, not on himself, that their subsistence and well-being depend. The Negro, therefore, casts his hoe from no impulse but that of fear, and fear brought so closely and continually into contact with its object, that we can hardly allow it to rise above brutal instinct, and call it rational foresight, without ascribing to the docility of the horse an equal elevation. The other great and pleasing spring of human action, hope, is entirely cut off.

"When these peculiar circumstances are duly consi-

dered, the rooted aversion of the free Negro to his former labours cannot excite surprise. It is unnecessary to suppose that they were excessive in degree, for, in their kind, they were too irksome to be, by the most patient of our race, contentedly endured, or remembered without abhorrence."

The whole of this passage (though requiring, in the last sentence of it, some qualification, which the author's further experience would doubtless incline him to admit), as well as the author's practical views in general, were certainly very unfit for the Reviewer's purpose: but he should therefore have abstained from quoting *The Crisis* at all. Besides, if the experiment of St. Domingo had afforded a fair test of the disposition and habits of the African race in an unsophisticated state, it is strange that the Reviewer should go back, for the result of it, to the very commencement of the present century; and, stranger still, that he should cite his facts from an author who sets out with carefully guarding himself from all responsibility as to his statements on this subject, on the score of the profound darkness which at that time prevailed in Europe, as to the interior state of that island. "From the interior of St. Domingo," says Mr. Stephen, "scarcely one distinct ray has reached our horizon, and its affairs are almost as unknown to Europe, as those of any nation in the centre of Africa:—

"——— Res alta terra et caligine mersas."

But soon after this publication the darkness was in some degree dispelled. The French official accounts and an abundance of private information gave juster views of the effects of Toussaint's wise and beneficent policy; and it appeared that, notwithstanding all the waste, and all the disorders of revolution and of internal wars, agricultural industry had been in no small degree preserved. "The

cultivation of the colony," said General Leclerc, in his first official dispatches, "*is in a much higher state of prosperity than could have been imagined.*" And as to the Southern division of the island, where the Revolution had not been attended, as in the North, with the general destruction of the mills, boiling houses, and other works necessary for the manufacture of sugar, it was found in a very flourishing condition. These facts are stated at large by Mr. Stephen, in a work, published two years later than *The Crisis*, called *The Opportunity* (pp. 10—21, &c.), in which, as well as in his *Life of Toussaint*, published about the same time, he has fully vindicated the character of the Haytians from the charge in question, and has shewn that St. Domingo, at the period of Leclerc's invasion, was illustrating the happy effects of its altered system. This makes it the more unfair in the Reviewer to cite this writer's first impressions of the case, avowedly the fruit of dubious rumour, without notice of their subsequent correction. The fact proved to be that at that period the whole island was in a rapid progress of improvement; and although Toussaint had possessed scarcely three years of peace, so much had been done by him to repair the effects of former anarchy and of seven years of destructive war, that had he been continued in the Government, and the devastations of a new counter-revolutionary war avoided, there is reason to believe that St. Domingo would by this time have been restored, even as a sugar colony, to all its former value.

Unhappily, Bonaparte, like the Quarterly Reviewer, was under private colonial influence, as he has since frankly acknowledged; and, like him too, he was deluded into the belief that slavery and the driving whip were necessary to the production of sugar. He lived not only to acknowledge, but to lament his error; and to confess that he had, in this instance, been the dupe of the ex-proprietors of the French colonies, with whom, through his wife Josephine,

he was connected, and whose prejudices he fatally imbibed. But the truth flashed on his mind too late. He had reduced St. Domingo nearly to a waste, and destroyed no small part of its scanty population, before a new war with England arrested his career.

After this addition to their former calamities, and when it had become evident that the restitution of the dreadful yoke of West-Indian slavery could permanently be averted only by force of arms, it would have been preposterous to expect, from the poor Haytians, any early and large advances in agricultural industry and wealth, even if new internal commotions and wars between the governments of Christophe in the North, and Petion in the South, had not soon again, and for a long time, called a large part of the cultivators into military service; and if the conduct of France, since her peace with this country, had not been such as to make the maintenance of large standing armies necessary to secure their freedom.

When all these considerations, and others that might be named, are taken into account, the case of Hayti repels instead of supporting the Reviewer's injurious imputations on the general character of Negroes. Among what people of the earth would industry have prevailed, in an equal degree, under the same adverse circumstances? To the destruction of the sugar works, and the want of capital to rebuild them, must be added that chilling sense of the insecurity of property, under which it would be utterly vain to expect that men should toil for its accumulation. Yet the Haytians have not only laboured sufficiently to procure for themselves, in the greatest abundance, all the necessaries, and some even of the elegances, of life, but to defray the whole expense of their establishments, civil and military, and to keep up copious magazines for the purposes of an arduous and ever impending war. If the enemies of their successive chiefs are to be believed, free labour in Hayti

has enabled them to amass great wealth for public and private uses, after providing for all the immediate services of the State. But, at least, they have maintained themselves, and sustained their own government, and defended their independence against all its foes. This cannot be denied: for, during the long term of nearly thirty years, they have clearly had no foreign protection or support. Which of the colonies, cultivated by slaves, can make an equal boast? Certainly not Jamaica, nor any other of the British islands. They all lean continually on the mother country, not only for military defence, and for the support of their own interior government, but for commercial privileges and premiums, in the shape of bounties to their own produce, and prohibitory impositions on the produce of other countries, in order to enable them to continue their boasted agriculture, by means of slave labour, without loss and ruin.

After all, if the most authentic public documents, and the reports of Parliamentary Committees, concurring with the representations of the Assemblies themselves, deserve any credit, the business of sugar planting, by slave labour, has been on a general average productive, not of profit, but loss, during the whole era of Haytian freedom. It is not very modest, then, in the planters and their apologists to arraign, as the Reviewer has done, their neighbours of Hayti, for not raising much of the same profitless commodity, though they have no mother country to give them for it a monopoly of her markets, and to pay them bounties on its exportation. Yet we are desired to infer, from the smallness of their sugar crops, that they are indolent, and make a bad use of their freedom. The Reviewer strongly applies the same argument to Sierra Leone, without even ascertaining whether its soil be fit for sugar. He regards the free labour in that colony as no proof that the Negroes will work without the driver's whip, merely because they do not raise sugar. The raising of sugar, it seems, is

this writer's only test of the capacity of the African for voluntary industry. If so, let the West-Indians bring in a bill for allowing sugar, the produce of Sierra Leone, to be imported into this country on the same terms with their own, merely that they may have the credit of this argument in some future defence of their predilection for slave labour. At present that article, if raised in the British colony of Sierra Leone, cannot be imported without paying a heavy additional duty, a duty altogether prohibitory, in order to protect the sugar of our West-Indian islands. If in the latter, therefore, it is raised at a loss, it seems no very clear indication of a want either of good sense or of industry, that it is not raised at all in the former.

After all, no one is disposed to contend, that free labourers, either at Sierra Leone or St. Domingo, will voluntarily work as hard as slaves may be compelled to work under the driver's lash. The comparative productiveness of the two species of labour does not depend on the degree of muscular exertion which each class of labourers may be incited for a time to yield, but on the more or less costliness of the article which each produces. What would it signify to Jamaica, that, by means of the whip, she could extract from her 340,000 bondsmen twice the quantity of sugar which would be grown by twice the number of labourers in some other part of the world, if, compelled to come into the same market on equal terms, she were obliged to sell her sugar for ten shillings per cwt. less than she had paid for raising it and bringing it to market?

It was doubtless with some such view of the subject that Mr. Stephen, in the pamphlet called *The Opportunity*, p. 21, remarked, (and thus far had it suited the Reviewer's purpose to cite the passage, might he have fairly referred to Mr. Stephen's authority,) "That the produce of St. Domingo will soon be as great as it was before the Revolu-

tion, is, I admit, more than can be reasonably expected. The number of adults fit for labour is unquestionably reduced in a very great proportion. Nor will free men and women ever be brought to work so intensely as slaves are compelled to do by the coercion of the whip. They will not labour more severely than consists with the preservation of health, with the ordinary duration of life, and with the maintenance and increase of native population;' —points, unhappily, which have been but too much disregarded by our West-Indian economists *.

Industry is a well chosen word, when used by the planters and their apologists in these discussions: but industrious labour, to deserve that honourable appellation, must be performed by choice, or, at least, without physical compulsion. It would be an utter mockery to praise a

* It is obvious, that in the whole of his reasoning on this subject, Mr. Stephen had in view the mere quantity of labour which the compulsion of the cart-whip is capable of extracting, as compared with the quantity which will be voluntarily yielded by free labourers. This, however, is but a mere fragment of the question of free and slave labour. The problem to be solved is this: Will not any given portion of land yield a greater return for the capital employed upon it, when cultivated by free labour, than it would yield if cultivated by slave labour? This question has been set at rest, to the satisfaction of every sound political economist, by Mr. Cropper and Mr. Hodgson.

An attempt has been made to defend the conduct of the Quarterly Review, towards Mr. Stephen, by a quotation from his recent work, p. 90: but the attempt has been made in the same unfair and partial manner as that exposed above. Mr. Stephen had been shewing it to be the almost uniform statement of West-Indians, that the labour of a few days will furnish subsistence for a year; and then he exhibits them as affirming, that their Negroes must starve, if a higher price cannot be obtained for their sugar. But, if a few days will furnish food for the year, what a reproach to West-Indians, that their Negroes should be distressed for food under any circumstances! Such in substance is Mr. Stephen's argument; and a most powerful *argumentum ad hominem* it is, whether the West-Indian statement be true or false. Nor would it be at all invalidated by admitting, that the Negroes in the West Indies, like the peasantry in all other parts of the world, will, in general, do no more work than the subsistence of their families demands.

man for this virtue on his descent from the tread-mill; but to ascribe industry to the field Negro, with a driver behind him, would be an insult still more cruel. His excess in this species of industry is too often a curse instead of a blessing, and a premature grave is its natural reward. It would, without doubt, be better that the poor Africans were indolent than industrious at that expense, even if they should be as idle as the Whites in the West Indies are for the most part proverbially known to be.

The *Quarterly Reviewer*'s main argument for slavery then is this; that without it sugar cannot continue to be cultivated as at present. Thus far he is right:—so severe is the labour which the cultivation of sugar, as it is now conducted in the West Indies, requires, that no *voluntary* labourers would encounter it: the terror of the cart-whip is indispensable, in order to prevail with them to grapple with it; just as men are propelled to the cannon's mouth by the danger which awaits their refusal. And this is precisely what the Abolitionists have all along affirmed respecting sugar-planting, as carried on in the West Indies. They have represented West-Indian sugar-planting as a cruel and deathful service; and have given it as their opinion, that if the cultivation of sugar must retain its present character, and continue to be followed by its present effects, no choice is left to us but to deliver ourselves from all participation in its guilt by abstaining entirely from the use of sugar. But there clearly exists no such painful necessity. No apprehension can now be entertained either of our not being able to procure sugar at all, or of our paying for it at a dearer rate, if slavery were suddenly swept from the face of the earth. So far, indeed, is such an apprehension from being well founded, that it is only because we choose to maintain slavery, that we pay for sugar at the present high rate. And as for St. Domingo, if in that island they should decline growing sugar at all,

either on account of the expensiveness of the works which its manufacture is supposed to require, or on account of its comparative unprofitableness, or on account of the prohibitory or protecting duties with which it is almost every where met, it would not affect in the slightest degree the question of free and slave labour.

With a view, however, to establish his own doctrine on that question, the Reviewer strives hard to prove, that the statement made by Mr. Whitmore in the House of Commons, on the 13th of May, 1824, of the extent of the trade of Hayti, on the authority of M. Inginac, the Secretary of the Haytian Government, is altogether fallacious. It may be so; and it is for M. Inginac to vindicate the truth of his official representations. But whether they are true or false, one thing is clear, and that is, that the Reviewer has not succeeded in disproving them. Does not the Reviewer know, that the American year is from September to September; and the Haytian year from January to January? Yet he takes it upon him to condemn the Haytian returns as fallacious, because they differ numerically from the American. He entirely overlooks, also, what is a well-known fact, and what is even recognized in the American statements for 1821; namely, that many vessels clear out from the United States for Cuba, as being the first island in their route, or for the West Indies generally, which, nevertheless, land their cargoes at Hayti. If this be so, it must follow of necessity, that the Haytian account of imports from the United States will greatly exceed the American account of exports to Hayti *.

Let us consider, also, the slightness of the grounds on which the Reviewer would throw discredit on the Haytian document. "In 1822," he says, "Great Britain imported

* The Reviewer's mistake as to the year, and as to the substitution of dollars for pounds, being stated to be merely typographical, is passed over.

from Hayti 41,623 cwt. or 4,662,784 lb. in weight of coffee, which the Haytian document gives as being 13,548,591 dollars in value—an obvious mistake, for both statements cannot be correct." The Haytian document, however, does not state the export to be 13,548,591 *dollars in value*, but so many *pounds in weight* *. In the next place, the Reviewer has altered the terms of the document. He represents it as saying, that this quantity was actually *imported into Great Britain* in 1822. Now the document only states, that in the year 1822 there were *exported from Hayti, in ships belonging to Great Britain*, 13,548,591 lb. weight of coffee. That quantity, it is obvious, might have been exported from Hayti in British ships, and yet not landed in Great Britain. What is to hinder a British ship from carrying Haytian coffee to its best market, the continent of Europe, instead of bringing it to this country, where it is loaded with prohibitory duties, and whence it must be re-exported before it can come into consumption? The same may be said of American ships: they are not bound to return laden with their coffee, or other articles, to the United States, but may seek for them the best market they can find.

After this statement, whatever the facts of the case may be found to be, is it too strong language to employ the words of the Reviewer himself to characterise his reasonings on this subject? "*We cannot too strongly reprobate*," he says, "*this attempt to impose upon our credulity; and we are satisfied that it will meet the reprobation of all reasonable men, whatever their sentiments may be upon the general question; and we hope it may serve as a caution to all those who wish to form an accurate opinion upon this contested subject, to examine well the data on either side before they surrender their conviction.*"

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* This is the typographical error adverted to in the last note.

In no part of this article does the Reviewer appear to have acted more unfairly, than in the representation he has professed to give of the provisions of the *Code Henri* for regulating Haytian labour. Suppose a Frenchman or an American were to profess to give a view to the world of the condition of the English labourer, and in the execution of his purpose were to quote only that part of our Statute Book which consigns vagrants to the workhouse, or which carts paupers home to their own parishes, or which fixes the hours of manufacturing labour; and then were to exclaim, Such is the boasted freedom of the English peasant, " a freedom not very far removed from the character of slavery;" would not the whole ire of *The Quarterly Review* be poured out on such a man? His vocabulary, rich as it is, would scarcely supply terms of vituperation strong enough to designate the combined ignorance and unfairness of such a description. And yet what has the Reviewer done on this occasion? He has realised this imaginary case. He has overlooked all the obligations imposed by the *Code Henri* on the proprietors of estates towards their labourers; he has omitted to state that the labourers were entitled to a fourth part of the gross revenue of the plantation; he has forgotten to point out that the labourer was no longer subject to the caprice of the owner or his agents, but that an appeal in every case of complaint must be made to the Magistrate, to whom proprietor and labourer were equally amenable, and without whose fiat not the slightest punishment could be inflicted. That a very strict police was necessary in Hayti on the sudden emancipation of all the slaves, and after all the disorders that had prevailed there, must be admitted. It would have been an impeachment of the wisdom and foresight of the Government, if they had not provided such a police. But surely there is nothing peculiarly harsh, as the Reviewer would intimate, or which indicates a very oppressive state of society, in

compelling labourers, each of whom is by law entitled to receive his share of a fourth of the gross produce of a plantation, to perform a fair and equal proportion of the labour of raising it; or in treating every vagrant as vagrants are liable to be treated in this country. The Reviewer, however, while he was giving a distorted view of the *Code Henri*, in order to support the cause of Negro slavery, must have known that that code, be it good or bad, was no longer in existence in any part of Hayti. It never had any operation beyond the northern division of the island, and it entirely ceased even there, in 1820, on the termination of the life of its author Christophe.

One great object of *The Quarterly Reviewer*, in treating the subject of colonial slavery, being to prove that sugar cannot possibly be cultivated by the labour of free Negroes, he is, therefore, naturally anxious to falsify Mr. Clarkson's statement of the success of a well-known experiment, made in Barbadoes, by a Mr. Steel, who conceived the dangerous project of substituting the stimulus of wages among his slaves for that of the cart-whip. "The failure of this system," we are told, "either as increasing the comforts of the Negroes, or as an experiment of profitable cultivation, is shewn in Mr. Macqueen's work." As it is upon the testimony of Mr. Macqueen that the Reviewer relies in this instance, without doubt or question, and upon whom he of course wishes the public, after his example, to place the same unhesitating reliance, it seems necessary to examine his title to be cited as an adequate authority by the Reviewer; who, while affecting great moderation himself, may thus contrive by a sort of side-wind to accredit the mistatements and exaggerations of others. A few particulars will shew that Mr. Macqueen is not always a safe guide to follow, even if we make no account of his being evidently a fierce partisan of the West-Indian system.

1. An instance had been mentioned, in the notes to the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion (p. 234, &c.) of twenty-six slaves, who in the year 1776 had been emancipated in Tortola by a Quaker of the name of Nottingham, and who in 1822 had increased to forty-three, and were then living in comfort, and conducting themselves respectably. Among other things, it was stated that they were free from debt, and had acquired some property; that many of them had joined the Methodist Society; and that not one of them had ever been tried for any crime, or had ever occasioned any burden to the community. No sooner had this statement appeared than the whole artillery of Mr. Macqueen was pointed at the poor Nottinghams; and pages of his book are employed to exhibit them as "an intolerable nuisance to people of all ranks"—an assertion which is sufficiently extraordinary, considering that none of them had ever been tried in a court of justice. By way of destroying at once all the credit due to the Nottinghams, from this or any other circumstance related of them, Mr. Macqueen published two anonymous letters, the subject of which is to represent these enfranchised Negroes in the most odious light possible. Some parts of these letters, however, are so obviously untrue as to deprive the whole of all title to authority. "The greater part of the females liberated by Mr. Nottingham," says Mr. Macqueen's correspondent, "died without issue. Most of the males connected themselves with female slaves, and were consequently relieved from the trouble of providing for and supporting their children." Now, does not Mr. Macqueen know enough of the West Indies to be aware, that, if the greater part of these females had died without issue, their number could not have increased from 26 to 43—now, indeed, to 44? The alleged connexion of the male Nottinghams with female slaves could not

have added to their number. Whence, then, has arisen the increase—which is not denied—an increase which is the more remarkable, because the surrounding slave population has decreased, in the same time, nearly in the same proportion in which the Nottinghams have increased?—But this is not all. "I remember," says one of these veracious correspondents, "a few years since, seeing one of them (the Nottinghams) in the Court-house of Tortola, attending a prosecution of his against a gentleman of the neighbourhood for an assault and battery on his own person. The gentleman, having found him in the VERY ACT of committing some *depredation on his property*, was, from the fellow's unbounded insolence, provoked to lay his whip, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, over him. In the course of the trial, when the defendant's Counsel commenced his defence, he requested the plaintiff to come immediately opposite to him, for the purpose of cross-examining him, when, to his astonishment, and the astonishment of THE WHOLE COURT, the Counsel found adorning the shirt-collar of the plaintiff a gold sleeve-button of his own, which he immediately claimed, shewing the Court the fellow of it. The button had been STOLEN some time previous, by a female slave belonging to the Counsel, and wife to the plaintiff." (p. 171.) Will the reader believe, that the whole of this circumstantial detail is a gross and wilful fabrication? And yet Mr. Macqueen adopts it as unquestionably true! No Nottingham ever prosecuted any gentleman in the courts of Tortola for an assault and battery on his own person! No such trial is to be found in the records of the courts of that island! The following trial, however, is to be found there:—"16th March 1821. The King versus John Lettsom, for an assault and battery on David Ham and Naomi Vanterpool: witnesses, Catherine Frazer,

Naomi Vanterpool, Cyrene Lake, Prince Vanterpool, Mary Frett. True Bill, D. J. Donovan, Foreman."—"Court adjourned to Thursday."—"John Lettsom was then called to the bar to plead to the indictments found against him on Monday last, when he pleaded not guilty to the one found against him for an assault and battery on D. Ham, as also to the one for an assault and battery on Naomi Vanterpool; but to the last mentioned indictment he afterwards withdrew his plea of not guilty, and pleaded guilty. Justices, W. G. Crabb, M. D. French, W. R. Isaacs, and R. King." Ham's cause came on, and Mr. Lettsom was found guilty. The facts proved were, that Mr. Lettsom, for some trifling cause, had seized David Ham and Naomi Vanterpool, two free persons, on their own land, had caused them both to be stripped to the skin and tied to trees, and had flogged them on their bare buttocks in a most cruel and shameful manner with tamarind whips, and also with a stick and rope. In the course of the trial Mr. Lloyd, the son-in-law of the defendant, and his Counsel on the occasion, saw in the collar, not of a Nottingham, but of David Ham, a gold button, which he challenged as his property, declaring it must have been stolen from him. David Ham affirmed that the button was his own property, honestly obtained; and there the matter ended. David Ham's wife also was Mary Frett, a free person, and not the female slave of Mr. Lloyd.—The above circumstance, it is pretty clear, has furnished the ground-work of the story which Mr. Macqueen's correspondent has fabricated, and Mr. Macqueen has circulated, with a view to injure the character of the Nottinghams. If this be not a fair deduction from the premises, Mr. Macqueen is at least bound to shew that the prosecution by a Nottingham, which is made the ground-work of his story, actually did take place.—The sentence of the Court on Mr. Lettsom was, that he should pay for

both assaults a fine of 150*l.* to the King, and that he should be committed until the fine and all fees attending the prosecution should be paid*.

* Mr. Macqueen has endeavoured to destroy the effect of the above statement, not by denying its truth, but by producing a long detail by a Mr. D. Frazer, of Tortola, to shew that the Nottinghams are an idle, profligate, pilfering set. All this proves nothing respecting the truth or falsehood of the particular fact related by Mr. Macqueen's former correspondent, and which was the point at issue on the present occasion. It would be easy to shew several palpable contradictions, even in this latest detail of Mr. Frazer. But, admitting the whole to be as true, as it evidently is untrue and exaggerated, it only makes the case of the Nottinghams a more remarkable proof of the beneficial effects of freedom, as compared with slavery. If they, though idle and profligate, immoral and vicious, have contrived to maintain themselves for nearly fifty years, without any burden on the community, without contracting debts, without being convicted, or even judicially accused, of any crime, and have in that time increased from 26 to 44, while the slave community around them has been rapidly decreasing; is it possible to mark more strongly than by these facts, the comparatively destructive nature of slavery? But the case, when all the circumstances of it are known, establishes this position still more strongly. Although Mr. Nottingham emancipated his slaves in 1776, he being then a resident in America, yet, owing to the war which intervened, it was at least eight years later before they were put in possession of their freedom. In 1790, their number had diminished from 26 to 20. From that time, however, they increased; and their number has since been more than doubled, notwithstanding all the harsh epithets bestowed on them by Mr. Macqueen's friend. How much more rapidly must they have multiplied, had they been sober, industrious, and moral! As for the charges of profligacy and vice, they are charges which affect not the Nottinghams only, but the Methodist Society, of which so many of them are members; and it behoves the Methodist Ministers at Tortola to explain how it is that such worthless characters continue to be connected with them. It now becomes their bounden duty to investigate these charges, and to report upon them.

One circumstance it would be improper to omit. The Governor of St. Kitts, who is also the Governor of Tortola, in his speech to the Legislature, in Dec. 1823, strongly recommended it to them "to weigh the justice and the policy of enlarging the privileges of the free population; amongst whom are individuals of worth and intelligence, in every respect competent to contribute support to the laws, and whose conduct, on all occasions, has afforded the best assurance of their ability to appreciate and maintain the rank of citizens. I venture to offer this topic to your consideration, under a firm conviction, that, by extending privileges to this class, you will promote their respectability in the

2. Mr. Macqueen affirms, that "the African Institution carry on a most terrific system of espionage against the West-Indian Colonies. Their spies in the colonies are numerous, and their character such as, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, renders them justly execrated and dreaded by every thing honourable and good in the community." "The instructions given to these informers or agents, whether local or imported, were to supply accusations, *quocunque modo* accusations. Such was the case of Mr. Middleton, engaged twenty-three years ago to take charge of the school at Walton, Jamaica. When that gentleman could no longer shut his eyes to facts every hour witnessed, and when he could obtain no accusations without violating truth, he transmitted his information accordingly; and the reply by return of packet to him was—'We have no further occasion for your correspondence; we are sorry to find you have been bitten by the rattle-snake; and we can believe nothing you may advance in future.'" (p. 241.)

To this statement Mr. Macqueen, by way of giving it authenticity, subjoins the following note:—"*Jamaica Royal Gazette*, July 19. The author states he had the information from Mr. Middleton himself."—On turning, however, to the *Jamaica Gazette* of 1823, it appears that the statement, thus given to the public by Mr. Macqueen as authentic, is taken from a furious attack on the Abolitionists by an anonymous writer who signs himself QUERCUS. Mr. Macqueen says nothing of this, but quotes as his authority the *Jamaica Royal Gazette*.

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community, and thereby strengthen, and at the same time reward, that devotion, which, it must be admitted, they have always evinced for the defence and welfare of the colony." Shortly before the Governor delivered this speech, he had visited Tortola, and, among other things, had examined the state and condition of the Nottinghams. It is in his power, therefore, to decide this controversy; and to say whether he found them a lawless, idle, profligate set, living by crime; or a peaceable, orderly, industrious body, supporting themselves by their own exertions.—See further, on this subject, the Appendix.

But although Mr. Macqueen may be disposed to receive as true, every charge against the African Institution which Quercus or any other nameless writer may prefer, however improbable in itself, or however unsupported by proof, yet it is surprising that he should adopt a tale which carries its refutation along with it. "Twenty-three years ago," that is to say, in the year 1800, the African Institution, which is stated to have numerous spies in the colonies, employed a Mr. Middleton as an informer or agent, to whom it gave instructions, and with whom it corresponded. Now, it so happens that the African Institution had no existence in 1800, nor until seven years after that time. It was first formed in May 1807. Is it necessary, after this, to give a flat denial to every other part of the story, and to affirm, that no individual of the name of Middleton, residing in Jamaica, was ever known to the African Institution, or ever wrote to it, or ever received the slightest communication from it? The whole story, from first to last, is a false and calumnious invention, without a single fact, or the distant semblance of a single fact, on which to rest. It is, in short, a malignant fabrication, for which its circulators can produce no more proof than for a similar fabrication, also first communicated to the British public by the Glasgow Courier,—namely, that Mr. Stephen had been the proprietor of a plantation and slaves in the West Indies, which, on quitting that part of the world, he had sold to a purchaser; which purchaser, it was fairly enough argued, he was now endeavouring fraudulently to strip of his property, by promoting the emancipation of the slaves without returning the purchase-money.—Mr. Stephen never was the owner of a plantation, or even of a single slave in the West Indies*.

* Mr. Macqueen has very manfully retracted much of what he had said against Mr. Stephen, on former occasions. His information, however, is still incorrect. The correspondent, on whose testimony he relies, still makes Mr. Stephen to have been the owner of several

But "the spies of the African Institution in the colonies are numerous." This is just as untrue as that, in the year 1800, they had a spy in Jamaica of the name of Middleton. These spies, Mr. Macqueen, in the largeness of his faith, is disposed to reckon by hundreds: for ninety-nine out of an hundred of them, he tells us, are "justly execrated and dreaded" by that pure and honourable West-Indian community among whom they exercise their vocation. But how has it happened that none of them have been detected in the exercise of their vile calling, except this solitary renegado Mr. Middleton? Or is it supposed that, if they had been detected, they would have been treated with peculiar lenity and forbearance; with more, for example, than Mr. Smith, or Mr. Austin, or Mr. Shrewsbury? The whole body of colonial journalists and partisans are called upon to prove one tittle of all that they have so hardily asserted on this subject.

In the same spirit, and for the same purpose, and with the same truth, have *the Glasgow Courier* (of which Mr. Macqueen is the editor) and other journals, charged the Abolitionists with disseminating inflammatory publications in the West Indies; and this calumny has been echoed from mouth to mouth, until men have begun to believe their own fabrication. And yet, what object could the Abolitionists have in disseminating tracts or pamphlets in the West Indies? The slaves do not require to be told that they are *driven* to their work, and cartwhipped by their managers; nor the planters that they drive and cartwhip their slaves. It is the British public, and not the population in our colonies, which requires to be enlightened on these points; and it is to the purpose of enlightening the *British* public that the efforts of the Society are directed.

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domestic slaves. This, however, is altogether untrue, and the undoubted fact is, that Mr. Stephen never was the owner of *a single slave*. —See his Delineation of West-India Slavery, preface, p. lii.

3. "*No Creole* slaves," says Mr. Macqueen (p. 255), "or those who could fluently speak languages, generally understood, were so marked," that is, branded by means of a heated iron; "and NONE, either Creole or African, have been so branded since the Abolition."

But let us only look at one of the latest *Royal Gazettes* of Jamaica, that for example of the 19th to the 26th June 1824, and very abundant proof will there be found of the incorrectness of Mr. Macqueen. The following are notices of slaves advertised, either for sale or as runaways:—

"Elizabeth Francis, a *Creole*, marked G F, G F below, not plain, on the right shoulder."

"William Bullock, a *Creole*, marked T S, heart on top, on left shoulder."

"Fin, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro boy, marked S on right shoulder."

"Edward Frazer, a MULATTO *Creole* man, marked R S on shoulder."

"William, *alias* Harry, a *Creole*, marked apparently I A on right shoulder."

"William Slater, a *Creole* BOY, has blister marks on the left, and marked A S on the right shoulder."

"Frank, a YOUNG *Creole* SAMBO man, mark not plain on right shoulder."

"Robert Henry, a YOUNG *Creole* man, marked M R. *about* the shoulders."

"Sam, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro man, marked G J. on right shoulder."

"Robert, a YOUNG *Creole* Negro man, marked apparently T. R. P. on left shoulder," &c. &c.

4. Mr. Macqueen, professing to quote from a publication of the Anti-Slavery Society, entitled *A Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery*, thus states one of the propositions (p. 263):—

"Next we are told, that the Negroes are driven to their

work, and compelled to labour *under the lash on Sunday*, in order to procure a maintenance for themselves."

Now the following is the passage *literatim* which Mr. Macqueen, affects to quote:—

"Besides being *generally* made to work under the lash, without wages, the slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction."

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Macqueen into his elaborate vindication of the Slave Trade, because it comes just eighteen years too late*; or into his argument against the possibility of obtaining sugar from Bengal, because he has only to procure the abolition of the protecting duty, in order to establish his position beyond all controversy; or into his attack on Hayti and Sierra Leone, because the Negro inhabitants of those colonies are already free, and in no danger of being deprived of their liberty by any misrepresentations; nor into the slanders against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry, two of the witnesses brought forward in "Negro Slavery," because they have themselves abundantly refuted those slanders. Only one other point shall be noticed.

Mr. Macqueen, speaking of the charges of gross immo-

* Mr. Macqueen professes himself "an enemy to slavery in the *abstract*." (p. 9.) He makes ample amends for this heterodoxy, however, by his defence of it in detail. Thus he tells us, without adducing even the slightest shadow of authority for his assertion, that the emancipation of the cerfs or villeins in Russian Poland had produced utter ruin both to master and slave, and an open revolt which it required 500,000 bayonets to keep down. (p. 15.) "These facts," says Mr. Macqueen, "may be ascertained by any one who will take the trouble to inquire." But where are the traces to be found, of the formidable ruin and revolt here spoken of as arising from the emancipation of the cerfs in Russian Poland? In other provinces, namely Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, the happiest results have followed from a similar measure. Mr. Macqueen will, perhaps, favour the world hereafter with his authorities.

rality brought against the Colonists, observes, that "the *shameless writer* of the Notes on the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion, aggravates the bitter libel thus:—'The married man in Jamaica, who keeps his brown or black mistress, *in the very face of his wife and family, and of the community*, has generally as much outward respect shewn him, and is *as much countenanced, visited, and received into company*, especially if he be a man of some influence in the community, as if he had been guilty of no breach of decency, or dereliction of moral duty.'" Mr. Macqueen charges the writer of the Notes with being guilty of "a most atrocious falsehood" in uttering these words; and yet, as he refers to the very page of the Debate (p. 152) which contains them, he must have been aware that they are not the words of the annotator, but the words of Mr. Stewart, the author of *The Past and Present State of Jamaica*, who had resided twenty years in that island, and whom Mr. Macqueen himself quotes as a credible witness (p. 305). The words, therefore, which he stigmatises as "a most atrocious falsehood" of that "shameless writer," the annotator, are the words of Mr. Stewart. I would only observe, that Mr. Stewart is borne out in his statements, "*shameless*" as they may be, by Dr. Williamson, another friend of the West-Indian cause, who resided fourteen years in Jamaica. And here it is impossible not to remark, that, supposing Mr. Macqueen and his West-Indian friends had succeeded in discrediting the testimony of Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry, what would they have gained by their success, so long as the unimpeached testimony of Dr. Williamson and Mr. Stewart remain to prove the very same points which Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry are violently assailed for asserting? There is something very unaccountable in the fact, that while Mr. Cooper and Mr. Meabry are traduced as liars and calumniators, on account of the representations they

have made of West-Indian manners and morals, a most guarded silence has been maintained with respect to the still stronger representations of Dr. Williamson and Mr. Stewart.

But, it may be said, "what is all this to the point in hand? It proves nothing as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of Mr. Macqueen's statements with respect to the experiment of Mr. Steele, of Barbadoes. In this particular instance Mr. Macqueen may be right, and Mr. Clarkson wrong." Doubtless this is possible; but then, as some of Mr. Macqueen's statements on this subject are drawn from sources to which there is no access, it is natural, after all that has been stated above, to feel some distrust respecting them. The witness to whom he chiefly refers, Mr. Sealy, is described as the manager of a neighbouring estate to that of Mr. Steele. Now, even if he were not himself one of the persons displaced by Mr. Steele when he got rid of all White managers and overseers, and abolished the whip, he is obviously of that very class of men who were the most likely to view his plan with prejudice and aversion*.

* This remark applies also in its full force to a witness produced by Mr. Gladstone, of Liverpool (see his Correspondence with Mr. Cropper, p. 64), and who deprives himself of all title to confidence by the very first sentence of his statement. Speaking of Mr. Steele's slaves, he says, that from 1780 to 1797 they "decreased from 262 to 240, whilst there was a general increase going on upon the neighbouring estates." From the Privy Council Report it appears that, in 1788, the Council of the island declared, that "it is certain that Negroes do in general decrease in this island." And in proof of this declaration the Tables annexed state, that the Negro population, which in 1770 was 76,334, was in 1780 68,270, and in 1786 only 62,115, although about 15,000 slaves were imported from 1770 to 1786. It further appears, from Bryan Edwards, vol. i. p. 350, that the numbers in 1792 were only 64,330, although 3970 had been imported during the preceding six years. In the face of this overwhelming evidence, Mr. Gladstone's witness has the temerity to assert, for what purpose he can best explain, that from 1780 to 1797 a general increase was going on in Barbadoes. Is it possible to confide in such testimony?

The Reviewer speaks of Mr. Steele's experiment as having been carried on for *thirty* years. Of the experiment, however, detailed by Mr. Clarkson, nothing is known from any authentic source, except during a period of *seven* years—namely, from 1783, when it first commenced, to 1790. It is very possible, therefore, that the experiment may have completely succeeded during those seven years, but that, from causes yet unexplained, it may have failed afterwards. The only knowledge we have of this plan is from the letters of Mr. Steele himself, contained in Dr. Dickson's volume on the "Mitigation of Slavery," published by Longman in 1814. Mr. Steele's last letter on the subject is dated 30th Sept. 1790. He was then, according to Dr. Dickson's account, ninety years of age; and, as from that day all further correspondence ceased on his part, we are left wholly in the dark as to what changes may have subsequently taken place in his plans, even during his lifetime. We do not even know whether he continued capable of superintending the business of his plantation; or whether his growing age and infirmities obliged him to delegate that task to another. In the latter case, which is the most probable, it could hardly be expected that the plan should not fail; and we know for a certainty, Mr. Beckles, the Attorney-General of Barbadoes, having himself told us so, that "at his death," if not before, "they reverted to the old system." (Macqueen, p. 427.)—The plan must needs have failed under such circumstances. But the question is, did it succeed during the seven years in which alone we know that Mr. Steele himself conducted the experiment? This does not appear to have been denied by any of the witnesses. Mr. Steele's own evidence is decisive of its success; and no contradictory evidence has yet been brought forward which can invalidate his.

On examining Dr. Dickson's work, which contains the only authentic record of this experiment, it appears that

Mr. Steele arrived at Barbadoes in March 1780. He had suffered much, he says, from "evil and unfaithful agents," particularly in the destruction of his Negroes. The evil appeared to him to proceed from the barbarous laws and customs prevailing in the island. He specifies particularly, the Law No. 82, Hall's edition, clause 19, as giving "encouragement to irascible and illiterate men to commit murder with impunity," and as accounting for "the continual decrease," and "the unfeeling and unnoticed destruction of slaves;" and to the Law No. 148, clause 8, which disqualifies all Negro evidence, whether Free or Slave, from being received against White criminals. Mr. Steele laboured hard to procure an alteration in these and other Colonial Laws, and established a society, by means of which he had hoped to effect that object; but having failed in this hope, and finding that the Colonial Legislature was indisposed to any improvement, he turned his thoughts to the trial of some experiments on his own Negroes, "*in order to find out whether rewards might not have some better effect upon their senses, than by trusting to punishments alone.*" (Dickson, p. 9.) This, be it remembered, was the specific object at which he aimed.

As "a *beginning*" of his general plan, Mr. Steele tells us, that, "towards the *end* of 1783," he took the whip and all power of arbitrary punishment from all his White servants, which produced their resignation, as they "could not bear the loss of their whips." He then formed a magistracy among the Negroes themselves, and accepted the offer of a near neighbour (who consented to abide by his rules) to superintend his estate; but this man proved of "the old stamp," and Mr. Steele, having satisfied himself of his infidelity, dismissed him also. He now resolved to try whether he could not obtain the labour of his Negroes "by voluntary means, instead of the old method of violence;" and he soon found that "for a small pecuniary

reward, over and above the usual allowances," the feeblest Negroes, and those deemed the most indolent, cheerfully performed even the holing of land for canes, the most laborious work of an estate, for less than a fourth part of the stated price paid to jobbers. He repeated the like experiment the following year, with equal success; and "on the 18th of November 1789, I gave all my slaves," he says, "tenements of land, and pecuniary wages by the hour, the day, or the week, for their labour and services," according to a plan which he fully details. Speaking of the effect of this plan in one of his letters (p. 112), he observes, that from the year 1773 to 1779 (a period of seven years), through bad management, the annual average profit had been only one and a quarter per cent.; in the next four years, notwithstanding the great hurricane of 1780, a little above 2 per cent.; but in the years 1784, 5, and 6, after his new plan was in operation, besides increasing the stock, it cleared $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. He states in another place (p. 157), that in forty years, his plantation stock had decreased one half; that in three years and three months, from June 1780, in a population of two hundred and eighty-eight slaves, fifteen had been born, and fifty-seven had died. "An alteration," he says, "was then made in the mode of governing the slaves: the whips were taken from all the White servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried and sentence passed by a Negro Court. In four years and three months, under this change of government, there were forty-four births, and only forty-one deaths." "But in the same interval, the annual neat clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years before." The unfairness of Mr. Macqueen and the Reviewer, on this subject, is conclusively established by a reference to p. 582 of *The Review*, where they assert, that "at the commencement of his (Mr. Steele's) system, in 1780, there

were on that estate two hundred and eighty-eight Negroes, and at the close in 1797, only two hundred and forty (a decrease of forty-eight), while the surrounding properties had a general natural increase." The incorrectness of this last assertion has been already proved. (See the last note.) But it is at least equally incorrect to say that Mr. Steele's system *commenced* in 1780, when Mr. Steele himself affirms that it did not commence till 1783. In the three years which preceded its commencement, he states the decrease of his slaves to have been forty-two, or at the rate of fourteen in each year. But the whole decrease from 1780 to 1797, was, the Reviewer admits, only forty-eight. The decrease, therefore, from 1783 to 1797, could only have been six, that is, a decrease at the rate of one Negro in each twenty-eight *months* of the time, instead of one in every twenty-six *days*, which was the rate of decrease during the former period. What a remarkable contrast! And what an incontestible proof, on the statement of the Reviewer himself, of the admirable efficacy of Mr. Steele's system!

Such is the statement of Mr. Steele himself; and certainly it furnishes no proof of failure. We have proof that his plan was *abandoned*, at his death at least, if not sooner; but no proof that it *failed*. If the Quarterly Reviewer can produce any evidence to shew that the details which Mr. Steele has given under his own hand, are untrue, that will be a good reason for rejecting his experiment as a proof of what he alone intended to demonstrate by it; namely, that rewards might have a better effect in inducing the Negro to work than punishments. But surely it is no evidence of the converse of that proposition that the plan was discontinued; and no authority has been produced to shew that it was continued beyond the year 1790.

Without attempting to press this experiment into the service of the Anti-Slavery cause, beyond its fair and obvious

bearing, it is at least evident, that after an experiment of seven years, Mr. Steele satisfied himself that it was possible to turn the labour of his slaves to much more profit by the application of the stimulus of wages than by the application of the stimulus of the cart-whip.

The Reviewer is very angry with the Abolitionists for thwarting and impeding the measures of Government. One of those measures is to abolish the cart-whip as a stimulus to labour in the field. Is it possible for any writer to do more to thwart and impede this most important part of the plan of Government than the Quarterly Reviewer has done, by the present and his two former articles on Slavery?

In the progress of our Review of *The Quarterly Review*, we have now come to that part of the article on the West-Indian Colonies which respects the Anti-Slavery Society; and here we meet with the same ill-disguised hostility, and the same wantonness of assertion, which have already been so largely remarked upon. The Reviewer's first observation is a misrepresentation of the fact. According to him, the Report of the Committee, which was read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on the 25th of June, stated, "that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated solely in the concealment by the Governor of the instructions sent from the Government at home." (p. 583.) Now even if the word *solely* had been excluded from the sentence, the statement would still have been untrue. But the best exposition of its inaccuracy will be found in the following extract from the Report itself, which has since been published:—

"As the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Canning, with the declared sanction of his Majesty's Government, and with the acquiescence also of the whole body of West-Indians in Parliament, recognised explicitly the very principles on

which your Committee proceeded, and pointed unambiguously to the very consummation at which they aimed; it was thought right by the mover, and those who acted with him, to concur in adopting them; more especially as his Majesty's Ministers, in proposing to take the work of reform into their own hands, signified their intention of carrying into early effect many of the specific measures of improvement which had been contemplated by your Committee.

"In their Circular Address of August 1823, giving a detailed account of these proceedings, your Committee, while they expressed their satisfaction that the Government and Parliament should have so clearly recognised the principles embodied in these Resolutions, could not refrain at the same time from expressing their regret, that the proposed plans of reform, instead of being made the subject of parliamentary enactment, should have been referred to the deliberation and decision of the Colonial Authorities. This circumstance tended greatly to damp the hopes which the favourable disposition of his Majesty Ministers was calculated to inspire. Past experience seemed to discourage the hope of effectual co-operation, on the part of the Colonists, in any plan which had in view the termination of slavery.

"The Committee therefore, as well as the advocates of their cause in Parliament, distinctly stated their apprehensions that this mode of proceeding would lead only to delay and disappointment. They were of opinion, indeed, that in no way were the alarms on the subject of insurrection, which had been so industriously raised, more likely to be realised, than by submitting the meditated mitigations of the slave system to discussion within the colonies, instead of transmitting them thither in the shape of laws to be obeyed. And even if such a reference should produce no

positive evil, they feared that it would at least be fruitless of any substantial good.

"The event has seemed to justify these apprehensions. The instructions of his Majesty's Government on this subject to the Colonial Authorities, as contained in Lord Bathurst's circular letters of the 28th May and 9th July 1823, were framed in an unexceptionable spirit of moderation, and were directed to objects of the very highest importance; and, had they been carried into effect, would have produced a most beneficial effect on the condition of the slaves. These instructions however, honourable as they were to the Government, were met in some cases by refusal, and in others by menaces of resistance. In a few of the smaller colonies, they have been treated with less of outward disrespect; and a disposition has even been professed to comply with his Lordship's suggestions; but your Committee have not heard that any legislative measures have yet been adopted for carrying them into effect. It is to be presumed, that had such laws been enacted, they would have been laid before Parliament without delay. The Slave Law of St. Vincent, passed in 1820, has been represented indeed as containing great improvements, and as having even anticipated most of Lord Bathurst's suggestions; but on examining it, this statement will be found to be altogether erroneous: it proves to be nearly a transcript of the last consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica; and, like that law, it leaves the great evils of the colonial system untouched*.

"Even in those colonies where the power of making laws is vested immediately and wholly in the Crown, the reforms proposed by his Majesty's Government, having

* See, for an account of the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica, the Appendix to the Debate of May 15, 1823, p. 148, &c.

been submitted to the previous consideration of the local authorities, experienced the same opposition and delay as in the colonies possessing legislative assemblies of their own.

"It was no more than might have been expected, that while a chance remained of dissuading or deterring the Government from perseverance in its purposes of reform, the proprietors of slaves filling offices in the colonies would not be sparing of their objections, nor the White population in general of their clamours and alarms. And even if governors or public bodies, acting in the Colonies, were perfectly well disposed to carry those reforms into effect, they would still find that the delegation of legislative power on topics so delicate was a burden hard to be sustained. An imperative order would relieve them from embarrassment; whilst a discretional authority could not be exercised, in opposition to local prejudices and passions, without sacrifices of a very painful kind.

"The proceedings of popular meetings in some of the colonies, and the calamitous events in Demerara, too clearly illustrate the danger of such a mode of proceeding.

"And while this danger was obvious, it seemed no less obvious, that if the supreme power of the state had at once authoritatively prescribed the course to be pursued, there would have been no ground to apprehend any inconvenient results. To suppose that the slaves would rebel against the Government, because it had taken measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition, would be absurd and irrational. Was there any thing, for instance, in the gift of Sunday as a day of rest; or in the mitigation of corporal punishment; or in the removal of restraints on manumission; or in the admission of their evidence in courts of justice, which could have a tendency to promote discontent and insurrection among the slaves?

"Had the mode of authoritative enactment, therefore,

been adopted, instead of that of mere recommendation the probability appears to be, that the effect would have been submission on the part of the planters, and gratitude on the part of the slaves. The cause of the mischief which actually occurred in Demerara, though grossly misrepresented at first, is now clearly ascertained. The evidence on the trial of Mr. Smith the Missionary, and on that of the slaves implicated in the insurrection, shews that the proximate cause of that unhappy event was the delay of the Colonial Authorities in giving publicity and effect to the measures of grace recommended by his Majesty's Government. The slaves learned that the supreme authority of the state had transmitted certain regulations for their protection and comfort, the benefit of which they were led to apprehend was withheld from them by the opposition of their masters. The expected good was also, it may be presumed, magnified by the mist of secrecy in which it was enveloped. It was supposed by some to be a gift of freedom, and the unfortunate men imagined that the oppression under which they groaned was no longer warranted by law.

"On the whole, little doubt can now be entertained that not only has much evil arisen from having submitted the proposed reforms in the slave system to colonial deliberation, but that no substantial good could reasonably have been expected, or is to be looked for in future, from such a course. In the mother country alone can laws on this subject be effectually, and at the same time safely made." (Anti-Slavery Report, pp. 3—7.)

Again—"One conspiracy, indeed, though of a most shallow and inartificial texture, appears to have been actually formed, and one insurrection has most calamitously taken place; namely, that of which the public has heard so much,—the revolt of the slaves in Demerara. In that colony there were some peculiar predisposing causes to such an event, arising from the pre-eminent harshness of the

slave system prevailing there, and from the religious persecutions to which, in addition to all their other sufferings, many of the slaves were subjected in the course of the last year. While the irritation produced by this state of things was at its height, the Negroes learnt that his Majesty had instructed the Colonial Government to adopt certain measures for alleviating the rigours of their condition. Instead of experiencing, however, the expected alleviations, there is reason to fear that they found the hardship of their state rather increased than diminished. However this may have been, it was natural that they should be anxious to obtain clearer information on a subject which to them was of extreme importance. It seems to have been chiefly with this view that, on the 18th of August 1823, the slaves of a particular district agreed to strike work; and, in order to secure themselves against the rigorous measures of repression which they reasonably anticipated, they forcibly seized such arms as they could procure on the plantations, and confined in the stocks several managers and overseers. The arms, however, appear to have been seized chiefly to prevent their being turned against themselves; and it is the testimony of Governor Murray himself, writing on the 26th of August 1823, when affairs had already assumed a 'peaceable aspect,' that he had 'not heard of any Whites having been deliberately murdered by the misguided slaves.' On one plantation where the Whites resisted, two of them were killed. But it does not appear that, except in this instance, the insurgents took the life of a single individual, or that they demolished a single house, or set fire to a single canepiece.

"And even in the excepted case which has been mentioned, the Committee are credibly informed, that several of the insurgents were killed by shots from the house, before they returned the fire; and that when they had succeeded in entering the house, they spared the lives of the master

and mistress, who fell into their hands (the latter of whom had been slightly wounded), and did not afterwards inflict on them the slightest personal hurt.

"Here, then, we have a servile insurrection, divested of almost all those acts of rapine and bloodshed, by which such events have usually been characterised; an insurrection much more analogous to those tumults which occasionally occur among workmen in this country, when they conceive themselves to have been aggrieved by their employers, than to a traitorous conspiracy or rebellion of slaves.

"The case, however, was otherwise viewed in Demerara. Notwithstanding the moderation and forbearance, previously unexampled, with which the refractory slaves conducted themselves, seeking neither to take away life, nor to destroy property, their insubordination was visited with a tremendous vengeance. How many hundreds were slaughtered without resistance in the field, or hunted down by the Indians, who were called in to pursue them in their flight into the woods and swamps; how many, on being taken, were shot without the ceremony of a trial, or have since been executed by the sentence of courts martial; and how many more have had the flesh torn from their quivering limbs by cruel whippings, to the extent even of a thousand lashes, we have not accurately heard. But if the irregular proceedings and refractory conduct of the slaves in this instance—if their impatience to known what were those alleviations of their condition, which the reported benevolence of their Sovereign really designed for them, could only have been expiated by such a prodigality of blood, what can we imagine would have been the nature and extent of the punishments to which they would have been subjected, had they added to the crime of insubordination those of conflagration and massacre?

"The limits of a Report will not allow the Committee

to dwell on the circumstances attending the trials of those unhappy persons: they appear to them to have been conducted with an extraordinary disregard of the customary forms of judicial proceeding. The public, however, has a fair opportunity of appreciating the spirit in which justice was likely to be administered to these slaves, by the ample details published respecting another trial, that of Mr. Smith, the Missionary, upon which such a flood of light has been thrown by the recent discussions in the House of Commons. In the case of that deeply injured individual, who, as a White man, came within the pale of colonial privilege, every recognised principle of law and justice was grossly and openly violated. And if in his case, which it must have been known would attract considerable notice, as well as excite deep interest in this country; and in which a man of talents and information, aided for a part at least of his trial by Counsel, had to defend himself from charges utterly groundless; if, in such a case, all those principles have been so palpably and flagrantly outraged; what measure of fairness and impartiality was to be expected in the case of wretched and ignorant slaves, standing pinioned before their judges, unacquainted with the English language, uninformed of the specific charges against them until they were placed at the bar, and wholly unaided by legal advice? This is indeed a most affecting consideration."—(Ib. pp. 14—16.)

Let any one, after having read the above extracts, recur to the Reviewer's charge against the Anti-Slavery Society, whom he represents as having stated, "that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated SOLELY in the CONCEALMENT by the Governor of the instructions sent from the Government at home;" and say whether it is too strong language to speak of it as a "misrepresentation of the fact," and as "untrue."

The Quarterly Reviewer attacks Lord Calthorpe and Mr Stephen, for having dared, at the general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to express an opinion of the innocence of the Missionary Smith, and of the gross violation of law and justice exhibited in his trial at Demerara. "Mr. Smith, in our judgment," says the Reviewer, "was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and did produce, consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community." He further impugns the opinion of Dr. Lushington, avowed at the same meeting, that "Mr. Smith's conduct had, throughout his mission, been marked with the most *circumspect prudence*;" and then asks, "Could it be wondered if the fears of the Colonists should be roused, on learning that the men now exercising the functions of Missionaries in the West-Indies had been sent out by persons who entertain such sentiments?" He concludes with expressing his conscientious belief that, "whatever may have been the defects of the proceeding which the court martial adopted, the intention of its members was pure, and that they had no desire but to do justice in that crisis of prejudice and passion to which they were on all sides exposed."

It is not easy to make out what the Reviewer means by being "exposed to a crisis of prejudice and passion," and that "on all sides," there having been only one side at Demerara; but it will be easy to shew that in the above extracts there are at least as many misrepresentations as there are sentences.

1. That there may have been honourable men, whose intentions were pure, on the court martial which tried Mr. Smith, it never was meant to question. We have only to do with the conduct of the majority; and whoever can calmly read the whole of these proceedings, and say that

they indicate " no desire but to do justice," must either have formed his notions of justice in some other school than that of England, or must be prepared to admit that at least there was gross ignorance on the part of the judges. But it is not on the trial of Mr. Smith alone, that the conduct of Demerara courts-martial, though graced, all of them, by the association of Mr. Chief Justice Wray, in his capacity of Lieutenant-Colonel, seems to demand a strict scrutiny. A most important document has recently made its appearance from the Demerara press ; a duodecimo volume, drawn up, it is said, by Mr. Herbert, (the present Fiscal, and the framer* of the greater part of Jack's famous defence,) aided by the notes of Mr. Wray. It is entitled, " Report of the Trials of the insurgent Negroes;" and will be found to furnish a very fit subject for the review of the grand inquest of the nation.

2. The Reviewer seems to wish to have it understood that Dr. Lushington and his associates in the Anti-Slavery Society have been concerned in sending out the Missionaries who are now labouring in the West Indies, though he must have known that there was not the slightest ground for the insinuation. He must have known that neither among the Directors of the London Missionary Society, nor among those of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, is the name of Dr. Lushington, or indeed of any individual who spoke at the Anti-Slavery meeting, to be found. Not that it would have been any just reproach to them to have

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* The use of this word has been vehemently condemned; and the fact, that Mr. Herbert was the *framer* of Jack's defence, positively denied. But what is Mr. Herbert's own testimony? " Every thing was suggested to me by Jack ; and I was very particular in taking down his meaning, and in ONE instance, *used his own words.* I have endeavoured to *form* a connected narrative from the story he told." The defender of Mr. Herbert affirms, that Mr. H. *occasionally* used Jack's own words. Mr. Herbert, himself, swears he did it in ONE instance. It were well if we had Jack's own words, from first to last.

been found there: but still the insinuation shews the Reviewer's unfairness; and would even seem to justify the throwing back upon him the charge of invidiously attempting to "thwart and impede the measures of his Majesty's Government," by exciting the prejudices of the planters against Missionaries, as if these had been *sent out* by Dr. Lushington and his friends of the Anti-Slavery Society.

3. It is deemed by the Reviewer a cause of mortal offence, that Dr. Lushington should have lauded the *prudence* and *circumspection* of the Missionary Smith. Dr. Lushington is by no means singular in this sentiment. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how any man (not a Demerara planter) can read the Journal and other writings of Mr. Smith, without being astonished at his forbearance in not giving vent to those indignant emotions excited in him, by the scenes he daily witnessed. He had hardly set his foot in the colony before he had to encounter the frown of authority, and to experience the extent of a planter's prejudice. "On my arrival in the colony," says Mr. Smith, in that part of his defence which was most strangely suppressed by the court martial (see the Society's copy of the trial, p. 76), "I was introduced to his Excellency, by Mr. Elliott. His Excellency, being informed of the object of my coming to the colony, asked in what way I proposed to instruct the Negroes. I answered, By preaching, catechising, and teaching them to read. His Excellency sharply replied, *If I ever know you to teach the slaves to read, I will banish you from the colony.*" And this speech was uttered by a British Governor, in the year 1817! Was it then to be wondered at that Mr. Smith should view, as he appears from his Journal to have done, the measures of General Murray, with respect to missionary efforts and the religious instruction of the slaves, with distrust and suspicion? And then with respect to the treatment of the

Negroes, he tells us, "The Negroes of Success complained to me of excessive labour and very severe treatment." "I thought they would work the people to death." "While I am writing this, the driver is flogging the people, neither manager nor overseer near." Again; "while writing this, my very heart flutters at hearing the almost incessant cracking of the whip." "The people have scarcely any time to eat their food; they have none to cook it, eating for the most part raw yellow plantains." Added to this severity of corporal suffering, he had also to lament "the various arts employed to keep the slaves from the house of God, and to punish them for their religion." And in the sight of all this complication of misery, what marks of impatience does he betray? What imprudent speeches or actions do these monstrous outrages excite? He pours his griefs only into the ears of his Heavenly Father, or records them in his secret journal, unread by any eye but his own, until it was dragged from its concealment and exposed to the public view of the Whites of Demerara; serving, at least, the purpose of rousing still further their ferocious rage against him. In short, the Reviewer may be challenged to specify a single circumstance in the conduct of Mr. Smith, during the six or seven years he had resided in Demerara, down to the 17th of August 1823, (of which day, more hereafter) which can be shewn to detract from the merited eulogium pronounced by Dr. Lushington on his prudence and circumspection.

But it will be said, that sufficient proof of his guilt is to be found in the single circumstance, that, according to the evidence of Jack Gladstone, "the deepest concerned in the revolt were the Negroes most in Parson Smith's confidence." On this subject much light has been thrown in the Preface to a work just published by Hatchard, entitled the "Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons" respecting the Missionary Smith. In the Preface

to that work (pp. xviii.—xxiv.) it appears, that, by a reference to facts, of 2000 persons belonging to his church, not more than five or six who had been baptised, none of them of any note in the congregation, and only one of them, Telemachus, a communicant, were tried and convicted. Twelve of the ringleaders, who were executed, belonged to estates where not one slave had been baptised by Mr. Smith or his predecessor; and on the estates where Mr. Smith had been most successful, the slaves did not join the revolt, but stood by their masters. Mr. Baillie's estate of Hope is an instance of this: there the Negroes not only did not join the insurgents, but continued quietly at their work, and carefully preserved the property of their master, manager, and overseers, until the return of the Whites from militia service. What makes this the more remarkable is, that another estate of Mr. Baillie's, Nonpareil, from which, being under a different attorney, religious instruction had been excluded, was deeply engaged in the revolt. On the very next estate to the Hope, Mr. Smith had baptised one hundred and ninety slaves, and they all stood by their master. On the plantation Brothers, the Negroes defended the Whites even at the risk of their lives, and there was not one absentee. Religion had been here greatly encouraged. Other instances of the same kind might be adduced; while it might be proved that almost all who suffered death, or flogging, belonged to estates where religion had made either little or no progress. Even with respect to Mr. Gladstone's estate of Success, the focus of the disturbance, the Negroes belonging to it who were executed were heathens, who had never been baptised; namely, Richard, Buffany, and Hamilton. Even Jack Gladstone, who was the chief ringleader of the mutiny, though he had been baptised, was no regular attendant on Mr. Smith, and was not considered as a member of the Church. He was, neverthe-

less, proved to have been particularly active in restraining all disposition to violence, on the part of his confederates, towards the Whites.

Of the few baptised persons who were executed, two were among those who were to be sold the ensuing week, and separated perhaps for ever from their dearest connections.

In fine, not a single circumstance appears previously to the 17th of August, which can be alleged, with the slightest colour of truth, against the prudence and propriety of Mr. Smith's conduct.

4. But Mr. Smith, the Reviewer affirms, "was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy." This must refer either to the circumstance of his overhearing a conversation, on the afternoon of the 17th of August, of some slaves belonging to his congregation, from which it is said he might have inferred their intention to rebel; or to that of his receiving from Jacky Reed, on the evening of the 18th, a letter which apprised him of the existence of a conspiracy among the slaves, neither of which circumstances he communicated to the local government.

Now, with respect to the letter from Jacky Reed, it may be put entirely out of the question. He received it after six in the evening, only fifteen or twenty minutes before the revolt broke out on Le Resouvenir. But three hours before that time, Jack and his father Quamina had already been seized, on the estate adjoining Le Resouvenir, as conspirators, and had also been rescued by their fellow-slaves from those who were carrying them to George Town. This, however, is not all. The "Report of the Trials of the Insurgents," already alluded to as the joint production of Mr. Fiscal Herbert and Mr. Chief Justice Wray, brings another most important fact to our knowledge. It there appears that some time before Mr. Smith received Jacky Reed's communication, the Governor himself, already

apprised of the intended revolt, had actually visited the estate of Le Resouvenir, on which Mr. Smith resided, whence, after ascertaining the existence of the evil, he had returned to town, in order to take the necessary measures for repressing it. At the 9th page of this important document, now for the first time made known to the British public, stands the following statement, the authenticity of which cannot be questioned :—

" EARLY on Monday the 18th, a servant of A. Simpson, Esq. of Plantation le Reduit, reported to his master an intended revolt on the part of the Negroes, and that the evening of that day was fixed for its commencement. Mr. Simpson repaired to town, which he reached about TEN o'clock, and *communicated the same to his Excellency the Governor.* The cavalry was immediately ordered out; and about four in the afternoon, his Excellency proceeded up the country, accompanied by Captain Campbell, his Brigade Major, Lieut. Hammill, his Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Heyliger, the Fiscal, and Mr. Murray, his Secretary, and arrived at Le Reduit" (about three miles from Le Resouvenir), " where he examined Mr. Simpson's servant, and ascertained, from other circumstances, that the information was but too correct. He accordingly proceeded to Mr. Van Cooten's," (about a mile from Le Resouvenir,) " where he secured the Negro man, Mars, and set off for Le Resouvenir, intending to seize some of the head people, having been joined by Lieutenant Forrester and three of the cavalry. When his Excellency reached Plantation Montrose, a flame was seen at La Bonne Intention; the shells were distinctly heard blowing in various directions; the cheering of the Negroes was also distinguished. At the bridge between Plantation Felicity and Le Resouvenir, the Governor met a party of about seventy or eighty Negroes, armed with cutlasses and spears, and one or two muskets. They attempted to prevent his Excellency passing

the bridge, but without effect."—He here parleyed with them.

How is it possible, after these details, given to the British public by such high authority, to impute the slightest blame to Mr. Smith for his having taken no step, in consequence of Jacky Reed's letter, to inform the government of a revolt which was already notorious? Before Mr. Smith received it, the Governor himself had been actually at the plantation Le Resouvenir, and in possession of much more full and precise information respecting the revolt than this letter, when it arrived, could have communicated. How perfectly absurd, therefore, how worse than absurd, is it to represent Mr. Smith as a traitor, for not riding to town with Jacky Reed's letter, which did not reach him till after the Governor, who had previously been at this very plantation, and satisfied himself there of the existence of the revolt, had actually returned to town, in order to prepare the means of suppressing it!

These new circumstances, made known in the publication attributed to Mr. Herbert and Mr. Wray, must dissipate every remaining doubt, if any existed, as to the perfect innocuousness of Mr. Smith's conduct in the matter of Jacky Reed's letter, on which so much stress was laid in the Parliamentary Debate.

The single point remains to be considered of the guilty concealment with which Mr. Smith is charged, with respect to the conversation he overheard on the 17th.

The Quarterly Reviewer's charge against the Missionary Smith is this: "Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and *did produce*, consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community."—This was substantially one of the charges preferred against him by

General Murray—" For that he, the said John Smith, on the 17th of August last, and for a certain period of time thereto preceding, having come to the knowledge of a certain revolt and rebellion intended to take place within this colony, did not make known the same to the proper authorities; which revolt and rebellion did subsequently take place, to wit, on or about the 18th of August now last past."

It has been already shewn, that no blame could attach to Mr. Smith for his not having communicated to the Government, the letter received by him on the evening of the 18th, from Jacky Reed; and that no evil consequences whatever could possibly follow from the withholding of it. There appears still less ground, if possible, for charging him with a guilty concealment of any knowledge of an intended conspiracy, which he may have acquired on the 17th, or on any preceding day.

It stands on the evidence of Mr. Stewart, the Manager of Success, that, some days prior to the revolt, Mr. Smith had twice communicated to him, that the Negroes had an idea that their freedom had come out, and that they had been addressing questions to him on the subject; that, in consequence of this communication, he (Mr. Stewart) and Mr. Cort, the Attorney of Success, waited upon Mr. Smith, in order to inquire further into the matter, when Mr. Smith repeated his former statement, saying to Mr. Cort, at the same time, " that he was thinking of telling the Negroes from the pulpit, that the idea of freedom was erroneous," but that Mr. Cort dissuaded him from doing any thing of the kind. Now, in the charges against Mr. Smith, the revolt and rebellion are said to have been against " the authority of their lawful masters, managers, and overseers." Here, however, we find Mr. Smith taking an early opportunity of informing those "masters and managers" of the disturbed state of the minds of the Negroes,

with a view, doubtless, for it could be with no other, of putting them on their guard. He even offered to be himself the instrument of undeceiving the Negroes, with respect to the erroneous conceptions they had formed, by a public declaration from the pulpit; which offer these "lawful masters and managers" declined. Still the whole of the evidence shews, that he took all pains, in his private intercourse with the slaves, to correct their unfounded views, and to discourage all disposition to turbulence.

But Mr. Smith, it is said, ought to have gone to the Governor, and apprised him of the state of things. Mr. Smith had had abundant proof of the unfavourable reception which any thing coming from him would meet with on the part of the Governor. He adopted, therefore, the wise and prudent method of communicating his observations to those who, while they had a deeper interest in the matter, would, at the same time, be more likely than himself to be listened to at head-quarters. The Governor, however, had not been unapprised of the state of the Negroes' minds. The Rev. W. C. Austin gave it in evidence on the trial of Mr. Smith, that a short time before the revolt, he had discovered that much dissatisfaction existed among the slaves, a considerable number of whom came to state their grievances to him. He applied first to the Fiscal, who declined to interfere. "Their complaints," however, having been "uttered in a very extraordinary style and tone," Mr. Austin thought it necessary to report the circumstance to the Governor himself; to whom also he stated, that he felt "serious apprehensions" respecting the result. Their grievances appear to have been—the severity of their treatment; the lawless exercise of authority; persecution on account of their religion; preventing them from attending chapel, and holding evening meetings for religious purposes; taking from them their Bibles, &c.; and lastly, the neglect of their complaints by the local

authorities. The Governor treated the apprehensions of Mr. Austin very lightly, and wholly disregarded the warning given to him by that gentleman. What would have been the Governor's conduct towards Mr. Smith, had he dared to come to him on a similar errand? He admits himself to have been aware (see his official letter of the 24th of August) of "the *existing susceptibility*" among the slaves; and yet he distinctly says he attached "*no credit*" to the rumours of intended insurrection. Mr. Smith, however, must be punished with death, because he felt precisely as the Governor felt on this subject. He was aware, with the Governor, of "the existing susceptibility," and yet did not believe there would be any insurrection. Whatever guilt therefore may have attached to Mr. Smith on this score, attached in a far greater degree to the Governor. He, who alone could take precautions, was inexcusable for not having done so; and, after this neglect, he was infinitely more inexcusable for having prosecuted to the death, as a traitor, an individual whose guilt, if guilt there were, was inferior to his own.

Thus did the Governor judge in the case of another individual, the burgher officer, Capt. Spencer, who, when distinctly charged by Mr. Hopkinson, with having been informed of the intended plan of revolt, and yet having made no communication on the subject to the Government, and having taken no precautions as a Magistrate to frustrate it, *was acquitted by the Governor of all blame;* not because the statement of Mr. Hopkinson was untrue, but for reasons, every one of which apply with increased force to the entire exculpation of Mr. Smith. The Governor's judgment is, that "the revolt was so unexpected, and the information so little believed, that it was not deemed expedient to alarm the colony by any military movement; and as it clearly appears that Captain Spencer, who lived in the centre of the part in which it broke out, knew no

cause to believe the rumour of the day, *he could not have avoided both ridicule and censure should it have proved unfounded, if he had needlessly thrown the district into confusion and alarm by calling out the militia. And the moment which convinced him of the reality of the evil existing, deprived him of all power beyond a hasty and precarious attempt at concealment of his person.*"

The evidence of Captain Spencer himself on the trial of two Negroes, Ellick and Sam William, as given in what is called Mr. Herbert's Report of the Trials of the Insurgents, proves incontestibly the truth of Mr. Hopkinson's charges. He admits having heard of the intended rising in town; he came to his estate, quietly took his dinner, and after an hour and an half spent in this manner, sent for his drivers, to ask them if there was any truth in the report he had heard? In half an hour his house was attacked by the insurgents, and although his own slaves to a man (261 in number) appear to have offered to stand by him, and protect him at the risk of their lives, he went off on the first approach of danger, and hid himself in the cotton pieces. What would have been said of such conduct had Captain Spencer been the Missionary Smith?

But then it is alleged, that Mr. Smith heard certain words spoken on the evening of the 17th which ought to have alarmed him. The impression, however, made by the words in question, it is obvious, would be very different when uttered before an improbable event had taken place, or when re-examined after its occurrence. The words spoken to Mr. Austin by a body of Negroes, and reported by him to the Governor, were infinitely stronger and more alarming than any thing which Mr. Smith is alleged to have overheard; and yet they produced no apprehension of revolt in his mind, nor led him to adopt any measures of precaution. Captain Spencer was actually told early on the 18th, that there was to be a rising that evening. He

treats the matter as a fable. He calls out neither the civil nor the military power of his district, of which, as a magistrate and a militia officer, he had the command. He indulges for an hour and a half in the pleasures of the table, before he even begins to institute any inquiry into the truth of the rumoured revolt; and when the fact at length bursts upon him, he retreats from the danger. Captain Spencer, however, all this notwithstanding, is blameless in the estimation of Governor Murray. It would have been ridiculous, nay censurable in him, the Governor says, to have acted otherwise; and yet Mr. Smith, the Missionary, must be hanged by the neck till he is dead, for having overheard some loose conversation which, by a most strained inference, is construed to mean revolt, but upon which he did not immediately act.

And what is the sole evidence on which even this strained inference rests, on which Mr. Smith is charged with misprision of treason? It is on the evidence of two slaves, Bristol and Seaton, who disagree in their statements and were contradicted by other witnesses;—who themselves had a halter around their necks, from which they seem to have conceived that they had no chance of escaping, but by inculpating Mr. Smith;—and who are altogether discredited by the colonial Authorities in other parts of their testimony, which do not go to establish the guilt of this proscribed Missionary. Both these men bear still stronger testimony against Mr. Hamilton, the manager of Le Resouvenir, than they do against Mr. Smith. (See Demerara Papers, II. pp. 27, 28, 40, 42.) And their testimony is confirmed by Mr. Hamilton's concubine, who charges him, in the most explicit terms, with having been privy to the revolt, and with having counselled and controlled the measures of the insurgents. And yet this very Mr. Hamilton, so accused by the very same witnesses whose evidence condemns Mr. Smith to death, is not arrested; is not arraigned; is not

even called to account by the colonial Authorities. Nay, he appears as a witness on Mr. Smith's trial, along with his concubine Susannah, wholly unaffected by the mass of Negro testimony that had been adduced to prove him an accomplice in the revolt. Mr. Hamilton, fortunately for him, was no Missionary.

But, says the Reviewer, " Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy; and that concealment was calculated to produce, and *did produce*, consequences which were most injurious." Now, the details given above must satisfy every unprejudiced mind that Mr. Smith was not cognisant of the existence of any traitorous conspiracy, and therefore that he could not have been guilty of concealing it; moreover that his concealment, even had he been guilty of it, could not have produced, in the circumstances of the case, any injurious consequences; and that whatever blame, on any view of the case, may have attached to him, attached in a much higher degree to many others,—to Captain Spencer, for example, and even to the Governor himself. The real solution of all the injustice and oppression of which Mr Smith was the innocent victim, is to be found, there is too much ground to fear, in the fact of his having been a faithful and zealous Minister of the Gospel of Christ.

The Quarterly Reviewer cites as an instance of " the headlong impetuosity" with which some men " hurry on towards a favourite point," a Resolution proposed at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to the following effect:—

" That in the opinion of this meeting, the bondage in which 800,000 of their fellow-subjects are held, is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and justice," &c.

In reply to the propositions announced in this Resolution, the Reviewer quotes a passage from Mr. Canning's speech of the 15th of May 1823, on Mr. Buxton's motion. This speech, however, does not contain one syllable which goes to deny that slavery is contrary to good policy, and a violation of humanity and justice. Mr. Canning would be wholly incapable of any such denial. He does, indeed, deny the propriety of assenting to Mr. Buxton's Resolution, that "the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and the Christian Religion." But in the same breath he affirms, and the Reviewer quotes him as affirming, that "assuredly no Christian will deny that the *spirit* of the Christian religion is *hostile* to slavery." Now, the Resolution of the Anti-Slavery meeting is still more moderate than this proposition of Mr. Canning. It does not go so far as to affirm, with him, "that the spirit of Christianity is hostile to *slavery*"—though that is a demonstrable truth. It only affirms that "THE bondage," the particular species of slavery existing in our colonies, "is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity." If the major proposition affirmed by Mr. Canning be true, that "the spirit of the Christian religion is hostile to slavery," to slavery in the abstract, to slavery in all its modes; then, *à fortiori*, may the Anti-Slavery Society be allowed, without rebuke, to affirm the minor, that that worst species of slavery which has ever afflicted humanity, the colonial bondage imposed by enlightened and Christian states on the wretched sons of Africa, is *repugnant* to the *spirit* of our pure and holy and beneficent Religion. Does the Reviewer mean to dispute the truth of the proposition? Then is he directly at issue with Mr. Canning. Or, admitting its truth, does he mean to deny that it follows as a corollary, that we are bound to labour "with zeal, activity, and perseverance," in putting a period to this state of oppression and suffering, and

wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character?" What is it in this declaration to which the Reviewer objects? He may object, and doubtless he does object, to the institution of an Anti-Slavery Society at all. But such a Society being instituted, does he mean to say that it ought not plainly and unequivocally to avow its principles and its objects? Even if we could suppose that these were not at the present moment in strict accordance with the sentiments of the majority in Parliament, is that a reason for disguising them? Would the abolition of the Slave Trade ever have been accomplished, if those who conducted that great conflict had not continued to proclaim, in opposition to repeated decisions of Parliament, that that trade was a shameless outrage on the laws of God, and a monstrous violation of every principle of humanity and justice? Let the champions in the present conflict follow that bright example, and not be deterred from occupying the same lofty and unassailable ground, by the sneers of the Quarterly Reviewer, or by the bitterest sarcasms of parliamentary debaters.

But the Reviewer, lending himself to the views of the West-Indian party, invidiously assumes, without the slightest pretence to any authority for so doing, nay, in direct opposition to all their declarations both in and out of Parliament, that the members of the Anti-Slavery Society are disposed to remove the evil of colonial bondage, "without the necessary precautions;" and he implores them not "to blend their passions and their prejudices with their benevolence," but to listen to the warning voice which would urge them to proceed "gradually and cautiously."

The best reply to this truly West-Indian tirade will be found in the following extracts from two publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, which are recommended to the candid consideration of the Reviewer.

The first extract is taken from the Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, recently published, pp. 21—23, and is as follows :—

"What measures his Majesty's Government will adopt in case of that continued resistance which your Committee anticipate on the part of the Colonists, it remains to be seen. In the mean time, their language implies that they mean to wait in the expectation of soon finding in the Assemblies a more respectful and complying disposition.

"The Committee will most sincerely rejoice should this expectation be realised. The condemnation, however, of the benevolent purposes of Government, continues to be too loud and indignant to justify the hope of the early and effectual co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. And let it not be forgotten, that the delay thus produced, to the length of which there is no express limit, is of itself a great evil. Beside the dangers to be apprehended from suspense and agitation, the nation contracts additional guilt by the unnecessary postponement of those reforms, the moral obligation of which has been unequivocally admitted. The delay is also a real calamity to the great mass of the slave population. Your Committee can discover no good reason for withholding from the slaves in the other islands the same alleviations, at the least, which have been granted to those in Trinidad. They can see no good reason, for instance, why women should still continue liable to be shamelessly exposed and flogged in Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c.; why the driving whip should be still employed *there*; why marriage should still be without any legal sanction in *these* colonies; why facilities should not be given *there* also to manumissions; and why the exclusion of the evidence of slaves should continue to be upheld *there* in all its rigour, making it confessedly impossible to give to apparently protecting laws their just effect.

"The friends of Colonial Reform are accused of impa-

tience and precipitation. They are told that an evil which is the growth of ages, cannot be cured in an hour; and that the termination of slavery, in order to be safe, must be very slowly progressive.

"But admitting this proposition, the duty is so much the more urgent to commence the necessary work without delay; and it has not even been pretended that what may be safely done in Trinidad or Berbice, is altogether unsafe in St. Vincent's, Barbadoes, or Jamaica.

"The argument for delay, which has been drawn from the alleged inveteracy and antiquity of the evil to be cured, appears, however, to your Committee to have no force whatever when applied to the case of infant or unborn slaves, or even to colonies of recent formation. What, indeed, in the oldest colonies constitutes the obstacle to emancipation, but the effects produced by the habits of slavery on the character of the individual who has been long subjected to it? To prepare the slaves for the proper use of freedom, is not more difficult because slavery has existed for ages, than if it had first begun at their birth. It is idle, therefore, to talk of slavery being an ancient institution, or of its having been known in all ages and countries, as if these circumstances augmented the difficulties or the necessary delays of its termination in the colonies of Great Britain. So to reason against those who chiefly aim at the freedom of the rising generation, and of children yet unborn, is altogether irrelevant and misplaced. If there really exist any evils for the cure of which a single generation is not sufficient, let them be pointed out; and in the mean time be it recollected, that the difficulty of curing a moral malady, when inveterate, is clearly the strongest argument, not for delay, but for speed in checking its further progression."

The remaining extract is from the Appendix to the

"Substance of the Debate" on Mr. Buxton's motion, pp. 141—145.

"We freely admit," says the Committee, "that the progress has usually been slow by which a whole people have been raised from barbarism to civilization, or from a state of slavery to the enjoyment of liberty. But the great cause of this has been, that the Government, as well as the superior classes, have been, in their degree, as barbarous and uncivilized as the mass of the people. In the dark ages, all classes were sunk in one common abyss of barbarism: there are, therefore, no points of resemblance between the state of Europe at that time, and the situation of the colonies of Great Britain at the present moment, on which to found any fair analogy. The governors were then altogether indisposed, and to the full as incapable as the governed to promote the progress either of civil freedom or religious light. In the present day, at least in this country, the governors are in widely different circumstances. Living in the full blaze of light themselves, they have the means of reflecting the rays of that light on their dependents. Enjoying and appreciating themselves the blessings of freedom, they fully admit also the right which every British subject possesses to protection from injury, and to a participation in their own civil and religious advantages. What, then, has hitherto withheld them from imparting these blessings to the Negro population in our colonies? It will be said in reply, that the slaves were so unprepared for liberty that to have given it to them would have tended to their injury, and not to their benefit. Be it so. But still was it necessary that they should be chattels; that they should continue to be bought and sold; that they should have no rights of property, no marriage, no Sabbath, no moral culture, no education; that they should remain in the class of mere

animals; that they should, like them, be driven by the lash, and bereft of all motive for exertion but the base and servile one of bodily fear? Slow, indeed, must have been their progress while such a state of things was prolonged.

"The progress of civilization and of freedom, it is alleged, must necessarily be slow in order to be safe. Certainly we are not anxious to precipitate matters, so as to endanger the public safety. But what will be said by those who look to the middle ages for the analogies which are to defend the slow progress of West-Indian improvement, to that more apposite exemplification of what may be safely and beneficially effected for the advancement of the Negro race, which is furnished by the colony of Sierra Leone? There, 15,000 individuals have been raised from the lowest conceivable state of degradation and wretchedness—from the chains, and nakedness, and brutality; the filth, and ordure, and stench of a slave-ship—to the state of men, of free citizens, of voluntary agents, living by their own exertions, and as fully protected by law in their rights of person and property, as the inhabitants of Great Britain itself. Are not these the very men of whom West-Indian slaves are made?

"Now the slaves in the West Indies are either more or less advanced towards civilization than the wretched beings thus drawn from the holds of slave-ships. If they are *more* advanced, then why the comparatively slow progress in civilization and freedom which they are fated to make on the western side of the Atlantic? If *less* advanced, what does this prove, but the baleful influence of our whole system of colonial bondage?

"The progress (say the West-Indians) is necessarily slow from barbarism to civilization. If this be so, it surely is the worst plea in the world for perpetuating institutions directly tending to barbarise, or for imposing barbarism needlessly and gratuitously on any individual. Even if,

for the sake of argument, we should allow it to be a valid reason for leaving the existing race of slaves, until death come to their relief, in the state of barbarism which our cruel institutions have entailed upon them, still it can be no reason for reducing more of them to the same state. It can be no reason for subjecting the yet unborn infant, when born, to the same deleterious process of first barbarising and brutifying him by slavery, and then trying to train him and his posterity for a freedom to be given them at some undefined period, when they shall be pronounced fit for it. Surely the more rational and Christian-like plan would be, to begin to fit them to be the free subjects of a free state from their very birth. Why, then, this preposterous reference to the middle ages, in order to supply a plausible pretext for divesting ourselves of the solemn obligations we are under to every infant born within the British Colonies, to educate him to be a member of a free and Christian community?"

The numerous instances of misrepresentation detected in the Sixtieth Number of the Quarterly Review, have led to a closer view of the article on the same subject which appeared in the Fifty-eighth Number, and in which the Reviewer opened his formidable attack on the advocates of the African race. Fully to expose the fallacy of the statements contained in that article, would occupy too much space. A very few observations upon it must suffice.

1. The unfairness of the Reviewer is remarkably manifested in the observations which he makes on Mr. Wilberforce's *Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves.* This work, he observes, "is made up in a great measure of general allegation, and must, in plain terms, be pronounced almost equally defective in correctness of reasoning and moderation of language." "What other opinion can be expressed on such assertions as (page 31), that the '*Negroes in our*

colonies are inferior to the savages of Africa!' or (p. 42) that *'it is a rule with the colonial Legislature* to discourage manumission by exorbitant fines.' West-Indian planters are in the habit of maintaining that their Negroes enjoy even a larger share of comfort than the labouring class in Europe; an assertion which is in part correct, in part otherwise; but Mr. Wilberforce, instead of treating it in that qualified manner, and shewing in a few plain sentences that no enjoyment of physical comfort can counterbalance the absence of civil rights, declares abruptly 'that the proposition is monstrous, and implies a total insensibility to the native feelings and moral dignity of man.'"—Q. R. No. 58, p. 479.

The Reviewer in the above passage professes, by his inverted commas, to give us three quotations from Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet. The two first are not to be found in it; the last is unfairly perverted from its object. The Reviewer charges Mr. Wilberforce with incorrectness and intemperance, for stating at his 31st page (corresponding with the 23d of subsequent editions) that the "Negroes in our colonies are inferior to the savages of Africa." The words are not to be found in the pamphlet; nor do they even fairly express Mr. Wilberforce's meaning. What he actually says is this: "However humiliating the statement must be to that Legislature which exercises its superintendency over every part of the British Empire, it is nevertheless true, that low *in point of morals* as the Africans may have been in their own country, their descendants, who have never seen the continent of Africa, but who are sprung from those who, for several successive generations, have been resident in the Christian colonies of Great Britain, are still lower." Mr. Wilberforce, it will be observed, confines his remark entirely to the *moral* condition of the slaves. And what is the statement of the Reviewer himself on this subject? He calls it (p. 505)

" the weak side of the question as regards the West-Indian planters;" and adds, " the religious instruction of the Negroes, has hitherto made very little progress, or, to speak plainly, has been *wholly overlooked* until of late years." And yet, all this notwithstanding, Mr. Wilberforce is, according to him, incorrect and intemperate, for asserting what is substantially his own statement, and although that gentleman supports his assertion by the very best authorities, whom the Reviewer, in the eagerness of his censure, entirely overlooks.

2. The next instance of unfairness is, if possible, still more palpable. Mr. Wilberforce is represented as incorrectly and intemperately asserting (p. 42, corresponding with p. 31 of subsequent editions), that " it is *a rule* with the Colonial Legislature to discourage manumissions by exorbitant fines." What the Reviewer may mean by the Colonial *Legislature* is not very clear. He may intend the word to be read in the plural; for otherwise, in the very letter as well as the spirit of the passage, there lurks a fallacy. Mr. Wilberforce uses no such words, nor any words resembling them, either in sound or sense. What he does say is as follows:—" But the case (with respect to meliorating laws) *in several of the islands is still more opprobrious. New laws have been passed, which, so far* from even exhibiting any shew of a wish to alleviate the pressure of the yoke of slavery, have rendered it more dreadfully galling, and less tolerable, because even more than before hopeless. The individual manumission of slaves by their masters, which has been provided for with so much sound policy as well as true humanity, by the laws in force, in the Spanish colonies, and has there been found productive of such happy effects—those individual manumissions which, while slavery prevailed here, the English law assiduously encouraged and promoted, have been cruelly restrained. They were long since, *in one or two*

of our islands, subjected to discouraging regulations; but were, in most of our colonies, wholly unrestrained till within the last thirty years. Can it be conceived possible, that, even since the mitigation of slavery was recommended from the Throne, in consequence of addresses from Parliament, *several* of the Colonial Legislatures have, for the first time, imposed, and others have greatly augmented, the fines to be paid into their treasuries on the enfranchising of slaves, so that in some colonies they amount nearly to an entire prohibition? Such acts may be truly said to be more unjust in their principle, and more cruel and dangerous in their effects, than almost any other part of the dreadful code of West-India legislation."

For a proof of the accuracy of Mr. Wilberforce's representations on this point, at the time they were written, the reader, and particularly the Reviewer, may be referred to the Appendix to the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion, pp. 184—193.

3. Mr. Wilberforce had expressed himself shocked that the West-Indians should have asserted, that "the Negro slaves are as well or better off than our British peasantry" —"a proposition," he adds, "so monstrous, that nothing can possibly exhibit in a stronger light the extreme force of the prejudices which must exist in the minds of its asserters. A Briton to compare the state of a West-Indian slave with that of an English freeman, and to give the former the preference! It is to imply an utter insensibility to the native feelings and moral dignity of man, no less than of the rights of Englishmen!! I will not condescend to argue this question, *as I might*, on the ground of comparative feeding, and clothing, and lodging, and medical attendance. Are these the only claims, are these the chief privileges, of a rational and immortal being?"—And so on, for two pages more, in a strain of eloquence peculiarly his own. And what says the Reviewer to all this? He first

mis-states the proposition of his author, and then blames him for not doing what he actually has done; that is to say, for not shewing "that no enjoyment of physical comfort can counterbalance the absence of civil rights;" whereas, what Mr. Wilberforce actually does shew is, that even if the physical comforts of the slave were superior, *which he denies*, to that of the freeman, he falls so far below him in civil, moral, domestic, and religious advantages, as to take away all ground of comparison. As for the insinuation of the Reviewer, that the whip-galled, branded chattel, called a slave in the West Indies, possesses a superiority of physical comfort to the British peasant, it is in harmony with many other insinuations equally fallacious and unfounded. He must needs even accuse Mr. Wilberforce of "abruptness," although in his small work he gives three pages to this single point!

4. But Mr. Wilberforce is charged with being incorrect in his reasoning, and also, it is insinuated, in his assertions. It will be difficult, however, for the Reviewer to point out one material proposition in Mr. Wilberforce's pamphlet, which is not capable of the most satisfactory proof. But the declared object of that pamphlet was not to reason out the case, or to prove it; but to make known to the world the author's settled convictions on the subject. After having been engaged for thirty-six years in investigating the subject of Colonial Slavery, he might fairly consider himself entitled to state to the public the general result of his long and painful inquiries, so as to leave with them, before he quitted the stage of life, and after the most full and dispassionate review and comparison of all the testimony, whether favourable or adverse, which it was in his power to make, his solemn, deliberate, and as it were his dying testimony respecting the nature and effects of that most vicious institution. No one now questions that the opinions promulgated by Mr. Wilberforce thirty-five years

ago on the subject of the Slave Trade, were correct, and in the strictest agreement with the voluminous evidence which had been collected on that subject. The truth of those opinions was at first, however, disputed. He was assailed on account of them with far more fierceness by the Reviewers of that day, than he has been assailed for his opinions on slavery by the Reviewers of the present. He was, moreover, opposed in Parliament far more generally and effectually in his attempt to abolish the Slave Trade, than in that he is now making to abolish Slavery. Falsehood, exaggeration, intemperance, fanaticism, were all then charged upon him in terms far more unmeasured than are now thought decorous, at least on this side of the Atlantic. Journals raged, Pamphleteers abused, Government frowned, and Senators sneered, or coughed, and refused to listen. But every fact which from the first he had asserted, and every principle which from the first he had maintained, were at length recognised by Parliament, as they had long before been by the bulk of the people; and the doom of that accursed traffic was for ever sealed. Is there not then a presumption, a strong presumption—nay, a presumption amounting almost to proof—that his conclusions on the kindred subject of slavery, formed early in life, and matured by successive discussions, and by the growing experience and testimony of upwards of thirty added years, cannot be very erroneous? Is it not probable that they have the same solid basis of fact and principle on which to rest, which had previously secured the final triumph of his conflict with the Slave Trade? And when he comes forward and tells the country, on the faith of an honest man, that he has examined, investigated, and compared the facts of the case, and carefully weighed the conflicting evidence, neglecting no means within his reach, of ascertaining the truth, will he not be considered as having a strong title to be heard with respect, and reverence, and attention? This

is what Mr. Wilberforce has done, and what the Reviewer seems to condemn him for having done. But what has been the conduct of the Reviewer himself? He, a nameless writer, very respectable without doubt, but having no knowledge of the subject himself, and deriving his information from interested parties, thus concludes a long exposition respecting the treatment of the slaves (p. 494): "After this enumeration of facts and argument, is it too much to ask, whether the statements given to the public and to Parliament, by the advocates of abolition, are not *fundamentally erroneous*?" It certainly is a little too much; for what are the facts and arguments on which the Reviewer builds his claim to credit, and his sweeping anathema on the statements of his opponents? First, a scrap of a letter from Sir R. Woodford, and from two nameless clergymen; who, in fact, prove nothing by attempting to prove too much—Sir R. Woodford stating, what it is most certain he cannot prove, that he has known "Negroes continue slaves, rather than, with ample means, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it;" and the clergymen telling us that they view the temporal state of the Negroes "*with complete satisfaction.*"—Complete satisfaction!!! Who are these clergymen? Are they slaveholders themselves? For all that the Reviewer says besides, on the subject of the treatment of the slaves, what proof does he adduce beyond his own *ipse dixit?* Not one. For no one will say that the scrap of a letter from an "*intelligent* planter," or from an "*experienced* planter;" or a reference to the report of three or four planters of Jamaica, formed into a Committee; or of two or three Tobago slaveholders (and these are literally the whole of the witnesses he adduces to support what he calls his facts and argument); no one will say that this is proof, or any thing approaching to proof. It is absolute fudge! The Reviewer has been most grossly imposed upon

There is scarcely one perfectly correct statement from the beginning to the end of his delineation. He has confidently affirmed what he cannot himself have known to be true, and what he most certainly has not proved to be true.

It would be a mere waste of time to dwell on the Reviewer's extraordinary discovery, that the only difference (a difference very slight, it would appear, in his estimation) between slavery in Jamaica and freedom in England, is, that in the former the labourer is paid by "*maintenance*," and in the latter by "*wages*." In one sense this is true; and it is undoubtedly one of the circumstances which degrade the Negro to the level of the brute. What is the difference, it may be asked, between the farmer's cart-horse and his labourer? It is only that the one is remunerated by *maintenance*, and the other by *wages*. And it is the *Quarterly Review*, our grand instructor in sound views of political economy, who propounds this absurdity in favour of Negro slavery, with all the confidence with which he would advance the most undisputed political axiom!—But it is time to conclude. The object of these pages will be accomplished, if they should tend to weaken the authority of the *Quarterly Review* on colonial questions; and especially if they should shew how materially it differs on such questions from the Government. And this seems the more necessary, because it has been generally supposed that that journal was set on foot, and has been conducted, by men politically connected with his Majesty's Ministers, and who may, therefore, be considered as speaking their sentiments on subjects of foreign or domestic policy.

APPENDIX.

THIS Appendix is intended to contain a few memoranda, which could not be conveniently introduced into the notes, on the subject both of the free Black and Coloured, and of the Slave population of the West Indies.

I. And, first, a few words more respecting the Nottinghams. Samuel Nottingham's original deed of manumission is dated in June 1776. He then lived at Long Island, in the province of New York. Owing, probably, to the war which existed at that time between Great Britain and her Colonies, eight years passed before the deed was transmitted to Tortola. It was enrolled in the Roll-office of the state of Pennsylvania, on the 28th of April, 1784; and it was not recorded at Tortola until the 15th of July, 1784. The deed itself is thus superscribed:

"Tortola, July the 15th, 1784, Recorded in the Registrar's office, to and for the Virgin islands, in lib. B, folio 76, 77, 78, 79, and examined by George Leonard, Registrar."

It does not clearly appear how soon after the transmission of the above deed to Tortola, the slaves of Mr. Nottingham were put in possesion of their freedom. A farther deed, however, appears to have been necessary, to give validity to the former. This deed bears date at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, on the 3d of October 1789, and purports to be that of Hannah Abbott, the sister, and residuary legatee of Samuel Nottingham, and the executrix (in conjunction with Henry Gandy, of Bristol) of his last will and testament; in which deed she conveys and confirms "to the late servants" of her deceased brother a plantation called Longlook. This deed is superscribed as follows:—

"Tortola, 16th June, 1790. Recorded in the Register-office of and for the Virgin Islands, in lib F, folios 109, 110, and 111 and examined by Mark Dyer, Deputy Registrar."

In both these deeds, the number and names of the Negroes who were the objects of them, are specified. In that which was executed in 1776, but not enrolled till 1784, the number is twenty-six; but in that which was enrolled in 1790, fourteen years later than the date of the manumission, the number is stated as only twenty. In the interval, therefore, between 1776 and 1790, during at least eight or nine years of which the Nottinghams continued in a state of slavery in the hands of agents, their number appears to have been reduced from twenty-six to twenty, being above the average rate of decrease among the slaves of Tortola at that period. But from whatever cause this decrease may have proceeded, it would seem, from the deed of Hannah Abbott, that in 1790 the Nottinghams were only twenty in number—viz. eight males, and twelve females. In 1823, however, the number which had sprung from these twelve females, including such of the original stock as were yet alive, amounted to forty-four. The increase, therefore, had been at the rate of 120 per cent. in thirty-three years.

II. With this statement, let us contrast what has taken place among the slave population of Tortola in the same time.

In 1788 the slave population of that island amounted, according to the Privy-Council Report, to 9000. From the returns made to the House of Commons in subsequent years*, it appears, that from 1790 to 1806, 1009 slaves had been imported into that island from Africa, and retained in it. The imports from 1790 to 1796 are wanting. Taking, however, the number imported to be no more than the returns actually made specify, namely, 1009, the whole number to be accounted for will be 10,009. But in 1822, when the last census was taken, the slave population amounted only to 6478, being a decrease, in 34 years, of 3531, from which the manumissions which have taken place in that time, amounting to 304, are to be deducted †. And let it not be imagined, that this ratio of decrease is a diminishing ratio. On the contrary, the decrease in the four

* See papers ordered to be printed on 18th March 1790, 19th May 1802, and 2d and 16th July 1806.

† See papers ordered to be printed 4th March 1823. p. 114.

years from 1818 to 1822, has been in full as high a proportion; as will appear on a reference to the returns of the registry of slaves in that island, made by Mr. Richard King, the Registrar. According to these returns, the slave population in 1818 amounted to 6815. But the slaves belonging to two estates—namely, those of the deceased Arthur Hodge, amounting in 1822 to thirty-nine, and those of Mrs. Simpson, amounting to forty-seven, having been omitted, the number ought to have been 6901.

In 1822 the total number in the island proved to be only 6478, leaving a deficiency in four years of 423. The number of manumissions, however, in these four years having amounted to 101, the real deficiency is so much less—namely, 322; making a decrease of upwards of four and a half per cent. in that time.

This, however, is only the average decrease. If the returns of particular estates are examined, the mortality will be found to be much greater. To take a few instances—

1. On the estates of the late Mrs. Ruth Lettsom, on which, in 1796, there is said to have been 1120 slaves, the number is stated in the Registry of 1818 to be 708, but in that of 1822 only 641. Here we have a decrease in four years (one slave having been manumitted) of sixty-six; being nearly nine and a half per cent. in that time, or two three-eights per cent. per annum.

2. In 1818 Richard Hetherington possessed 458 slaves. This number in 1822 had been reduced to 404, being a decrease in four years (one having been manumitted) of fifty-three slaves, or upwards of eleven and a half per cent. in that time, or nearly three per cent. per annum.

3. In 1818 Thomasson and Thornton possessed 145 slaves. These in 1822 were reduced to 125; a decrease of twenty, or nearly fourteen per cent. in four years, or three and a half per cent. per annum.

4. On the estate of Archdeacon Wynne in 1818 there were 121 slaves, the remains, it is said, of a gang much more numerous: but in 1822 they had decreased to eighty-nine; a decrease of thirty-two, or of nearly twenty-seven per cent. in that time, being at the rate of six and three-quarters per cent. per annum.

As the result in this last case is particularly disastrous, it

may be useful to examine it. The venerable Archdeacon who is the owner of these slaves, resides in Ireland, and has never visited the West Indies. His estate, therefore, has been managed by agents, to whom he is said to have uniformly conveyed the most anxious instructions, to consult the well-being and comfort of his slaves. At the same time he is said to have derived little or no profit, for many years, from this distant possession. How happens it that the mortality on this gentleman's estate should have been proceeding at so frightful a rate? One cause is, he has been non-resident. He has been under the necessity of seeing and hearing through the eyes and ears of others; who may have been either wholly neglecting his injunctions, or abusing his delegated authority. This, at least, seems no unfair inference to be drawn from the facts of the case, as they appear on record. And if such are the effects of the slave system, even in Tortola, where, according to certain statistical returns, the slaves actually wallow in the abundance of all that can contribute to render them both the happiest and the richest peasantry in the world, what must the case be in other less favoured colonies? What security can any non-resident proprietor obtain that his affairs shall be more uprightly and humanely administered than those of Archdeacon Wynne have been? It is impossible to conceive an object of greater commiseration than this venerable clergyman. Is he not bound, however, by every consideration of justice and humanity, either to repair himself to Tortola, or to send some one thither in whom he can confide, to stay this waste of life among his slaves? How infinitely better would it have been in every point of view, if, twenty or thirty years ago, when his slaves were far more numerous than at present, he had acted, with respect to them, as Samuel Nottingham did with respect to his slaves! Had he even parcelled his estate among them, only requiring of them in return a trifling rent, he might have been deriving some income from his property (now yielding little but misery and death); while the wretched slaves, instead of being reduced to perhaps one half their number, might by this time have doubled it; and might be now living in comfort, and drawing wealth from the fields which have proved an untimely grave to so many of them. Their benevolent proprietor, it is confidently believed, will feel, that in proportion to the delay which

has occurred in adopting some such course, is the strength of the obligation which now lies upon him, to take instant measures for averting the further progress of this deathful system among those over whom his power is supreme and uncontrolled.

III. The following facts, deduced from the Registry of Tortola, will afford some proof of the growing prosperity of the free Black and Coloured population of that island, notwithstanding the unjust and degrading disabilities to which they are yet subject, and all the abuse poured out upon them.

In 1818 the number of free Black and Coloured persons who possessed slaves was eighty-one; the number of slaves owned by them being 546.

In 1822 the number of free Black and Coloured persons possessing slaves had increased to 120; while the slaves belonging to them, in consequence of some large bequests of this species of property, had more than trebled their number. In that year (1822) they amounted to 1766, being more than a fourth; indeed, now—since the deportation to Trinidad of a large body of Creole slaves, long rooted in the island, which has recently taken place—to nearly a third of the whole slave population.

IV. It has proved difficult to obtain a satisfactory account of the progress of population in Demerara. Partial statements have been published by the Registrar, accompanied by elaborate comments. But neither the statements nor the comments have served any useful purpose, beyond that of obscuring the facts of the case. The final result of the *last* census, as far as it is possible to deduce it from the confusion in which the subject has been involved, appears to be this.

In July 1821 the slave population of Demerara, according to the Registry, amounted to 77,376. A second census was completed in May 1823, three months prior to the insurrection, when the amount of the slave population proved to be only 74,418, exhibiting a decrease, in twenty-two months, of 2958. But this is not the whole decrease. Under the operation of that monstrous Act of Parliament, the fruit of private jobbing, passed in 1817, but now happily repealed, by which the planters of the Bahamas and Dominica were allowed to transport their slaves to the pestilential swamps and aggravated rigours

of Guiana, 1293 victims of that cruel policy appear to have been imported into Demerara in those twenty-two months. Adding these to 2958, the whole decrease will be 4251. What manumissions may have taken place in the interval does not appear. In fourteen years, from 1808 to 1821, the number of manumissions was 384, or twenty-seven and a half per annum. The number in these twenty-two months, if in the same proportion, would be fifty-one. The decrease, therefore, may be taken at 4200 in twenty-two months, being nearly five and a half per cent. in that time, or at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum. So much for Demerara*. Let us now turn to a still more important colony, Jamaica.

V. In 1749, according to Mr. Long, the Maroons of Jamaica, amounted by actual census to 660. In 1770, it appears by the Privy-Council Report, that they had increased to 885, an increase of one-third in twenty-one years. In 1782, Sir Archibald Campbell, then Governor of Jamaica, found them to be about 1200, having nearly doubled since 1749. In 1796 the Maroon war broke out, on the close of which upwards of 600 Maroons were transported to Nova Scotia, and thence to Sierra Leone; yet in 1810 the number remaining in the island amounted to 893. In 1816 they had increased, according to Mr. Stewart, to 1055; being an increase of eighteen per cent. in six years; and in 1821 the same gentleman computes their number at 1200, being an increase of fourteen per cent. in five years.

Now, it is frankly admitted by Mr. Bryan Edwards, and no change has taken place in that respect since his time, that no attempt whatever had been made by the legislature of Jamaica to civilize or to christianize these people. Neither a chapel nor a school has yet been erected for their benefit. Polygamy still prevails among them. They are the same ignorant, vicious, idolatrous, and brutal people their parents were when first brought from Africa. Such is the picture drawn of the Maroons by Mr. Edwards, himself a planter residing in Jamaica;

* In Demerara there is an excess of male slaves, over females, which would account for an inferior rate of increase in that colony than in the others; but will not account for the very great decrease which occurs there. There is, however, no such palliation in the case of Jamaica, Tortola, or any of the other colonies.

and yet the Maroons, because they are free, as we have seen, increase rapidly.

The slave codes of several of the North-American states, and particularly of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, are still more harsh and revolting than our own; and the prejudices there entertained against the African colour are, if possible, still more deep-rooted and inveterate than those of our own colonists; and yet, if we compare the *practical* results of the treatment of the slaves in the two cases, we shall be astonished at the difference.

In 1790 the slave population of the United States amounted, by the census, to 676,696. In 1820 it had risen to 1,531,431, being an increase of nearly 130 per cent. in thirty years.

We have already seen what a contrast the progress of the slave population in Tortola and Demerara forms to its progress in the United States. An actual decrease, indeed, is exhibited in all our colonies, excepting the Bahamas and Barbadoes. The decrease in our other West-India colonies during the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, appears to have exceeded 18,000.

The case of Jamaica, however, will supply a still more marked contrast.

In 1790 the slave population of Jamaica was above 250,000. Without any importations, this population, proceeding at the American rate of increase, ought in 1820 to have grown to 575,000. The actual population, however, in 1820 was only 340,000; exhibiting a deficiency, as compared with the United States, of 235,000 slaves in thirty years. But during these thirty years, or rather during the first eighteen of them, 89,000 slaves were imported into Jamaica from the coast of Africa, and retained in it. Without counting, therefore, on any natural increase from these importations, the number in the island in 1820 ought to have been 764,000, being 424,000 more than were actually to be found there in that year. Without calculating on any increase at all, either from the stock of 1790, or the subsequent importations, the number of slaves ought to be 439,000. The actual population in 1820 was 100,000 less. What a bill of mortality is here to be accounted for!

But let us take another view of the subject.

When Jamaica was captured in 1654, it contained 40,000 slaves. Had these been allowed to increase since that time,

at the rate of the slaves in the United States since 1790, they would now have amounted to upwards of four millions; or even if they had increased at the rate at which the Maroons, a part of their own body, have, when undisturbed, been increasing, they would now amount to three millions. But, besides this original stock of 40,000 slaves, there have been imported into and retained in Jamaica upwards of 800,000 Africans. Had these 840,000 slaves merely maintained their numbers, the slave population of Jamaica would be from two to three times as numerous as it is. But had they gone on increasing at the rate of slaves in the United States, or even at that of the Maroons in Jamaica itself, the population would now have been quite immense.

But if we comprehend in our estimate, not only Jamaica but the whole of our slave colonies, and review the progress of population in them all, since their first formation, how appalling would be the amount of human life, in fact of human sacrifice, which they have cost us, and which they are still costing us! And what have been the proximate causes of all this frightful accumulation of misery and death? Without all question, they have been, *severity of treatment*, *excess of labour*, and *scantiness of food*. No other causes can be assigned which are at all adequate to the production of such effects as we have been contemplating.

But can it be, many will doubtless exclaim, that the mortality which has so long been depopulating the West Indies, and which is still continuing its ravages, should have been caused in whole, or in part, by *scantiness of food*? Has not the Assembly of Jamaica declared, that one day's labour in that island will produce more food than twenty-five days could raise in Europe?* Has not Mr. Ellis assured us, that the means of subsistence in the West Indies, are abundantly sufficient for the wants of the slaves?† Has not Mr. Barham also told us ‡, that "the labour of a few days," "of a week," "supplies the Negro with food for the year?" And has not the

* In other words, twelve days' labour in Jamaica is equal to three hundred in Europe. See Report of the Jamaica Assembly in 1815.

† See his speech on the 15th May, 1823.

‡ See his pamphlet, pp. 16, 17.

Rev. Mr. Bridges, going beyond even these authorities, affirmed, that "want is unknown to the slaves" in the West-Indies; nay that the numerous free Black and Coloured population of Jamaica live, "without labour or means, upon the spontaneous productions of a grateful soil *alone?*" How then is it possible that the slaves can have suffered from scantiness of food?

It certainly seems scarcely possible, allowing these statements to be true, that such should have been the case; and yet such has most unquestionably been the case, as may be shewn by evidence that is incontestable.

1. In a report of the Assembly of Jamaica, dated November 12, 1788, and laid before Parliament, it is affirmed, that between the years 1780 and 1787, 15,000 slaves actually perished from want in Jamaica alone. And if so many actually perished, starved to death, what must have been the sufferings of the rest! The cause assigned for this dreadful mortality and wretchedness, was the destruction of the plantain trees by hurricanes. But after the first hurricane in 1780, how came the planters to trust to plantain trees, and not to plant yams, and eddoes, and cassada, and corn, articles which a few months would bring to maturity? Twelve days' labour in the year, at most, according to the same Assembly, would have secured abundance to the slaves. Why were these not bestowed, to prevent the recurrence of the same distress during the six succeeding years? And where, in the mean time, were all those spontaneous productions of a grateful soil which are now so abundant, according to Mr. Bridges, as to prove the sole dependence of the free Black and Coloured population?—It is a remarkable circumstance, that during the seven years of inanition and death, which pressed so heavily on the slaves of Jamaica, as actually to destroy 15,000 of them, we are not told that a single White or free person or Maroon perished, or even suffered greatly from hunger.

2. Again; we have in 1811, a petition of the Assembly of Jamaica, in which they allege, that from the low prices of their produce, though their crops of sugar are abundant, they are unable to afford their slaves the usual and necessary comforts in return for their toil. But could this have been the case, had they given them the brief time necessary to provide for their own subsistence? Nay, if we look at the petition of the same Assembly to his Majesty, at so recent a period as December

1822, we shall find the same language still more explicitly maintained. "It is to save," they say, "our labourers from *absolute want*, that we solicit the interposition of our sovereign?" But how was it possible, on their own shewing, that their slaves could be reduced to absolute want in a country where the labour of twelve days in the year would abundantly provide for their subsistence, unless their owners were to deprive them even of that scanty allowance of time? It is for the Assembly of Jamaica to reconcile these contradictions.

3. But let us look at the meliorating laws of the Leeward Islands, in confirmation of the fact that a want of food is often experienced by the slaves, notwithstanding the extraordinary facility of raising provisions admitted to exist there. The act of 1798 affirms in its preamble, that many persons had been prevented from supplying their slaves with food by the encumbered state of their property. But how could this possibly have been the case, had not the planters been so determinately bent on directing the whole labour of their slaves to sugar planting, that they would not substract from that pursuit even the twelve days' labour in the year which the Assembly of Jamaica declare to be sufficient to provide food for their slaves? And besides this, let us look to the weekly allowances ordered to be given to the slaves, by this very meliorating act, (avowedly an improvement of the existing system),—viz. nine pints (about seven pounds) of corn or beans or oatmeal, or eight pints of peas or wheat, or rye flour, or Indian corn-meal, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams. At the same time the weekly allowances given by law to the slaves in the Bahamas, where, there being no sugar estates, the labour is infinitely lighter than in the Leeward Islands, were as follows; sixteen pints of corn, or twenty-one pints of flour, or fourteen pints of rice or fifty-six pounds of yams, being about double those of the Leeward Islands. It will sufficiently shew the miserable deficiency of these last, to state, that they are only about half the allowances given to prisoners in the jails of England, and less than half of what the law of Jamaica allows, not to labourers in the field, but to persons confined in the prisons and workhouses of that island. The allowance to the prisoner in Jamaica is twenty-one pints of wheat flour a week; to the plantation slave in the Leeward Islands, it is eight pints a week.

4. The exclusive attention paid by the planters of the Leeward Islands to the cultivation of sugar, while provisions have been neglected, has produced, even recently, the most disastrous consequences. Absolute famine among the slaves was only averted two years ago, by drawing bills on the treasury to buy food for them. And yet, according to concurrent West-Indian evidence, the application of twelve days' labour in the year to the culture of provisions would have completely averted that calamity, and would have secured abundance to the starving slaves.

Let us now contemplate the facts detailed above. Let us consider the unexampled waste of human life, which the slavery of our colonies continues to produce; together with all the pain and wretchedness and anguish which such waste must necessarily occasion; and then say, whether on any view, not merely of common humanity and morality, but of the most selfish and sordid expediency, it is a system which ought to be tolerated by this country. And this consideration will press more forcibly on every mind not warped by a feeling of personal interest, when he recollects, that, putting the wholesale devastation of the system, with all the anguish and agonies it involves, wholly out of the question, it actually costs us more to maintain it than it would to extinguish it. The fee simple of all our slave colonies, fairly valued, would not require a larger annuity to purchase it than we now pay in the bounties and protecting duties which alone uphold slavery, and in the means of defence we furnish to the planters against the consequences of their own system. Will, then, the parliament and people of Great Britain suffer this system to continue? It is quite impossible. They will demand that the nuisance should be forthwith abated; and that it shall be finally, and at no very distant period, removed.

It has become the fashion to extol the abolition of the Slave Trade as an act of distinguished magnanimity on the part of Great Britain. Its horrors had made a deep impression on the public mind. All who pretend to a single spark of humanity, or a single feeling of justice, now concur in reprobating it. Even the West-Indians have of late been as loud as their neighbours in applauding the measure. And yet, what was there in the Slave Trade, that consummation of wickedness,

which has rendered it at length the common execration of mankind, that on a close inspection, may not be found to characterise the Negro Slavery of our European colonies? There were, doubtless, humane slave-traders residing in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, who would have shrunk from any deed of blood; who gave the strictest orders for the humane treatment of their living cargoes; and who pleaded those orders in defence and justification of their traffic. So we have now humane and benevolent planters residing in England, who issue admirable instructions to their agents, but who cannot by such powerless instruments stay the hand of brutal oppression, or arrest the tide of death which sweeps over their plantations. The evil is not to be cured by such means. The Parliament of England gave the word, and its African Slave-Trade was at once extinguished. The Parliament of Great Britain has only again to cause its voice to be decisively heard, and the guilty system of colonial bondage which pollutes the national character, and converts some of the fairest portions of the empire into a charnel house, will also cease ere long universally and for ever, and with perfect safety to all concerned.

It is plain, from the colonial journals, that by the resident planters, at least, the stir which has been made on the subject of Slavery, in this country, is regarded but as a periodical effervescence of ill-directed zeal, which will shortly subside and leave them, if they are but firm in their resistance, in the undisturbed possession of all their tremendous attributes. They conceive it to be the work of a few individuals, whom, if death should remove, or calumny should succeed in discrediting, the mass of the public would again sink into total apathy on the subject. They are wofully mistaken. They will find that from year to year, nay, from month to month, will the detestation of slavery, and the rooted resolve to extirpate it, become more intense and universal; and that the progress of this feeling will only be accelerated by colonial resistance, or even by undue procrastination. And as for the notion that the cause lives only in the life, or that it depends only on the estimation, of a few individuals, it is an utter delusion. If those who have hitherto mingled as leaders in the conflict were to be removed, it would be but the signal for numbers who have hitherto taken no prominent part, to press forward with new energy and ardour to

fight the battles and achieve the victory of humanity. No man who regards the signs of the times can doubt that the final doom of British Slavery must at length be sealed; and that the time is approaching, when not only every slave in his Majesty's colonies shall be free, but every freeman residing in them, whatever be his colour, shall be admitted to "a participation in those civil rights and privileges*" which are enjoyed by the *White* class of his Majesty's subjects.

But the proposal to repeal those bounties and protecting duties on West-Indian produce, by means of which colonial slavery is upheld, does not proceed from any hostility to the planters. It is to their system, and not to themselves, that hostility is felt. That the downfal of that system, and of the restrictive laws which alone maintain it, would prove beneficial even to the planters themselves, no one can doubt who believes that there is any truth in history, or any certainty in political science. "One obvious benefit," we use the words of a recent writer†; "One obvious benefit which would immediately accrue to the West-Indian cultivator would be, that he would be induced to withdraw his poor soil from sugar cultivation, and to retain in it only those of superior fertility. Inferior soils would be employed in the growth of other articles for which they were adapted, and only the best in that of sugar. The remunerating price of Sugar would thus be lowered. A forced cultivation must always be a hazardous and expensive process; and it can only be supported by a monopoly price both high and permanent.

"Again; the use of the plough has such obvious advantages, that, to a cursory observer, it is wonderful that it has not been generally adopted in West-Indian cultivation. If an English farmer was obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands that he required in harvest, he too might employ them with the spade and the hoe in turning up the soil, and might find less advantage from the plough. If the plough were brought into general use, and cattle were therefore more generally employed, the fertility of the soil, by means of a change of crops, of manuring, and good management, would be gradually improved instead of being, as now, continually deteriorated.

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* See Mr. Canning's resolutions.

† See "Inquiry respecting the Means of reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by free Labour," published by Hatchard, pp. 17, 18.

* "Various other suggestions present themselves. If, for example, the cultivation of provisions were made universally a first and paramount object;—if the women were relieved from the constant and oppressive drudgery of field labour, and allowed to give an adequate share of attention to their domestic concerns, as might easily be done were the plough in general use;—and if various other economical improvements which are obviously practicable were adopted; there can be no doubt that the state of things in the West Indies would rapidly and very greatly improve. The population would increase *, and their condition would gradually approach that of free labourers. The property of the planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his slaves, who would sink in value; but by his land, which would proportionably rise in value. His income would eventually be derived from a land-rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns; and he would then be able to compete in the sale of his produce with any other country in the world."

"On the whole, therefore, it is gratifying to reflect," adds this writer, that "the West-Indian planter would thus find the improvement of his own finances to arise from reforms, which would, at the same time, most effectually promote the happiness, and exalt the moral and social condition of his unhappy bondsmen."

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* As this sheet was going to press, the Author's general reasoning received a remarkable confirmation from the official returns of the population of Hayti, transmitted to this country by the Secretary of its Government, and published in the New Times of the 29th November, 1824. While the West-Indians have affirmed that that population has been diminishing, the fact turns out to be, that, notwithstanding a succession of sanguinary wars, from 1791 to 1807, it has undergone an astonishing increase. The census of 1824 gives 935,335 as the actual population. The regular troops are stated to be 45,620; and the national guards, 113,328.

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A

SPEEDY END TO SLAVERY

IN OUR

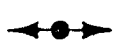
WEST INDIA COLONIES,

BY

Safe, Effectual, and Equitable Means,

FOR THE

BENEFIT OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.



"FIAT JUSTITIA."

BY T. S. WINN,

Formerly Resident in the West Indies:

Author of "EMANCIPATION; or, PRACTICAL ADVICE TO BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS; with Suggestions for the General Improvement of West India Affairs," to be had at the same Publishers.

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PREFACE.

In a Pamphlet published in February last year, entitled "Emancipation, or Practical Advice to British Slave-holders; with Suggestions for the General Improvement of West India Affairs," I chiefly pointed out the necessity and advantages of an Abolition of Slavery in our West India Colonies.—The principal object of the ensuing pages, is to propose a specific plan for that purpose; and to shew that, under certain Regulations, it may be effected at once and for ever, with safety, justice, and benefit to all parties concerned.—And if not done at once, it is not likely to be done at all, or not until the lapse of ages.—If so, then ought Slavery to longer exist in the British dominions?

1*st June*, 1825.

N. B.—The former Pamphlet was intended as, and will be found a necessary introduction and accompaniment to the present Work.

A Speedy End to Slavery.

IN a late pamphlet entitled "Emancipation, or Practical Advice to British Slave-holders," I have stated that "Slavery in our West Indies might safely and beneficially be Abolished at once and for ever, at least in name and odium, with many of its greatest evils, and ought to be done."—I there suggested measures in part of a plan for that purpose, and undertook to enter more fully on the subject in a supplementary work.—I here endeavor to fulfil that engagement.

It is now generally admitted by disinterested persons, that Slavery in any mode or degree ought not to be tolerated within the British dominions longer than it can well be got rid of—and that such is the nature of the system, as not to admit of any modification, so as to render it just or tolerable for permanent continuance, but only as a preparation for its total Abolition.—It follows, that the sooner and nearer we can safely bring slaves to the condition of freemen, and put an end to Slavery altogether, by the most eligible means for all parties concerned, this is the great desideratum—with such view let us consider

First,—What is best to be done respecting the present existing race of slaves.

Secondly,—As to their descendants henceforth born, or now under a certain age.

Thirdly,—Indemnification to Slave-owners.

The Abolitionists, I believe almost universally, have given up in hopeless despair the present existing race of slaves, as unfit subjects for general emancipation; and only aim at ameliorating their condition as slaves.—'Tis true they wish to allow them to purchase their freedom in whole or in part, whenever they can obtain enough by their earnings or otherwise, and chuse so to appropriate it—but this, though a favorite plan, and not without its advantages where it can be well effected, yet is it unjust in principle, and moreover, I believe, will be found nugatory in general practice.

That it is unjust in principle will appear, because the slave (and fairly) denies the right of his task-master to enslave him at all, and is entitled to his freedom without fee or reward; having been no party to the bargain of his own enslavement, effected against his will and deserts by force or fraud. Moreover, to compensation for the time he may have been unjustly deprived of this his natural right, bestowed on him by his Creator, and may claim the same indemnity for his wife and children.—The Slave-holder may well compound for henceforth ceasing from such injustice, if the injured party will allow him to escape for the past with impunity.—Is it just, is it a boon, to allow a slave his freedom, which is his right, on the sole condition that he pay his unjust detainer the price he values him at as his slave, so as to render it immaterial to the Slave-holder whether he retain the man or the money—why he would so dispose of the slave to any dealer in the market! is the injured party to have no other redress or advantage?—And even were the slave to pay for his redemption at an under valuation, however low, it would in principle be equally admitting the right of his oppressor to hold him in slavery.—As well might the holder of stolen goods refuse to make restitution to the rightful owner 'till indemnified by him in full

or in part for their worth.—No, no, West India proprietors have no claim, in any mode or degree, on their slaves for their supposed value as such, whatever they may have on the Government that has tolerated, and even encouraged, if not guarranteed their nefarious system—let them look to that quarter, if they must be paid for ceasing from oppression! and not meanly as unjustly further seek to work such compensation out of the bones and sinews of their poor slaves, whom they have already so long and deeply injured.—Thus is the scheme unjust in principle.

That it would prove nugatory in general practice I believe, because comparatively few slaves would be able, even if disposed, thus to purchase or work out their freedom—their time and strength being usually so much employed in their owner's service even if slaves should be allowed the *talked of* extra half day, besides Sundays, for their own use, and are otherwise so limited in their resources, that in most cases, even if industrious and prudent, they could not earn more on their own account than sufficient to provide necessaries for themselves and families not furnished by their owners, and keep their affairs in order, which at present they have not time or means to do—and female slaves generally would be still less able to work out or purchase their freedom—so that husbands thus effecting their own emancipation would also have to redeem their wives, or leave them in slavery—even supposing their children should be rendered free by other means.

Most slaves work for their owner six entire days of the week, exclusive of Sundays, for the nights of their labour during the crop season are at least equal to the Saturday afternoons, or 26 days in the year allowed by law to the slave for his own use, even if bona fide, he gets them, which is not always the case. And even on

Sundays he works at least *indirectly* for his task-master by cultivating his own provision ground to obtain food indispensably necessary for his subsistence as a slave, and for his family, not otherwise furnished by his obdurate owner; and is often set to do odd jobs about the estate on Sundays for the proprietor. Besides all this, is it expected he should work himself free by extra labour?—in most cases it would be found as impossible, even if allowed the talked of extra half day, as in all unjust and cruel.

N.B.—Planters in the old colonies say, "they cannot allow their slaves more leisure than at present, because of the general exhausted state of their soil."—So then, they first wear out their land by incessant crops of sugar, and other improvident management; and then make it an excuse for further exhaustion of their slaves!—Oh the mean and merciless rapacity of Slave-holders!—Alas, the poor slave must pay for all deficiences of his unsparing oppressor!

As for the fine told stories of slaves being able to amass and actually possessing hundreds of pounds individually, if any such instances can be produced, they must be extremely rare, and under very uncommon circumstances, though perhaps just enough to swear by, and answer the purpose of the advocates of Slavery, with their usual sophistry to argue from solitary exceptions, instead of general results.—At best most slaves, if favorably circumstanced, such as living and having their provision grounds near a market town, or being mechanics, &c. may be able to acquire small gains, which if carefully saved and accumulated beyond their current wants, could seldom amount to more than a few dollars—and many, certainly by far the greater part of the slave population, have not the means to this extent in their power.—As for a few head drivers, or other

peculiarly favoured slaves, they are merely exceptions to the general case.

In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, instances of slaves purchasing their own freedom are not uncommon, but there slaves are allowed much more leisure for themselves, are worked less, and otherwise better treated and provided for by their owners than, to our national disgrace, is the case in the British West Indies—where slaves generally would not be able to effect it, or not 'till an advanced age, after much overstrained toil and privation, when their proprietor would probably be glad to emancipate them gratuitously, in order to get rid of his own worn out slaves, and then what is to become of them?—but whether in early life or late, could slaves far more generally and easily, than probably would prove the case, be able to buy off their slavery, ought the savings of their care and industry at their little leisure thus to be wrung from them to satisfy the unjust demand, the mean and pitiless rapacity of their enslaver—and will they not want it themselves, especially to begin the world with, or provide for old age or infirmity—to say nothing of help for their families.

But Slave-holders, crafty, and rapacious to the last, would fain wind up as they have gone on, and when no longer allowed to continue their nefarious system, then as a finishing squeeze to their poor victims, would make them purchase their own personal carcasses, which they can no longer enslave, or elsewhere find a market to dispose of them; besides which, they pretty well know that few slaves comparatively would be able to buy off their thraldom, and thus the system in the main would be prolonged at least during the existing generation—and those few who could redeem themselves, must do it by giving them an equivalent, that too generally after the task-master has had the best of their days, then

would expect tribute from the children, retaining them 'till paid, so perhaps by their descendants—and the Abolitionists are in danger of being duped by such jockeying manœuvres—plausible as they may appear to persons without practical knowledge of the matter.

But, say the advocates for this plan, "consider the habits of order, industry, economy, &c. it would previously produce in slaves thus buying, or working out their freedom."—All this may be accomplished in at least an equal degree, with many more advantages, on a much juster principle, and greater certainty of effect, by other means which in due course I shall here propose, after the most mature deliberation, and clear conviction of their practicability, necessity, and advantage, beyond any plan that I know of, as far as existing circumstances will admit, for all necessary purposes.

First,—Let us consider the soundness of the supposed axiom—that the present race of slaves cannot be speedily and generally emancipated with safety and advantage to themselves and the white colonists.

Why were all slaves declared free at once and for ever? this could not add to their physical power—they would neither be more strong or more numerous than before.—Nor could it alter their mental or moral qualities, except for the better, improving their minds and manners, which under good government and treatment would render them orderly, useful, and content, and furnish them with motives for being so. The same power which now keeps them in subjection as an oppressed and consequently dissatisfied body of slaves, must surely prove sufficient (and much more likely with less occasions for its exertion) to render them at least as orderly and useful as freedmen under the government and protection of the Laws, their masters also endowed with all due power for every good and necessary pur-

pose, though not for evil, backed by the constituted authorities, to enforce justice between the parties.—If emancipated slaves, or others, break any Law, or authorized Regulation, they must abide the penalty and punishment provided, besides having other motives for good conduct and character.—This is found sufficient for government of the people, whether enlightened or not, in all well regulated communities.—Our Rulers do not trust to the wisdom or virtue of those under their subjection for keeping them in order, but to the laws, and power of enforcing obedience.

Nor need slaves declared free by a general Act be let loose on the community, but remain attached to the estate or establishment to which they belong at the time of their emancipation, at least for a certain period, and bound to serve their late owners as indentured servants for fair remuneration.—This has been the actual state of society in Hayti, not only during the last twenty years since its independence under a black government, but also for several years before in that Island, then St. Domingo, and the other slave settlements during the sovereignty of France, and possession of the white colonists.—And certainly our slaves of the present day, are far more enlightened and civilized than those, then mostly Africans, of the French colonies more than thirty years ago, on the declaration of their general freedom by the national government, which in 1792 was admitted and put into practice by the French West India proprietors.

These slaves in the French colonies were at once emancipated, without education or other preparation, and remained free for several successive years, obedient to the laws, attached to the estates, and working for the masters they formerly belonged to as slaves, and were as orderly, and useful, as during their previous state of Slavery.—More especially consider the state of Hayti

during the last thirty years; here too the immense slave population became free without preparation, and behold the progress they have made in knowledge, civilization, and prosperity, and their general habits of order and industry, though left to themselves without any White supremacy or superintendence; a disadvantage our West India colonies need not be subjected to.—See another practical instance at Sierra Leone, where the slaves were generally at once rendered free without preparation; are more numerous than the Whites in the proportion of 150 to 1—and containing, compared with our West India colonies, a much smaller admixture of coloured people, who under good treatment, are the natural allies of the Whites from consanguinity, mutual safety and interest, among a preponderating Negroe population.

Thus then, it is not indispensably necessary, and nothing short of the most imperious necessity could excuse it, that we should be guilty of the cruelty and injustice of dooming the present race to slavery during the whole of their lives, merely because they are not so well instructed on some points, as their descendants may hereafter be—and especially if, as I verily believe, and in the course of these pages endeavour to shew, that under existing circumstances, to put an end to Slavery *at once,* is the best, most likely, and probably only effectual means, ever to put an end to it at all in our West India colonies.

Although our adult slaves of the existing race may be too old for what may be termed scholastic education, yet not so for religious, moral, and other useful instruction; or the increase of knowledge by experience, observation, reflection, and communication with others more enlightened than themselves, especially with their children, and the rising generation generally, henceforth

to be better instructed—and as before observed, the slaves of the present day are far more knowing than those of former times—and let it never be lost sight of that the degree of knowledge and improved intellect our slaves have already attained, which must continue to increase, in spite of their masters, renders the attempt proportionately more dangerous for a few emaciated Whites to keep near a million of human beings in slavery and oppression, in such a country and climate as the West Indies. Let Slave-holders seriously reflect on the peril to themselves.

The slaves have already attained a degree of knowledge and civilization more than compatible with their condition as slaves, or for the safety of those who keep them in bondage; this must continue to go on—and requires and will admit of a different plan, especially of quicker operation, for general Emancipation, &c. than might have been practicable and necessary for past generations less enlightened, and chiefly imported from Africa.

Slave-holders have dexterously objected to the plan of rendering free all children henceforth born of slave parents "because," say they, "the parents would be dissatisfied at not being rendered free as well as their children," which proprietors will not allow.—This we admit would probably be the case, and that so far the argument stands good—but not to the farther extent Slave-holders artfully mean to use it, namely, as a sufficient excuse for not liberating either parents or children, which if once admitted might be always urged, and prove an effectual bar to general emancipation, until children can be born without parents—but it does prove more than intended (often the case with sophistical argument) namely, the necessity of liberating both parents and children.

Certainly to tell near a million of existing slaves, "ye

are born too soon ever to be free—slaves must ye live, slaves must ye die"—many of them in early life to look forward for many years of hopeless Slavery, to end only in the grave, is indeed enough, especially with their increased knowledge and civilization, to goad them to desperation.—'Tis in vain to tell them, "your children henceforth born may be free"—'tis an aggravation of their own hard fate—to make use of a homely saying, "near is my *shirt*, but nearer is my *skin*"—this sentiment particularly prevails with uneducated people—and 'tis among the evils of Slavery, to weaken even the strongest tie in nature, that of parental affection!—'Tis in vain to offer them freedom on the unjust and difficult, if not impossible terms of buying themselves — those comparatively few who might be able, may not chuse so to appropriate the fruit of their toil—at any rate, it ought not to be required of them.—Then too, are not the existing race of slaves as much entitled in justice and humanity to freedom as their unborn children? nay even more so, by the unjust sufferings they have already sustained—let this consideration weigh with the Government and Nation, whatever effect it may have with Slave-holders generally.—To liberate all slave children henceforth born, is certainly a good and equitable plan as far as it goes—but why not also render full justice to their more injured parents, as far as possibly compatible with the welfare of the latter, and the public good.—I shall further endeavor to shew that the Right may be accorded with as much safety and good policy, as justice and mercy.

I submit the following propositions as chiefly applicable to the present race of slaves above the age of say seven years at the time of their general adoption in practice—a different modification of the plan, which I shall also point out, will be necessary for their descen-

dants afterwards born, or at the time under the aforementioned age.

I.

Let all slaves be declared free and placed under the government and protection of just and necessary Laws framed in the first instance by joint commissioners appointed by the national and colonial governments, and finally ratified, with power to abrogate, alter or enact, retained by the King in council or parliament.

II.

Let resident commissioners be appointed, paid, and removable at pleasure, by the supreme government, as guardians to maintain the Rights of the negroes and people of colour in the colonies—such commissioners not to hold any other office, or engage in any pecuniary pursuit within the colony.

III.

Let all persons be endowed with sufficient power to enforce due order and obedience from their servants, backed by the constituted authorities, to which appeal may be made by either party.

IV.

Let all slaves of the present race above 7 years of age when freed by the Act, remain attached for life, if necessary, to the estate or establishment to which they belong at the time of their general emancipation, except in cases hereafter mentioned.

V.

Let all slaves aforesaid freed under the age of 34, continue to serve their late owner 'till they arrive at that period, receiving food, cloathing, and other necessaries prescribed by Law, without pecuniary wages.

VI.

Let all slaves aforementioned, above the age of 34, whether freed before or afterwards by passing the Act,

continue to serve their late owner, receiving necessary food, besides provision grounds, cloathing, and, if able bodied, wages in money.

VII.

All persons to take sufficient care of their sick and disabled servants, but to be released from paying them pecuniary wages during their disability—which may be stopped in certain cases proved of wilful idleness, refractoriness, or other misconduct, by award of the proper authorities.

VIII.

No persons to let out their servants for the use of others, without consent of their guardians, and certain other regulations.

IX.

Transfers of servants between a certain age may be allowed at the option of the master, provided the servant consents, and his constituted guardians approve, but not otherwise—of course, members of families must never be separated against their will, or any transfered beyond the colony.

X.

Servants above the age of 34 may be allowed, at certain periods, or notice, to transfer themselves to other eligible masters willing to receive them, with the consent of their then retaining principal, or approval of their guardians, and other proper authorities appointed to arbitrate between master and servant.

XI.

Servants above the age of 34, with good character and conduct, on satisfactorily shewing to the proper authorities that they can probably maintain themselves by their funds or resources, may at certain periods, be released from their servitude.—If such persons should afterwards be found in a state of destitution, if able

bodied, the constituted authorities may be empowered to provide and enforce employment on them—if disabled by age or infirmity, then to be maintained by the parish or district.

XII.

The constituted authorities may transfer servants, with assent of their guardians, to other masters, whenever their retaining employer cannot properly provide for them, or for other sufficient causes—and in cases of wilful mal-treatment, neglect, or certain other misconduct by the master, or his agent, may inflict a fine or other punishment on the principal or offender.

Now let us consider, article by article, the nature and effects of the foregoing propositions.

I. "Let all slaves be declared free, and placed under the government and protection of just and necessary Laws, framed in the first instance by joint commissioners appointed by the national and colonial governments, and finally ratified, with power to abrogate, alter or enact, retained by the King in council or parliament.

That all slaves may be declared at once and for ever free, with safety and advantage to all parties concerned; that good policy as well as justice renders the measure imperiously necessary, I have already endeavored to shew—and that placing them under the government and protection of the Law, the constituted authorities, and fair controul, instead of arbitrary will, of their masters, must prove sufficient for every just and necessary purpose—the *government* of the Law to restrain them from doing evil, and its *protection* to shield them from sustaining injury without redress:—Let a code of laws, with other regulations, institutions, and provisions, be formed for the government, protection, instruction, encouragement, &c. of the black and coloured people of all classes, suited to existing circumstances.—Respect-

ing the present race of Slaves aforesaid, though they may safely and advantageously be declared at once and for ever free, it is not expedient or prudent to admit them at once to *all* the full rights and privileges of men and citizens.—Let all necessary restraints be imposed, which may be relaxed hereafter as they or their descendants increase in knowledge, property, and civilization.—Let all the restrains even of the slave system be retained as far as necessary, but no farther, and the whole sanctioned and administered by fair and legal authorities.

Thus may the Slave system be at once abolished in name, odium, and greatest evils, yet all its power, with other aid, be still retained and exercised on juster principles, for every good and necessary purpose, though not for evil.—This in practical reality, is not a sudden or entire but only gradual Reformation, best suited to existing circumstances—much hereafter will remain to be done at proper times—though it is at once bringing our slaves as near to the condition of free subjects, as may be done with safety and advantage to themselves and others concerned—and founding the plan on a proper basis.

But it is most essential that the necessary measures, both in formation and practice, should not be left to the will and discretion of the white colonists, at least in their present state of prejudice and long continued habits acquired during the existence of Slavery—or this fatal error alone will render abortive all hopes of material Reform—though they ought to have a voice at least in proposing measures, and their experience, judgment, and fair interests duly attended to—but as a salutary balancing power let independent, impartial, and otherwise competent commissioners be appointed by the Crown to act for the benefit of all parties con-

cerned; and the supreme government exercise its right and power over its colonies to order and enforce whatever may be for the general good, and maintenance of equal justice among all its subjects without distinction of colour or condition:—who can doubt this Right, or shew 'tis infringing on the fair and admitted privileges of the colonies, for the Mother government to prevent one class from injuring others of the community, whether in England or any part of its domonions, equally under its controul.

Our West India Slave-holders have the assurance to clamour about their sacred rights and liberties, as Englishmen and British colonists—and pray what becomes of the sacred rights and liberties of their slaves, as Men and British subjects?—And will the English Government continue to allow one part to enslave another of its own people, and within its own territory? Monstrous!—and this our Colonists call their sacred rights and liberties, namely, to enslave their fellow creatures, and fellow subjects—matchless effrontery! to urge their *own* sacred rights and liberties, as the best plea for violating those of *others*.

II. "Let resident commissioners be appointed, paid, and removable at pleasure, by the supreme government, as guardians to maintain the rights of the negroes and people of colour in the colonies,—such commissioners not to hold any other office, or engage in any pecuniary pursuit within the colony."

The Spanish and Portuguese national governments, whatever may be their defects in other respects, have wisely and mercifully made and enforce many salutary regulations for the protection and benefit of the black and coloured people enslaved or free in their colonies, and also appointed guardians to maintain their rights—the practical consequence is, that these classes are

far more liberally treated, and Slavery itself rendered much less grievous, and emancipation much more easily obtained, than in the British settlements, with all our boasted justice and humanity—we have left the black and coloured people entirely to the uncontrouled will and power of the white colonists—by which the free are nearly as much oppressed, though differently, as are the slaves.—Such are the general and long continued prejudices, assumed superiority, and domineering habits, and too often otherwise the want of principle and feeling of the white colonists towards the negroes, and even lighter shades free or enslaved—that it will be as much necessary to guard the black and coloured people from oppression even under a system of general emancipation, at least in its early stages, as during the existence of slavery.

Let all laws, or other regulations and institutions for their government, protection, and benefit, originate with, or be sanctioned by the supreme government at home—but if it stop here, why even the most salutary ordinations may become mere nullities in practice, if their execution be left to the uncontroled will and discretion of the colonial governments and people. — It is this which renders them so tenacious of their arrogated right, privilege, or prescription, to legislate, regulate, and administer as to all internal affairs of their colony, at any rate, that they are the best qualified and most proper parties for the purpose—but if the Mother government concede these points either as of right, or by courtesy, or supposed expediency, or be content with a mere veto to any of their proposed measures, or retaining and exercising the right in full to legislate or ordain for its colonies, yet leave the execution of its decrees to the colonial constituted authorities, without sufficient controul, then will the colonists be

left to do as they please—and, among other consequences, never will the black and coloured people be effectually protected from injustice—and if general emancipation ever take place, which is not likely, under such a system, it will be merely nominal freedom, but real slavery and oppression.—The supreme government must not only ordain or approve of all measures affecting the negroes and people of colour, but also watch over and controul their current execution by its own power and agents.

Look at the Colonial Black Codes as they now stand, and passing by their many cruel and unjust, to a few more equitable and lenient enactments, passed of late years by the local legislatures, in consequence of the outcry at home against the enormities of their slave system—these read very plausibly on paper, but mostly were never intended, nor are they adopted or enforced in general practice.

Let independent competent persons be appointed by the Crown to reside in the colonies, and their duties clearly defined, as guardians to maintain the rights, and promote the welfare of the black and coloured people—and that equal law and justice may be administered to all parties without distinction of colour—let also commissioners be so appointed to judge and decide in cases between white, black, and coloured subjects—and in due time, hereafter, Courts may be established for this purpose, and juries admitted consisting of an equal number of persons of the same colour and station as the contending parties—and in all requisite cases, an Appeal may be made by either party to the King's government, or legal functionaries on the spot, or to the King in Council, or to Parliament.

III. "Let all persons be endowed with sufficient power to enforce due order and obedience from their

servants, backed by the constituted authorities, to which appeal may be made by either party."

Having already sufficiently expatiated on the points contained in this proposition, I shall not here enlarge on the subject—but only ask whether the provisions of this 3rd article are not enough for every good and necessary purpose?—though not for evil, hence the objections of Slave-holders.—And are not the working classes governed on the same principles in all well regulated communities?—Nor are the Negroes of the present day in the West Indies more ignorant or vicious than the lower orders in Europe for centuries—nor more numerous and physically powerful than the Whites, and their natural allies, under good treatment, the people of colour in our West India colonies, than are the lower, compared with the higher classes in most countries.—Nor are Negroes more than other people likely to rebel, except goaded to it by oppression.—However, take more nearly analogous cases—look at Seirra Leone, the Island of Hayti, and our territory in the East Indies.—And are not the Whites in our West Indies, in full possession of the government, local influence, and power, with nearly all the property real and personal, in the colonies, with superior knowledge, for knowledge is power;—and under the protection of the fleets, armies, and other resources of a mighty empire, the Mother country;—which might justly be employed in the support of order and good government for the public welfare—not as at present, enforcing an infamous system of Slavery.—Yet, let it be remembered, that the white colonists in St. Domingo, with full similar advantages, could no longer keep up their reign of oppression, or escape with impunity, when their slaves had resolved to be free, and avenge themselves on their tyrants.—Nor has all the power of France been able to recover the Colony.

IV. "Let all slaves of the present race above 7 years of age when freed by the Act, remain attached for life, if necessary, to the estate or establishment to which they belong at the time of their emancipation, except in cases hereafter mentioned."

The justice and necessity of this Regulation, with the exceptions that may be fairly admitted, I shall further in due course point out.

V. "Let all slaves aforesaid freed under the age of say thirty-four, continue to serve their late owner 'till they arrive at that period, receiving food, cloathing, and other necessaries prescribed by Law, without pecuniary wages."

'Tis true, that requiring slaves to work for their owner gratuitously up to the age of 34, or for any period, is thus far in fact admitting the principle of slaves working out their freedom by their services—but mark, not by extra labour wrung from scanty intervals of leisure after almost incessant toil for their task-master.—No, but only during the usual hours of labour allowed to their owner. This constitutes a vast difference.—And although in strict justice, the slave is not bound even thus far to pay for his freedom, yet *existing* circumstances render it expedient for all parties concerned—so it may be conceeded.

I propose that such emancipated slaves of the present race, should, until the age of 34, continue to serve their former owner on the same terms as during their Slavery, because it will afford about 20 years services in the prime of their life to remunerate their late owner for their supposed value as slaves—and it has been a usual calculation among Slave-holders, that with good times and management able bodied slaves will, in about seven years, have repaid by their services their owner's capital invested in them, principal and interest—but as this cal-

culation was current in the more prosperous state of West India affairs, so it may be said that under their present depression, it may be requisite to allow a longer term for that purpose. Well then, without here arguing the point, but admitting the gratuitous services of slaves up to the age of 34, may be reckoned a liberal arrangement for full indemnification of their owners in these times.—However that may be, it must go far towards it; and the deficit, if any, may be made good by other means, which in due course I shall suggest.—It also leaves such freed servants about 20 years more of their vigor to do the best they can for themselves under the advantage of receiving wages, &c. and will tend to render them contented with the certain prospect at a specific time of a material improvement in their condition—and also, at the mature age of 34, they will generally have attained sufficient experience and prudence to well conduct themselves—especially if in addition to the increased knowledge and civilization which the present race of slaves more than their predecessors have from various means and causes arrived at during the last 20 or 30 years, henceforth religious, moral, and other useful instruction be afforded them.

N. B.—The labour of slaves in our colonies is now rendered additionally valuable, by the prohibition of any further supply from Africa, their increased skill and intelligence, and being chiefly creoles (born in the country) are well seasoned to the climate, and habituated to their usual mode of life and occupation.

VI. "Let all slaves aforementioned above the age of 34, whether freed before or afterwards by passing the Act, continue to serve their late owner, receiving necessary food, besides provision grounds, cloathing, and, if able bodied, wages in money."

Let all such able bodied freed servants, arrived at the

age of 34, having been slaves, receive pecuniary wages for their services—this is not only strictly just, but must also prove reciprocally beneficial both for masters and servants, and will alone go far in doing away with the evil relicks of the slave system.—Servants will be content with being remunerated in the specific shape of *wages* at their own optional disposal, far more than even a much larger amount expended on them in any other mode.—'Tis a practical proof best suited to their capacity and feelings that they are thus far free agents justly dealt with, and left to do as they like with their earnings, and will best stimulate their exertions in their master's service, and to promote their own welfare.

The rate of wages in money, for slaves of the present race on attaining the age of 34, freed by the Act, and still attached to estates or other establishments (excepting those under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, on arriving at a certain maturity) may be very low—say for instance, clear of all deduction, 12 dollars a year to each able bodied man, and 8 to a woman—which might vary according to circumstances, but ought never to be below that clear amount.—Of course, it will also be requisite that masters should continue to furnish such freed servants of the present race of slaves attached to them, with besides provision grounds, certain indispensable articles of food, cloathing, &c. which they might not be sufficiently provident, or conveniently able to provide for themselves, even if they had the pecuniary means, and certainly the very low rate of wages here proposed would be quite inadequate to—or a higher amount of pecuniary wages might be given, and the fair value of necessaries furnished be deducted at stated times of settlement—but then such wages must be in proportion, so as to leave a sufficient surplus, and establish the principle of peculium at their

own disposal—or in other words, a part in necessaries, and a part in money as wages.

Freed servants of the above description belonging to cultivating land proprietors, ought to be allowed provision grounds attached to, or within a certain distance from their homesteads, and sufficient time for their cultivation.—Those belonging to persons not land proprietors, such as live in towns, mechanics, &c. or house servants of planters or other agriculturalists, must of course be furnished with sufficient food, or an equivalent, by their principal; and besides ordinary wages, a pecuniary allowance ought to be paid in lieu of provision grounds, which latter would not only furnish them with food for themselves and families, but also a surplus for market.

Mr. Bickell in his Work recently published, "The West Indies as they are," states that the present rate of hire for each ordinary able bodied slave labourer in Jamaica, is £20. currency, i. e. £14. 5s. 8¾d. sterling per annum, clear of all expense to the owner—and as a criterion that this is not an over estimation, persons hiring such slaves usually pay those terms for the use of them, and find them in all necessaries during the time of hire; those with handicraft trades, &c. are more valuable—but put it at only £15. currency, i. e. £10. 14s. 3¼d. sterling.—The rate of wages here proposed, 12 dollars a year to each able bodied man, and 8 to a woman, taking the women with the men, will average 10 dollars each—and reckoning the dollar at 4s. 6d. amounts to £2, 5s. leaving a clear profit to the master of £8. 9s. 3¼d. or taking Mr. Bickell's statement, £12. 0s. 8¾d. sterling per annum on each such slave or servant.

Yet probably they will not willingly consent to this trifling deduction of gain wrung from the sweat and toil of their unrequited slaves, although it might be expected that employers would be more than compensated by the

encreased zeal and exertions on their account of free, willing, and satisfied servants receiving wages for their labours—yet will planters and others pay £10. 14s. 3¼d. or according to Mr. Bickell £14. 5s. 8¾d. sterling a year to the owner for hire of such slave, and provide all necessaries, but would grudge paying £2. 5s. per annum in wages to the slave himself as a freed subject for the same services!—So much for West India policy and economy.

The low rate of pecuniary wages here proposed, is more with a view to establish the principle of remunerating in money such freed slaves aforementioned, than as a full equivalent for their services.—This will fall lightly on masters during the existence of most of the present race of slaves, and may prove sufficient for the latter, as their masters will still be bound to furnish them with necessaries as at present, and such servants may be able to acquire something extra for themselves by their own exertions, if allowed sufficient leisure and opportunity.—However, if the rate of wages here proposed be considered too low, even for those aforementioned of the present race of slaves, then a higher amount may be fixed upon.—The rising generation of the present race of slaves, under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, so freed, and all afterwards born, may, on arriving at a certain age, be left more to engage and provide for themselves; and will require and be entitled to higher wages in money, adequate to their services, and sufficient for their support.—All free black and coloured people now, or hereafter, at large in the community, not attached to any estate or master, or bound by any engagement, will of course, as at present, be left to make terms, and do the best they can for themselves.

N. B.—The aformentioned low rate of wages, is

chiefly in reference to *Agricultural Labourers* still to be attached to estates, for life if necessary, comprehending by far the greater part of the present slave population,—Mechanics, &c. of the same description, especially if people of colour, or belonging to persons not cultivating land proprietors, might be paid a higher amount, in proportion to their services, or allowed other advantages, according to circumstances.—Still might their pecuniary wages be very low, if such servants liable to be attached for life, be otherwise properly provided for by their masters.

If West India proprietors say "that such is the general distressed and deteriorated state of their affairs, as not to admit of paying any pecuniary wages or remuneration to servants, or otherwise adopting the regulations here proposed"—we reply, that besides the justice and good policy of fairly remunerating servants, the advantages West India proprietors would derive by paying them pecuniary wages, from willing and increased exertions in their service—the low rate that would be required, part of which might be deducted for necessaries now furnished to them gratuitously as slaves—and after all, proprietors *must* come to payment of wages (and the sooner the better) if Slavery is ever to be abolished, for they cannot expect that freed servants will be satisfied to work without wages, or some *pecuniary* remuneration. They would also get rid of the odium of making them toil without such fair and necessary reward. We also believe, and have well weighed the matter, that there is still sufficient capability about West India affairs, *under good management*, to provide for all necessary outgoings, and leave a fair profit to proprietors—but not under a system of Slavery, absenteeship, extravagant style of living, improvident mode of cultivation, ex-

haustion of stock and soil, debts often amounting to a state of bankruptcy, thraldom to creditors, general neglect of their affairs, or rapacity for inordinate gains.

But if we admit their excuse—then does it not prove, that they ought to abandon a losing concern, which notwithstanding all the artificial aid of bounties, protecting duties, &c. will not allow proprietors to be just to others, and profit themselves—or ought the nation to be longer burdened, our East Indian subjects especially injured, our general trade and commerce impeded, and human creatures to drudge in slavery, or without fair remuneration, in order to prop up such an unnatural, unjust, desperate, and altogether objectionable system.

N. B.—Under existing circumstances in our West Indies, I propose the plan of specific wages, in preference to the practice in Hayti of paying, at least *Agricultural* servants, by allotting them a part (one-fifth) of the proceeds of the estate.—I here give the result of my thorough consideration of the subject, without detailing the particular reasons for coming to this conclusion. —However proprietors, at least land cultivators, might take their choice of mode hereafter, commencing with the rising generation—but fair remuneration to servants is indispensable—and that, at least a part, in money, or or what will produce it at the option of the receiver.

VII. "All persons to take sufficient care of their sick or disabled servants, but to be released from paying them pecuniary wages during their disability—which may also be stopped in certain cases proved of wilful idleness, refractoriness, or other misconduct, by award of the proper authorities."

That all persons should continue to take proper care of their sick or disabled servants of the present generation, whilst attached to them, having been slaves, is just and necessary, and only what they are now obliged

to do under the present system—such freed servants will neither be more burdensome, or less useful to their principal, than if they had remained slaves.—But their descendants henceforth freeborn, or freed under 7 years of age by the Act, falling into a state of infirmity, destitution, &c. to be provided for by the parish or district—except during the term of their indentured service, as I shall presently more particularly discuss.

VIII. "No persons to let out their servants for the use of others, without consent of their guardians, and certain other regulations."

Jobbers, who let out their slaves for the use of others—this is under the present system the most deplorable species, and if continued after the declaration of general emancipation, will be the worst relick of Slavery.—It ought never to have been suffered, and the sooner it is abolished the better.—With this view, Jobbers might be allowed, or *compelled* at once to transfer their slaves or freed servants to land proprietors only, to be attached to their estate for life if necessary.

Planters and other Agriculturalists not sufficiently stocked with hands, and the buying and selling of slaves put an end to, would probably be glad thus to supply themselves, and pay a price or premium to the Jobber transferring, equal in value to the subject transfered—of course, those of the present generation disabled by age or infirmity belonging to Jobbers, and cannot be transfered, must continue to be supported by their master, who in most cases will have had the best of their days as his slaves.—Or as slaves belonging to Jobbers bear but a small proportion to the general slave population, Government, at no very great expense, or loss to the nation, (which it is to be hoped would not grudge it for so humane an object) might purchase them at once from their owners, for the purpose of transfering them

to landed proprietors, and probably receive a premium in proportion to their value, and for indemnification of the nation—or might employ them in the public service, or on establishments formed for that purpose.

However, if the practice of Jobbing must continue for a time—it ought to be put under the best possible regulations.—Jobbers should not be allowed to let out their servants without approval of their constituted guardians, who should secure their good treatment—nor should they ever be let out beyond a certain distance, say not exceeding a mile or two from their homestead, to which they might return at the close of each day's labour—and every other necessary regulation adopted.

N. B.—Jobbing out slaves is a striking instance of the selfishness and cruelty of man if left to himself, and among the many abominations of our slave system, which West Indians defend or excuse to the utmost, and refuse to reform.

IX. "Transfers of servants, between a certain age, may be allowed at the option of the master provided the servant consents, and the constituted guardians approve—but not otherwise—of course, members of families must never be separated against their will—nor any transfered beyond the colony."

Though it ought to be rigidly adhered to as a general rule that freed servants of the present race of slaves aforesaid should remain attached for life, if necessary, to the estate or establishment to which they belong at the time of their general emancipation—yet particular circumstances may require and admit of exchange of masters—in such cases transfers of servants may be allowed—but never without their own consent, and that of their constituted guardians, who should ascertain sufficient cause for the transfer, and take care they do not change for the worse—the succeeding, to be liable to all the obligations of the previous master.

Such transfers of freed servants will prove a substitute for the buying and selling of slaves when put an end to, and may be necessary in the early stage of general emancipation, perhaps during the existence of the present race of slaves—and as great an indulgence to masters as existing circumstances will allow.—Thus cultivating land proprietors and others may get rid of their superfluous hands, or supply their deficiency, whether of labourers, domestic servants, mechanics, &c. they may also hire free people at large not under any engagement—which renders the whole plan here proposed, *equally applicable to all Slave-holders* of every description.

Perhaps a greater facility of transfer may be allowed to persons *not* cultivating land proprietors, as more necessary for such masters, and less inconvenient for their servants.

The descendants of the present race of slaves aforesaid may be placed on a different footing, as I shall presently shew, and masters left more free to retain or dismiss their servants.

In transfers at the wish of the master, Premiums may be paid or received, as agreed on, by the contracting masters, as in cases of transfered Apprentices in England.—This would be an accommodation to masters, establish a fair scale of valuation for the indemnity of the party entitled to a bonus, and, as before observed, prove a substitute for the buying and selling of slaves, during the existence of the present race, and early stages of general emancipation—and could no ways injuriously affect such servants, or induce unnecessary or otherwise improper transfers, as none could take place without approval of their constituted guardians.

X. Servants above the age of 34 may be allowed, at certain periods, or notice to transfer themselves to other eligible masters willing to receive them, with the

consent of their then retaining principal, or approval of their guardians, and other proper authorities appointed to arbitrate between master and servant.

In the Spanish settlements slaves are allowed to chuse and transfer themselves to other masters willing to receive them, and their owner bound to comply on receiving an equivalent for the fair value of such slave from the new master—but in our colonies no such privilege is allowed to a slave, by which he might better his condition, nor can he even purchase his own freedom, or that of his wife or children, however able and willing, if their owner refuse to comply—thus the more useful and valuable a slave, the more likely his owner will refuse to part with him, or only at an extravagant price—poor encouragement for good conduct!

In the preceding article IX. it is proposed to allow masters at their option, on shewing sufficient cause, to transfer their freed servants of the present race of slaves aforesaid—and 'tis fair and necessary that the same right should be equally accorded to servants—by which reciprocity masters, as before observed, might supply a deficiency, or get rid of a superfluity of hands—and servants might better their condition—but in no case ought either party to be allowed the exercise of this privilege without shewing good and sufficient cause, to be judged of and decided on by the proper authorities.—Nor ought any freed servants of the present race of slaves aforesaid, to be entitled to this right, unless with the consent of their master, until they have attained the age of 34, and thus far indemnified their former owner by their services—and attained a mature age to judge what is best for themselves.

In transfers at the wish of the servant, the then retaining principal to be at no involuntary expense, but entitled to receive a bonus from the succeeding master,

if awarded by proper arbitrators—or, of course, if agreed on between the transfering and receiving party, without any other intervention.

"XI." "Servants above the age of thirty-four, with good character and conduct, on satisfactorily shewing to the proper authorities that they can probably maintain themselves by their funds or resources, may at certain periods, or notice, be released from their servitude.—If such persons should afterwards be found in a state of destitution, if able bodied, the constituted authorities may be empowered to provide and enforce employment on them—if disabled by age or infirmity, then to be maintained by the parish or district."

Though it may be generally necessary that slaves of the present race above 7 years of age when declared free by the proposed act of general emancipation, should be kept attached to the estate or establishment to which they belong at the time, or may be transfered to, until sufficient knowledge, civilization, and voluntary habits of order and industry be generally established among them; and the white colonists more accustomed, necessitated, and disposed to the employment of free agents.—Yet in cases of such freed servants, above the age of 34, with good character and conduct, who can satisfactorily shew they can probably maintain themselves by their own resources, and require to be released from their attached servitude, and left to do the best they can for themselves—this in justice and good policy may and ought to be admitted, they will still be under the controul of the law, and constituted authorities.—Having served their former owner or master gratuitously up to the age of 34, and such masters entitled to further compensation, as hereafter provided, though not from their servants; and released from all future charge or responsibily on account of such discharged servants, can

have no just claim to longer detain them, nor to any pecuniary consideration from them for releasing them from their services.

Thus, in the early stage of general emancipation, will freed slaves of the present race, still attached to estates, &c. only of the best character and acquirements, be entitled to such an extension of privilege to be at large as free agents in society, amenable only to the laws and their own voluntary engagements; and the community supplied with such useful auxiliaries, not too suddenly or numerously for the wants and advantage of all parties concerned—and their number will gradually increase in proportion to the improvement of the emancipated classes, and greater necessity, consequently demand, for the employment of free agents—and will prove a prudent prelude to the more extended privileges of the ensuing generation.—In the interim, slaves of the present race aforementioned, who wish to become entirely free agents, and released from their attached servitude, will thus be induced to acquire the necessary qualifications.—All may hope and try, and even those who may not eventually succeed, will benefit themselves and others by their exertions—until all classes of the black and coloured population shall be duly prepared for the enjoyment (as far as just and expedient) of the full rights of men and citizens.

XII. "The constituted authorities may transfer servants, with assent of their guardians; to other masters, whenever their retaining employer cannot properly provide for them, or for other sufficient causes—and in cases of wilful mal-treatment, neglect, or certain other misconduct, by the master or his agent, may inflict a fine or other punishment on the principal or offender.

Though masters generally should be compelled to take care, for life if necessary, of their freed servants of

the present race of slaves aforesaid, whether they have been their slaves, or transfered to them, as servants freed by the act of general emancipation — yet cases may occur in which it may be most expedient to take the servant from the master—but this ought never to be done except in cases of great necessity.—These are less, if ever, likely to happen among cultivating land proprietors, as such servants may remain attached to and be maintained by the estate, however often it may change proprietors or condition.—But other cases may require a relaxation of the general principle—in which the constituted guardians, and other proper authorities, may be empowered to act for the best, according to particular circumstances.—And in instances of wilful mal-treatment, neglect, or certain other misconduct by the master or his agent, a fine, or other punishment, may be inflicted on the offending party—those must pay in person who cannot pay in purse—such fine may be appropriated, in whole or in part, for benefit of the individual servant aggrieved; or for the purposes of general emancipation.

' The foregoing propositions are submitted as the basis of a plan for the emancipation, government, protection, and improvement of the present race of slaves aforesaid. —A different modification of parts will be necessary for their descendants afterwards born, or under seven years of age at the time of general emancipation—chiefly as follows—

' All slaves of the present race being declared free, and Slavery for ever abolished by an act of general emancipation, their children afterwards born will of course be free from their birth, and born of free parents. —Let such children, and those under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, remain with their mother on her master's estate or establishment, and at the age of seven be placed at school on the estate,

or within the district at convenient distance, for useful instruction until the age of 12 or 14.—Let the children on each property be divided into two classes, each to attend their school on alternate days, so that a moiety of the whole may always remain at home, to be employed in the service of their mother's master, to indemnify him for any expense (which cannot be much) in having reared them under the mother's care on his property.—Children, whose mother's are slaves, at the time of general emancipation, to persons not cultivating land proprietors, the latter must also have such children properly reared under care of the mother on their own establishment, or provide other sufficient means for the purpose.—Black, or coloured children, whose parents have been rendered free by other means than the act of general emancipation, and having no claim on any master or others, should be under the superintendence, and if necessary controul, of the district authorities, who shall see them properly reared and provided for at expense of the parents if able, if not, then at the public cost.—Let all children aforementioned, at the age of 12 or 14, unless they can be otherwise eligibly provided for, be placed out as Apprentices to serve gratuitously until the age of 24 for their master's remuneration and profit—and having been reared on the estate or establishment of their mother's master, or otherwise by him, then *He* to have the preference of such indentured services—or rather it ought and must be made obligatory on him, not left to his option—unless sufficient cause exist to render it inexpedient, when other suitable masters may be provided.—A sufficient number of black and coloured children ought to be trained to handicraft trades, and other useful callings, in proportion to the general want and demand of the community.—Transfers of Apprentices may be allowed, with consent of their guardians.

Masters to be bound (at least during the early stages of general emancipation) to retain in their employ their Apprentices, if able bodied and otherwise suitable, for a certain time, say one year, after the expiration of their indentures, at wages and allowances usually given to operators of such description.—This will prevent them from being thrown suddenly, inexperienced, and in too great numbers on the world for the wants of the community, and consequently, their chance of obtaining employment; or the exercise of orderly prudent habits, with free agency, until they attain more age and experience; and the system of hiring free labour is generally adopted.

Planters, and other cultivating land proprietors, will probably find it most advantageous to hire the bulk of their servants, after the present race of adult slaves, for a certain number of years at a time, rather than for shorter periods; which will also prove advantageous for such servants, and necessary in the peculiar state of West India society. This is the general practice in Hayti, with planters and other large cultivating proprietors; and even in England farmers often hire their servants by the year.—Thus may such West India Agriculturalists secure a sufficient number of tried hands used to them, their mode of business, and localities of the estate; and such servants be certain of constant employ and a fixed home for long periods together, which will induce comfort and steady habits; and establish mutual attachment and reciprocity of interests between master and servant —and in the latter even attachment to the soil.

Servants thus hired should have a cottage and provision ground allotted to each on, or conveniently contiguous to, the estate, in proportion to their families, for which they may pay a moderate rent to the proprietor—their principal may also furnish them with certain

necessary articles of food and cloathing, or not, as agreed on between the parties, and the amount of pecuniary wages to be more or less in proportion—or if the full amount of wages be allowed, then the value of such articles furnished to be deducted at the time of settlement.—The descendants of the present race of adult slaves will probably, from their increase in knowledge, civilization, and habits of free agency, be more competent and disposed to provide necessaries, according to their wants and means, for themselves.

As *Agriculture* must ever be of the chief consequence in our West India colonies, and will require the greatest number of labouring hands—so in my late pamphlet "Emancipation, or Practical Advice to British Slaveholders," I have pointed out the means to always ensure to cultivating proprietors a sufficient supply of free labourers, as in Hayti.—I refer the reader to that work, without here quoting the passages so essentially connected with this important part of the subject.

Persons not cultivating land proprietors, may, on expiration of the prescribed term of hire on wages of their Apprentices, retain them or not in their employ, or hire others, for long or short periods as they please—and besides wages, furnish them with certain necessary articles, or not, as agreed on between the parties.

The district authorities to be empowered to provide suitable masters, situations, and employment, for all able bodied negroes and people of colour, who cannot or will not support themselves, which may be enforced on them.—Many hands will be required for the public service by the national and local governments, the parish and district authorities, &c. within the colonies; which will furnish employ for any redundancy of population beyond the demand of private individuals.—Small portions of land may be allotted to some, and other means

devised for general support and employment.—The destitute sick or infirm to be supported by the parish or district, except the present race of slaves belonging to masters bound to provide for them, or those engaged by masters for certain periods, who must take proper care of them for the time—but may be released from paying them pecuniary wages during their disability.

All children of the present race of slaves, under the age of seven years at the time of general emancipation, are as susceptible of the same training and good effects, and therefore ought to be admitted to all the same privileges as those afterwards born.—Thus may an extent of benefits be safely accorded to this portion even of the present race of slaves—on what principle of justice, humanity, or good policy can it be refused?

Scholastic Education.—Let schools be established at the public expense in each district for the education of black and coloured children.—Let the pupils be instructed in reading, writing, and simple arithmetic—this is far from giving them a learned education as some sneerers inimical to human improvement, at least of the lower orders, may imply, but will qualify them for different useful stations in life of every day demand—among the rest, some may be trained as assistant school-masters, though a well qualified white person ought to be at the head of each scholastic establishment.

Let the fundamental principles of religious, moral, and social duty, be also taught in the schools, by plain and simple catechisms, expositions, and other tracts prepared for the purpose, which may be committed to memory by the pupils, and further explained and inculcated by their tutors, and examinations on these important points take place at stated times—which after all, is the best and most essential part of education,

especially for the humbler classes, too much neglected or distorted; even in most civilized countries.—Thus may the youthful mind receive useful first impressions, which may practically regulate their conduct through life, in every station, however unfavorably they may be placed for further improvement—yet teach them not *artificial* for *real* duties.

I may here just observe, that much of the instruction which children of the present race of slaves may receive at their schools, will, from their intimate connection and intercourse for years to come (especially by their knowledge of reading, possession of simple useful tracts, and comprehension of their spirit and meaning) be communicated to their parents, &c.—Thus may the latter, though too old for scholastic education, be benefited by these attainments of their descendants.

N. B.—A portion of negroe and coloured children, indicating good capacity, might be selected for education and other useful training in England, and returned as adults to the colonies, qualified to act as School-masters, and for other purposes requiring a certain degree of intelligence, &c. above the more ignorant. —This would tend to develope the faculties, raise the character, and improve the minds, manners, and pursuits of the black and coloured population; when fewer Whites need be employed in the colonies for the purpose, and those be thus assisted in their labour.—It would also furnish the Whites generally with a superior order of intelligent black and coloured agents for various requisite purposes—and establish a desirable class between the White, and most unenlightened of the negroe and coloured population.

Religious Instruction.—Let churches or chapels be established, and ministers of religion appointed in each district of town and country; a simple form of prayer

and worship drawn up, and uniformly used; with plain discourses from the pulpit suited in matter and style to the general condition and comprehension of the black and coloured population, enjoined to attend.—In addition to those taught in the schools for youth, let catechisms, and other useful tracts be given to the adults, who can read, and stated times appointed for individual examination, instruction, and admonition, for both those who can or cannot read, which after all, will probably be found the most efficacious mode of instructing such a people.—Distract them not by every wind of doctrine—preach not, teach not mysteries, disputable dogma, or artificial divinity of the schools (the bane even of more civilized communities, enlightened enough in other matters) but the plain incontrovertible axioms of religion, morality, and usefulness—above all, exalt not *faith* over *good works,* nor creeds, rites, or ceremonies, in preference to, or substitute for, the practice of virtue.—Teach them that as probationary responsible creatures, they will surely receive just Retribution from their Maker according to their *Works,* be they good or evil, in proportion as they *fulfil* their well known duties here within their power, which God hath endowed them with, or violate them—that their duty to God chiefly consists in the performance of their duty to themselves and fellow creatures—that they should do unto others as they would be done unto—and not abuse their own powers and means—and that their duty is their interest and welfare here and hereafter.—Teach them the necessity and advantage of Justice, Benevolence, Temperance, Industry, and all which constitutes unsophisticated duty, their own individual welfare, and for the general good.—This is chiefly needful, rationally right, and practically useful, for them and all mankind—which if generally taught and followed,

unalloyed by unnatural, fallacious, and pernicious doctrine, would establish a simple uniform Religion throughout the earth, founded on infallible, immutable, self-evident principles, of universal application, and general usefulness.—A Religion worthy the Creator, and most beneficent for Man—instead of the mole-eyed views, discordant opinions, artificial creeds and practice, of differing sects and religionists, equally against right, reason, and utility.

The Negroes generally in our West Indies are yet comparatively uninstructed, and susceptible of any impressions—here is a rare opportunity for setting out well.—May the blind not be led by the blind; or neglected by careless indolent guides—and still less may they be misled by wilful deceivers.

I shall close this subject by adverting to an excellent custom, said to be in general practice throughout the Roman Catholic slave colonies, more especially those belonging to Spain.

Besides places for public worship, and ministers of religion, being provided for each district, according to the number and density of its population—the slaves on each plantation are assembled in the open air every morning at sunrise, their names called over by roll, and before they go to work, are formed into a hollow circle; in the centre stands a negroe, or man of colour, competent for the purpose, and such is never wanting, who audibly pronounces an address drawn up and uniformly used, which by frequent repetition becomes firmly fixed in the memory, and is usually given by rote, consisting of adoration, thanksgiving, and prayer to the Creator, and imploring his guidance, protection, and blessing through the day—this is succeeded by a short exhortation to performance of duty, then follows a hymn, in which all present join, and the service concludes with a bene-

diction, when the slaves go to their labour.—In the evening at sunset, and close of their work for the day, the slaves are again assembled in like manner, an evening service gone through, somewhat varied in matter and terms from that used in the morning—and the slaves are dismissed to their homes—each religious performance does not occupy more than about ten minutes night and morning, and produces a very imposing salutary effect. —This admirable custom is well worthy adoption in the British West Indies—and to our disgrace that this, and other essential matters, most humane and beneficial, still remain to be done.

A simple form of family worship might also be provided and used on plantations for Sundays, when any servants of the establishment, from sickness, distance, or other causes, cannot attend a Church—a short and plain sermon might also be read to them, and a sufficient number of a proper nature for such occasions, drawn up and furnished gratuitously to the plantations, &c.—And proper persons, negroes or others, might be appointed to hear, at least the children, say their catechisms, expositions, &c.—and otherwise teach those debarred from better means of instruction.

A fixed and written form of religious worship and instruction, will be far preferable for such a people as our West India Negroes, than trusting to the extemporaneous effusions of persons not always of sufficient knowledge or discretion—and *uniformity* of Religion a great desideratum.*

* *West India Church Establishment.*—The forms and doctrine of the Church of England being chiefly calculated for refined and enlightened people, so its clergy have frankly declared that on this account, as well as from the nature of their education, personal habits, mode of instructing, inaptitude at proselytism, and other causes, they are not so well adapted for converting the Negroes,

A due proportion of each Sunday to be appropriated to the religious devotion and instruction of the black and coloured people throughout the colonies.—The rest of the day to be spent as they please, consistent with order and decorum—they will generally need and ought to be allowed some relaxation from the toil and cares of the week.

Black and coloured servants, at least those having provision grounds, to be allowed a certain number of days in the year, besides Sundays, for their own use.

N. B.—The sooner the barbaric custom of employing females in the excessive drudgery of the field is discontinued, the better.—This, among other good effects, will be naturally produced by the change from slave to

as the more plain and zealous sectarian Missionaries.—So as the least of religious evils, and to pacify the people of England, the Colonies have agreed to the appointment of two Bishops with their Clergy for instruction of their slaves—pretty well knowing, as in the case of their Curate's Bill, that the slaves are not likely to be much enlightened by such an establishment; and that its members will probably not prove more active in their exertions in that sultry, than in the more temperate climate of England—our Church and Government can have no objection to the scheme, it will increase their patronage.—However, I hope and think some good may be done by these means, if not best calculated for Negroe instruction, or whatever may be the views and expectations of Slave-holders.—The Church acting as it does in its offices on fixed and prescribed forms and tenets, is so far more favorable for the purpose, than the varying modes and doctrine of differing sectaries, and the extemporaneous effusions of Missionaries, often uneducated or injudicious men—if the Church will only render its forms and doctrine simple, rational, and useful; and employ plain and zealous teachers, who can and will descend to the humble capacities of their illiterate flock.—After all, perhaps, more may be done in the *Schools* than in the *Churches*, for the moral and religious, as well as other, instruction of the Negroes, if properly planned and conducted.

free labour, an improved mode of cultivation, and general good management—especially growing other crops than the exhausting and over production of Sugar, at least on the poorer soils, the introduction of the plough for the hoe, horses for human labour; besides the increased zeal and exertion of free and willing workmen instead of slaves—fewer labourers will then be required, Agriculturalists will naturally prefer able bodied men, and may always secure enough for their purpose, without being burdened as at present under the slave system with a superfluity of hands all the year round, many of them inefficient, at least in any profitable degree, or else suffering from a deficiency when more help is required.—Thus, the females will be left at their homes to manage their family affairs, or otherwise employed suitably to their sex and ability—which will go far in producing comfort and civilization amongst the emancipated classes.—Among other good effects, will prove the best means for the promotion of Matrimony, and fulfilment of its duties; for which every encouragement and facility ought to be afforded.

Thus by the plan here proposed, may all slaves of the present race be at once safely and advantageously rendered free, under salutary regulations—and their children, not exceeding say seven years of age at the time, and those afterwards born, be prepared for, and admitted to, a greater extent of privileges.

N. B.—Free negroes and people of colour, especially the latter, now at large in the colonial community, and born of free parents, ought to be admitted as soon as possible to the full rights of men and citizens as far as expedient, and their children properly educated and trained to useful callings.—These are fit subjects for such an extension of privileges, and most immediately require it—which will conciliate and give them a com-

mon interest in the preservation of good order, and obedience to the laws; and prove a tower of strength to the white colonists, and for the general public good.

Several minor points, not here detailed, or different modifications, may in course be required, which will suggest themselves.—I have chiefly aimed at drawing out the main parts, as a basis of the plan in outline—and I trust enough to shew that it can be effected, beneficially for all parties concerned—if so, then ought it not to be done, and at once set about in good earnest?

Another point remains here for consideration, which at least West India proprietors will probably deem by far of the greatest consequence, namely, Indemnification for any loss they may sustain by general emancipation of their slaves—they expect to be paid, and well paid, for merely doing an Act of Justice imperiously necessary, and most incumbent on them, that of ceasing from the oppression of enslaving their fellow creatures and fellow subjects, men, women, and children, from generation to generation for ever!—They have long been a begging, craving, rapacious race, and still continue so. —Not content with protecting duties, excluding cheaper productions from the home market, inflicting high prices on the Nation, shackling our commerce, and more especially unjust and injurious to our East India subjects; with bounties to induce or enable them to sell as cheaply as others abroad; besides large allowances for the defence and government of our West more than East India possessions; former restraints removed from their commerce, as colonies, so that now they may carry and dispose of their produce as they please, wherever they can find a market.*—They still cry out for more, and Slavery to

* Our West India colonists long complained of the hardship of being compelled to bring their Sugars, in the first instance, to England only.—Now since they are allowed to carry their produce

boot, or a high price for their reluctant submission, not willing consent, to its Abolition!—no less than the full value, at their own calculation, not only of their slaves, but also of their estates!! and even then would consider the prohibition of Slavery as an act of injustice done to proprietors—and put on all the airs of injured innocence!!!

Slave-holders assume a high tone, and dare to cry out for justice, even *strict* justice, on themselves!—Let us examine a little the nature of their pretensions to property in their slaves.

Certainly, they can have no claim on the slaves themselves, who are entitled to their natural right of freedom without fee or reward—and moreover, as already observed, to recompense for the time past they have been unjustly deprived of this their natural right, derived from their Creator.—Nor can Slave-holders have any claim in Natural Justice, which cannot recognize deeds in themselves unjust—'tis a solicism in term and in fact.

direct wherever they please, or otherwise dispose of it, they do not seem over elated with the boon, nor much to avail themselves of it—their organ, Mr. Ellis, declared on Tuesday last in the House of Commons, that "not a single cargo had thus been shipped to foreign ports"—nor will foreigners come to deal with them for Sugar in the dear market of our Colonies—John Bull must take it off their hands at an extravagant price, and even pay a bounty on what (refined) they export abroad.—The fact is, such is the extravagance of their system, that they can hardly compete with others in the Foreign Market.—But whilst the colonial Restriction lasted, of exporting to England, it served them to complain of as a grievance, and a pretext for Protecting Duties, &c. exclusively in their favor.—Now the aforementioned Restriction on their trade is taken off, and other advantages about being granted to them—what plea can they have for the continuance of protecting duties against their fellow subjects in our East Indian territory? and onerous to the Nation—inflicting on our own people what we cannot impose on foreigners, and cramping our Trade at home and abroad.

—Nor by the general Laws or Equity of our country which ordain that no man shall benefit by his own wrong, and that Restitution shall be made to the rightful owner of property and arrears, unjustly acquired or detained, either originally or in progression—no man can have a better title to his estate or effects, than to his own personal carcass.—Are Receivers of stolen goods, although purchasers, allowed to retain them with impunity, or entitled to an equivalent on giving them up?—yet such is the plea of Slave-holders!—they cannot come into court with clean hands, their claim is vitiated throughout, in origin and all its stages.

The Laws of England ordain that every subject shall be free, and entitled to all the rights of men and citizens—nor has it passed or sanctioned any positive law for the maintenance of Slavery in its colonies, integral parts of the empire.—Nay, no such law has ever been enacted even by the Colonial Legislatures, 'tis at most by crafty implication only—and after all, no human laws can supercede the claims of Natural Right.—Nor can West India proprietors plead long usage and prescription to their property in slaves—for besides the long existence of a wrong being no justification of its past or further continuance, the act of Injustice has been renewed in the person of every slave, from generation to generation; and so far as it concerns each individual slave, cannot have existed longer than during his or her time—even supposing that Slave-holders had any right to the parents, they could not thus be entitled to their children.*—Man has no right to enslave Man,

* By the bye, I should like to have the case tried and decided in a Court of Judicature in England, namely, whether all children born within the British dominions, whether of slave parents or not, are not *free* by their birth.—By what *Law* can any man claim them as his slaves, and let him produce it.—If he cannot well

even with, much less without his consent—nor can he obtain it by purchase, or otherwise, from another.—Still more monstrous is the pretence of right to entail Slavery on the innocent, unconscious, irresponsible child from the womb to the grave, as the hopeless bitter portion of its life. — Neither parents nor children have ever entered into any such compact, or forfeited their freedom—nor can any claim it from them.

Slave-holders have no right to complain if their claim be altogether rejected, and their system of injustice put an end to—but may deem themselves well off, if they are not obliged to *refund,* instead of having to *receive*—past injuries to the slaves might be reckoned at least as a set off for the present claims of their oppressors—but in strict justice would leave a heavy balance due from them to the party they have so long, so basely, and so deeply injured.—The slaves are the aggrieved party, and Slave-holders the aggressors—are the Aggressors to be bought off from their mal-practices, and the Aggrieved, who suffer by them, to receive no recompense at their hands for past injuries sustained? -- Slave-holders expect us to be tremblingly alive to their interest even in doing *wrong,* but entirely to pass by the *just* claims of their slaves to redress and atonement from them their oppressors.

The only shadow of plea which Slave-holders can urge with any effect in their favor is, that the National Government has connived at, and at least indirectly encouraged the *current,* though it has never guarranteed

establish such claim, what a sweeping retrospection would it bring over Slave-holders, who have so long held in captivity free born children of the present and past generations—nay, horrible to say, even their own offspring.—At least they may be glad to compound for past delinquency, by henceforth giving up such monstrous pretensions.

the *perpetual* existence of Slavery in our colonies.—This is to the disgrace of both parties—to the government in allowing its subjects to commit wrong with impunity—and to the latter in taking advantage of such unwarrantable permission to do evil.—What must we think of the Honor and Conscience of those pseudo *Gentlemen* the haughty Planters, &c. who will perpetrate such enormities, if only allowed to do so without *legal* pains and penalties?

But at length the Government grown more wise and virtuous seeks, it professes, to put an end to the atrocious system—as base and infamous in itself; unjust and cruel to its enslaved subjects; impolitic and injurious to the nation; and not so beneficial as the Reform proposed even to Slave-holders themselves.—These considerations might well induce and justify the Government to coerce the Colonists, and leave them, as on the prohibition of their slave trade with Africa, to find a Recompense solely in the advantages they would derive from such reformation and improvement of their system.

The better mode of cultivation and general management it would be sure to induce; the increased labour and produce by fewer hands, and those free, willing, and satisfied agents; the greater security of person and property to the white colonists; the redemption of their character from the guilt and odium of holding their fellow creatures in slavery; with other consequent advantages; would prove a sufficient recompense to proprietors for even the *gratuitous* emancipation of their slaves, without any other remuneration.

However, as the Government has hitherto by its guilty connivance and encouragement induced West India proprietors, though against the plainest dictates of justice and humanity, to invest capital in slaves, which are henceforth to cease being marketable commodities—

so it may be necessary to compensate proprietors for such loss of interest in their slaves of the existing race, beyond which, they can have no claims—and throwing into the bargain any advantages they may hereafter derive from such change to a better system, as a bonus for their future encouragement.

Thus then, let Slave-holders lower their tone and their terms — their claim is not very tenable in itself, or creditable to themselves—and if admitted at all, it will be more as a boon in expediency, than as their right in strict justice.—They have long chosen to incur the odium of enslaving their fellow creatures for sake of the supposed profits, and in leaving off with a doceur, let them with their usual philosophy—pocket the *Affront* with the *Money*.

By the plan here proposed, it is provided that all slaves of the existing race, freed by the Act, above 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, should continue to serve their former owners gratuitously as freed servants, until they arrive at the age of 34.—This, according to the usual calculation of proprietors, is even more than sufficient, under good management, to repay their capital, principal and interest, invested in ordinary able bodied slaves—and therefore would alone be more than enough for their sheer indemnification; and thus will slaves have over worked out their freedom.—However this may be, proprietors must admit that they have thus the full use and benefit of such freed servants until the age of thirty-four as much to all intents and purposes, as though they remained their slaves, having only to provide them such necessaries, and otherwise well treat them, as Slave-holders declare is already enjoined by Law, and further done by voluntary practice, at least it ought to be so—they must likewise retain and take care of their inefficient hands under the present

system.—And although in strict justice, no man is bound to serve another against his will, or on terms he does not agree to—yet such for a time will be the wretched relicks of the slave system, even after abolished, that the welfare of the existing race of slaves, requires this concession on their part, and also the interest of their owners renders necessary such an arrangement, to well escape the entanglements left by the previous long existing state of things.

Let each slave of the present race, on attaining the age of thirty-four, freed by the Act, and all those who may be above that age, but excepting those under seven years, at the time of general emancipation; be appraised according to their individual worth, on a fair scale of valuation, and the Amount sunk into an Annuity on the life of each, to be paid by the Nation half-yearly, or at other fixed periods, to the former owner, or his representative, of such emancipated slave. —Thus would proprietors receive the fair value of their slaves at the time as a marketable commodity.

Without entering here into a rigid enquiry how far in strict justice the Nation is bound to grant such indemnity to Slave-holders—at any rate, let it generously accede to the necessity and expediency of the case—it will be well rewarded by the happy results—among the rest, Slave-holders will be left without excuse for longer seeking to persevere in their abominable system—and in the long run, it will produce a saving to the nation, by admitting a fair competition, at least of East and West Indian subjects, into the market in due time after the Abolition of Slavery.—The Nation has long submitted to pay immense sums in bounties, protecting duties, maintenance of troops, &c. for the support of slavery, and improvident management—and now may well not grudge a less amount in aggregate and duration, for the

establishment of a better system.—Nay, even were it to require a larger and longer contribution, it would be far better applied than, as hitherto, in upholding an infamous system of Slavery; and a course of extravagance, absenteeship, or general neglect or mismanagement of their affairs, or rapacity for inordinate gains, by West India proprietors.—And although it may seem hard that the Nation should be bound by the unjust acts of its Government—yet let it be noted, that every man, woman, and child, in Great Britain, have for centuries been, and still actually are, abettors of, and participators in the iniquitous system, by being purchasers and daily consumers of the guilty produce of Slavery—that too when they may gratify themselves with the same luxuries, the production of freemen, their fellow subjects in our Eastern possessions.—Whilst this is the case—are we not voluntary supporters of Slavery, and substantial participators in the flagitious system, which could not exist without us as purchasers and consumers —how much longer shall we continue to be so?

Nor will this proposed Indemnity to Slave-holders fall heavily, or all at once on the Nation.—Slaves of the existing race under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, are not thus to be paid for—and only a certain proportion of their seniors will have attained the age of 34 at that period, those who have not, will only be to be gradually purchased as they do—several will never reach it at all; and those who may, will be much depreciated in value at that advanced stage of life.—Females generally will be less valuable than the men —and many of both sexes, from age, infirmity, and other causes, will be of little or no value at all as a marketable commodity.—All to be purchased are to be paid for by Annuity, and not advance of principal, which will prove the best inducement for masters to cherish

the lives of those on whom they have annuities; be drawn gradually from the nation; and lives will continually drop off, reducing the amount, 'till the whole is extinguished.

The following is a sketch of expense for Redemption of all slaves on the data proposed in the foregoing plan.

The total number of slaves in our West India colonies has been variously stated from 7 to 800,000—let us take the medium, id est, 750,000—of these say one-fifth—that is 150,000 are under 7 years of age, and not to be paid for, except by their services up to the age of 24.—This leaves 600,000 to be purchased at their standing worth on attaining the age of 34.

The average worth of slaves each, taking one with another, good, bad, and indifferent, the females with the males, the old with the young, the profitable with the less efficient, or totally useless, may I think be fairly rated at say £60. sterling per head.—And reckoning the prime of their life to be from 20 to 45 years of age, and their powers of service preceding the age of 20, as about equivalent to the same after having attained the age of 45—then at the age of 34, three-fifths of their prime or worth may be reckoned as past and gone—the remaining two-fifths constituting their value at that period of life, or £24. per head—this on 600,000, amounts to £14,400,000—principal worth, to be paid for by Annuity, which in no case ought to exceed say 12 per cent. on any life, averaging on the whole at say 7½ per cent. id est, £1,080,000 per annum during their lives—more will be under than at or over the age of 34 at the time of general emancipation—but afterwards for some years to come, the lives to be paid for will increase, during which period, say two-thirds of the amount of annuities for the whole 600,000 lives to be thus purchased may be taken as a fair estimate of the annual expense to the

Nation, i. e. £720,000 a year, until lives drop off faster than they accrue, and the whole is extinguished.

750,000	total number of slaves.
150,000	under 7 years of age, not to be bought.
600,000	to be purchased at average rate of £24. sterling a head.
24	
£14,400,000	total principal worth at 34 years of age.
1,080,000	total amount of annuities at average of 7½ per cent.
720,000	average yearly amount of annuities at two-thirds of the whole for some years to come, till they decrease by dropping of lives, and the whole is extinguished.

Thus far the annual sum of £720,000 for only a few years to come, may all slaves be redeemed, and their owners amply indemnified.—A tax of only one half-penny per pound on West India sugar imported for home consumption, would produce sufficient for the purpose;—the bounties and protecting duties of much greater amount, now granted for the support of Slavery, might be withdrawn; and the Abolition of Slavery accomplished with less expense whilst it lasts, and would soon entirely cease to the Nation.

By the plan proposed, the claims and wants of proprietors are provided for as far as expedient—four-fifths of the present race of slaves, freed by the Act, are to work for their former owner gratuitously up to the age of 34, (more than their general value at the usual rate of slave labour) and then to be purchased at their standing worth by the Nation—likewise their services for life, if necessary, secured to him at trifling wages, to be paid only whilst they are sufficiently able-bodied and efficient. The other one-fifth, id est, slaves under 7 years of age

at the time, and freed by the act of general emancipation, are to give their gratuitous services up to the age of 24—and afterwards to provide for themselves, also sufficient for their master's indemnification, convenience, and profit—he will also be further entitled to the same advantage from all children, if reared by him, henceforth born of the present race of his slaves above 7 years of age when freed by the Act.—Masters will be endowed with all due power for every good and necessary purpose—and no retrospection of past delinquences will be brought against Slave-holders.

These are the sacrifices made by the Slaves and by the Nation—what sacrifice make Slave-holders?—if any, comparatively trifling—which ought they to grudge in furtherance of so good a cause; and as some atonement for their past injustice.—The terms here proposed are as much in their favour, if not more so, as the general expediency of the case, and necessary concessions of all parties concerned will allow.—Are Slave-holders, though the most guilty, to be the only party exempt from sacrifice?—if they object, ought they not to be compelled?

Certainly the National Government might take a shorter cheaper course, and yet provide for the indemnity of proprietors, at least for their able-bodied slaves, by simply allowing them the gratuitous service of such slaves, until they had thus worked out their freedom at a fair valuation—for instance, take Mr. Bickell's statement of the present terms of slave hire for labourers in Jamaica at £20. currency each per annum, clear of all expense to the owner.—This in 7 years would produce £140. exactly £100. sterling, which is much above the average worth per head of able-bodied slaves as labourers.—But allowing the owner their gratuitous services up to the age of 34, as here aforementioned;

and reckoning only the commencement of their prime from the age of 18 or even 20—this would give 14 years of their full vigor for indemnity of their owner, besides whatever profit he may previously derive from their services up to the age of 20—which certainly altogether might be considered as more than a receipt in full for the discharge of every such slave, and leave a surplus bonus to the owner, which might serve as a set off for any deficiency of profit from his less efficient slaves.—Thus taking one with another, the whole of the present race aforesaid, by serving gratuitously up to the age of 34, might be reckoned to have more than worked out their freedom, and indemnified their proprietor by the worth of their labour, leaving a balance in favour of slaves less profitable to their owner, who after all must take the bad with the good, under the present system—or even rate the price of slave labour as low as £15. currency £10. 14*s*. 3½*d*. sterling a year for each, clear of all expense, this would be amply sufficient for the purpose.—Let it also be remarked, that many slaves will be above the age of 34 at the time of general emancipation, whenever it may take place, and such greater length of their gratuitous service, which cannot be recalled, nor well accounted for, must of course be proportionally more in favor of the owner.—Or Government might only allow annuities on disabled slaves for their support by their master—but this would beget intricacy, indefinite expense, and most likely imposition.

We recommend in preference, as most expedient, the plan afore suggested, of allowing owners the gratuitous service up to the age of 34 of all their slaves, the profitable with the less efficient, of the present race above 7 years of age at the time, and freed by the Act of general emancipation, and then purchasing them by annuity at their individual worth, having attained that

age; chiefly because not only ought we not to be too niggardly with West India proprietors in putting an end to their slave system, we have hitherto granted immense sums for its support, and ought not to be too parsimonious in the more laudable scheme of getting rid of it—they are also generally embarrassed men, we are likewise acting against their prejudices and notions of interest, and liberality on this occasion may be deemed necessary for them, and the most likely means to induce their consent and co-operation.—We also contemplate the withdrawal hereafter of the unjust and impolitic bounties and protecting duties on their produce.—But more especially because by the present system proprietors are allowed the gratuitous services of their slaves of all sorts, not only for their sheer indemnification, but also any extra profit slaves may yield during the whole of their lives.—By the plan here proposed for general emancipation, we also still saddle the master with attachment and maintenance of all slaves aforementioned of the present race, for life if necessary, many of them disabled or otherwise unprofitable subjects, though this is no more than at present enjoined by the slave system, yet it leaves him the good with the bad.—We also compel him to payment of wages to able-bodied servants of the present race of slaves on attaining a certain age, which is not enjoined by the slave system—and though it may be expected he would be sufficiently compensated for such allowance of wages, by the increased exertions of such servants on his account, yet to entitle us to impose such new terms on the master, we ought first to purchase the slave at a fair valuation, according to the present usage, before we thus re-let him as a freed servant, if we act on the principle of *Indemnification*.—This, under existing circumstances, can be best done by allowing such

slave in the first instance to work gratuitously for his owner, up to a certain age, as at present, and then paying in money his remaining worth at that period.—There are also Mortgages, Annuities, and other claims on slaves, which will require, and can thus be made good, as under the present system.*

I come now to speak more particularly of compensation to proprietors for slave children under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation.

A slave at its birth, is usually estimated to be worth £5.—and at the age of 7 years as worth £15.—But if the owner then sell such slave, he must of course give up all its future services to the purchaser.—Now by the plan proposed, instead of buying, we allow the slave to work for his owner gratuitously up to the age of 24—and afterwards to provide for himself.—Proprietors usually calculate that, under good management, slave

* Those having Mortgages, Annuities, or any other claims on slaves, may have them as fully made good by the plan here proposed, as under a system of Slavery.—Proprietors will be allowed the gratuitous services of all their slaves of the present race, above 7 years old when freed by the Act, until they attain the age of 34, the same as though they remained their slaves—and besides having their services afterwards secured to them for life, if necessary, at trifling wages, will then (at the age of 34) receive their fair value in way of Annuity, which will answer all demands upon them to the amount of their worth.—And in many cases of infirmity, &c. the annuities will last longer than the services of those on whom they are granted, who otherwise as slaves must have been supported by their owner without any provision for his indemnification.—Or the security on *slaves* may be transfered to the *soil*, and thus rendered more valuable.—Proprietors will also be allowed the gratuitous services up to the age of 24 of all slave children under 7 years of age when freed by the Act; and of all children, if reared by them, born free of parents their former slaves above 7 years old when freed by the Act of general emancipation—quite enough for indemnification and profit.

children at the age of 7 years begin to repay by their services the trifling expense of having reared them; and it may be reckoned that by the end of the next 7 years, they have at least indemnified their owner for all such expense on their account up to the age of fourteen.—The succeeding ten years is thus left for his further indemnification and profit; comprehending in that climate of precosity about 7 years (say from 17 to 24) of the prime of life, which according to the present value of slave labour afore stated, without reckoning the preceeding years up to 17, is at least fully sufficient to purchase the fee simple of any ordinary able-bodied slave, so of course to answer any claims to the amount of his or her worth—and at such youthful period of life (up to the age of 24) they are likely to prove efficient and profitable servants.—Moreover, proprietors will also have been paid, in service and money, the full value of all parents of such children, except in a few cases of the demise of such parents during the short interval between the birth of the child and time of general emancipation—and even in such cases, they will have had the services of the parents as slaves during the whole of their lives, and must take the chance of the death of their slaves whether in early life or late.—Thus far in fact, will they have been fully paid the worth of two generations—id est, parents and children.—And after all, 'tis very questionable, whether proprietors have ever had any *legal* right to the children even of their *unredeemed* slaves.—At any rate, we must stop somewhere, and why not at the children of those whose emancipation has been fully bought and paid for in service and money—and such children being bound to serve their mother's former owner gratuitously up to the age of 24—in itself sufficient for his remuneration on their account.—Or we may also pay proprietors of such children a pecuniary

bonus in cases of orphan slaves only, whose parents have died between the birth of the child and time of general emancipation, *unredeemed* by the Nation—say £15. for each such child at 7 years of age.—These cases will be comparatively few, and so fall lightly on the Country.—Masters will also be generally allowed the gratuitous services, up to the age of 24, of all children, if reared by them, born after the time of general emancipation, of the present race of their slaves above 7 years of age when freed by the Act, which is a further advantage in their favour—and will not have to provide for any beyond the term of their servitude.—N. B. In Colombia, since the 2nd year of its independence, all children of slaves are made free, and released from the obligation of serving their owner, at the age of 18—without any other compensation to the proprietor.

But if our West India proprietors insist that unless such slave children, under 7 years of age at the time of general emancipation, are purchased, as their parents, with money at a fair valuation at the time of sale—they remain the property of their owner as born slaves, and may be so treated to all intents and purposes.—And if such claimants are to be indulged in their rapacity to the utmost letter of their inequitable bond saddled on Government, solely by its former sanction of Slavery—if they must have their "pound of flesh," why then as the best and cheapest mode (unless such children aforesaid, so susceptible of education and an extension of privilege, are to be abandoned to the same fate as all their seniors of the present race of slaves, or rendered free agents too late in life) the Nation had better purchase them at their reputed value at 7 years of age, i. e. £15. per head; or buying the whole of such children at once of all ranging ages, not exceeding 7 years, at the time of passing the Act, they may average at

the rate of say £10. each, taking one with another. This on 150,000, the number afore estimated, will add one million and a half principal money to the amount of expense for general emancipation, calculated at page 52.

But this demand ought to be resisted by Government, as unjust in itself, onerous to the Nation, and most exorbitant on the part of Slave-holders, who, without this exaction, ought to be content and thankful for the liberal terms otherwise accorded them—especially as after all, in strict justice, they are not entitled to any compensation for ceasing from holding their fellow creatures and fellow subjects in Slavery—that too within the British dominions!

There is another class in Slavery, namely, people of colour, their case is even more deplorable than that of the negroe slaves.—For though a negroe has as much right in strict justice to be free as the lighter shades, even including the White,—yet the people of colour generally, enslaved or free, being more enlightened and civilized than the negroes at present, feel more sensibly the degradation of their condition as slaves—and approaching more nearly the White in colour, intelligence, and refinement, excite in a greater degree our commisseration.—These too, down to the Mulattoe inclusive, horrible to say, are all white men's children held or abandoned by their fathers in Slavery.—And those fathers Englishmen!

The slaves of colour may be generally considered at least a generation before the negroe slaves in knowledge and civilization; and if freed and under good treatment, are the natural allies of the Whites from consanguinity, mutual interest, and safety, among a proponderating negroe population; and may with safety and advantage be at once admitted to an extension of privilege.

Let all such slaves of colour, down to Mulattoes inclusive, of the age of 24 and upwards, if able-bodied and not too far advanced in life, at the time of general emancipation, be at once not only rendered free, but also released from all attachment of servitude to their late owner, and allowed to act as free agents at large in the community.—The men being mostly, as they are, brought up to handicraft trades, or other useful callings, will be able to gain a livelihood and prove useful members of society, especially in the employment of the Whites; as will also the females of colour in various avocations, particularly as domestic servants on hire in white families.

Let all such slaves of colour serve their owner gratuitously up to the age of 24, or to whatever age they may have attained at the time of general emancipation —which, according to the usual rate of slave hire, and commonly the superior service of such slaves, being mechanics, &c. will generally be sufficient to compensate the owner for the worth of such slaves.—But let the proprietor also be paid the sum of say £20. sterling per head for every such slave, taking one with another; at the time of their discharge,—except fathers holding their children of colour in slavery, who ought to be compelled to liberate and provide for them, without receiving any bonus from the Nation.

The slaves of colour in our West Indies, down to Mullattoes inclusive, may amount to about say 80,000 —which at £20. each, will require £1,600,000—to be paid in principal instead of annuity, as they attain the proper age, and will not otherwise increase the expense afore stated for the redemption of slaves of every description.

Slaves of colour too far advanced in life or otherwise incapacitated from supporting themselves, at the time

of general emancipation, must remain attached to the estate or establishment to which they belong, be taken care of, and their master indemnified on the same terms as paid by the Nation for other slaves freed by the Act.

I shall not here enter into the argument with proprietors, whether they are thus as fully indemnified for their slaves of colour, as for their negroe slaves—but cut the matter short, by insisting on the necessity of the case—and on this the National Government ought to be peremptory.—Abominable! that Englishmen should sordidly estimate every thing, even human rights and liberty unjustly withheld, at their supposed worth in pounds, shillings, and pence—and expect to be so paid to the last fraction, before they restore them!*

* The following is a goodly example for the imitation of Slaveholders.—Colonel K——, a white inhabitant of the parish of Hanover in Jamaica, wished to purchase the freedom of a Mulattoe female slave and his five children by her, also slaves by their birth, belonging to Welcome estate in the same parish.—The proprietor, John Vincent, Purrier, now of St. Helen's Place, London, generously allowed him to fix his own price, which he did at £300. currency for the whole lot.—For this Mr. P. liberated the Mother and her five children—these six slaves all together, were reckoned fairly worth £800. currency, as marketable commodities.

PART II.

LET West India proprietors also remember that they have long, and still continue to receive immense sums from the Nation in bounties, protecting duties, &c. to bolster up their extravagant and losing system—which would already go far to purchase the fee simple of all their slaves.

It is not probable that this onerous, unjust, and impolitic lavishment will be much longer borne by the Nation—and West India proprietors had better be prepared for its cessation.—However, give them a fair start on better plans and management, with all necessary assistance and encouragement; when, if they cannot go alone, and compete with others (at least their fellow subjects) in the market—then leave them to themselves, and West India affairs to find their proper level.

If under good management estates will not yield a fair profit to their owners, with justice to others, 'tis high time to abandon the naturally and incorrigible losing concern.—At any rate, if we must continue for ever to bolster up West India Interest, though against that of the Nation—at least, let it not be in support of an infamous system of Slavery, nor as a substitute for fair dealing, reasonable expectations, and good management. —If they expect the Nation to help them, let them also, as far as they can, help themselves, and make the most of their own fair and natural resources, really within

their power.—At least far more than at present, and I verily believe all that is needful for their due prosperity (such is the capability of West India affairs under proper management) may be effected by their own exertions alone, if fairly clear of the slave system, and past imprudent embarrassment*—but this they avade, and will never thoroughly set about until compelled—and then are likely to do well enough—or should they require aid, will at least better deserve it.

Instead of aiming at fair and reasonable profits, arising from natural means and good management, implying care and moderation, they prefer an artificial system of forced and unrequited (so mistakenly supposed the least expensive) labour of slaves; with protecting duties to secure a monopoly of the home market; and bounties to enable them to deal abroad; and so dispense with prudence, and gratify their extravagance or avarice on easier terms.—As long as we continue thus to indulge their improvidence or cupidity, they will so go on, nay, lay us under greater contributions if they can—and after all, are generally beggaring themselves, as well as fleecing the nation, and oppressing their slaves. —Would it not be kind to their interest and character, as well as just to others, to force them into better measures, for their own safety, honor, and welfare, in spite of themselves—hereafter they may be thankful—

* Those who are in a state of insolvency, from whatever cause, or otherwise cannot well carry on their concerns, or extricate themselves, cannot expect the Nation to do it for them—they must, as in all such cases, give up or dispose of their property and effects, or make the best arrangement they can, fortunate if they can save any thing out of the fire—then their estates will generally get into fresh hands, who will start free, and may, with sufficient capital and good management, do well enough for themselves.

at any rate, we shall have done our duty to them, to our West India black and coloured subjects, to our Eastern brethren, and to the Nation.

If there be really any innate and insuperable cause to prevent the due prosperity of West India affairs, under proper management, without the continuance of slavery, bounties, protecting duties, and with all the factitious aid hitherto afforded them are still a drooping concern, crying out for more and more help—then why should we seek thus to uphold them, against the soundest principles of political economy, when we can obtain the same tropical produce, with all fair and natural commercial advantages, on better terms, from our Eastern possessions, and even from Foreigners.

West India proprietors in trying to shew they are in such a predicament, overshoot the mark, and are proving too much for their purpose, by demonstrating that it is not worth our while at such rate to support them.

West India affairs either can or cannot shift for themselves by fair and natural means—if they *can*, then why do not proprietors make the most of their resources—if they *cannot*, then why should we attempt to bolster up such a losing, and even nefarious concern, by unjust and impolitic measures—let them get out of this dilemma how they can.

They boast of the six millions a year, they say they bring to our Revenue.—Why at least two millions of this are annually lost to the nation, in bounties, protecting duties, expenses for the defence, government, &c. of our West India colonies—and the whole of the duties on imported tropical produce are paid by the consumer, not by the grower—so that the same clear duties might be levied, were we to purchase from our East India subjects, or even from foreigners—and at

least two millions a year saved by taking off the protecting duties, &c. which now also shut out cheaper productions, and prevent a greater consumption.

Then as for the importation of English raw or manufactured articles into our West India colonies—'tis probably not near so great as might be expected would take place in our East India possessions, if the trade in Sugar, &c. were thrown open to fair competition—indeed, we might secure great commercial advantages from both parties.—And where could our West India colonists go, even if they were independent, to find a better market to buy or to sell, especially with their English habits—see the continued trade between us and the American States since their separation—and after all, 'tis at least questionable, whether our most profitable commerce is not with the world at large, rather than with our encumbering colonies, except perhaps at first establishing the English language and habits among them—see the flourishing trade of the American States without possessing any colonies.—And how much greater would be the trade between us and our West India colonies, particularly the importation and consumption of English goods for the immense black and coloured population, if Slavery were Abolished, and the negroes and people of colour accumulating property. —See the much greater consumption of foreign and domestic articles by the free blacks and coloured people, than the slaves, in the American States; and by the present citizens of Hayti, than the former slaves of St. Domingo.—Here is a mine of wealth, yet comparatively unimproved for the Mother country and her colonies.

West India proprietors say, "that they have as much right to Protecting Duties, &c. as the English landlords to Corn Laws in favour of their produce"—perhaps so, but they must first prove that the landlords of

England have any such right in equity or sound policy to inflict high prices on the Nation, by keeping out cheaper productions, cramping our commerce, and shamefully fleecing the poor in obtaining the *Staff of Life*.—However, unjust and impolitic as are our Corn Laws, they chiefly aim at giving preference to our *home* over the same *foreign* commodity.—Whereas, the protecting duty in favor of West India sugar, the production of slavery, is a special partiality shewn to our colonists in the West, to the detriment of our Eastern subjects, who furnish the article by the labour of freemen, could on lower terms supply the nation, and probably take more of our home productions in return.—Moreover, our Corn Laws appear on the point of being repealed or modified, and succeeded by a more just and enlightened policy.

West Indians tell us "to reform the state of Ireland, before we meddle with their system of Slavery."—This is a home thrust to be sure—but what does it do for them?—why only shews that others are allowed to tyranize as well as themselves; and is this the best excuse they can find for their own acts of oppression?—a sure sign of a bad cause, which cannot better defend itself—they seek to justify their own, by raking up the delinquency of others.—However, Government must expect to have such examples thrown in its teeth.—Heaven knows the state of Ireland is bad enough, and needs reform; but not so bad neither as, or any justification of West India Slavery.—And now at length, Government seems really disposed to render full justice to Ireland.—West Indians also say, that abuse of power is suffered to exist in our Eastern dominions;—At any rate, Englishmen there are not allowed to be Slave-holders.

West India proprietors now cry out for some

measures to bring their Sugar into use instead of Grain for our distilleries.—Certainly, as British subjects, they are entitled to every facility and fair encouragement for the disposal of their produce in the home market—but no force work, infliction of high prices, or other inconvenience on the nation, or injury to any part of our subjects—and least of all in favor of Slave-holders.—Let them get rid of that stigma, then let us do for them all we fairly can, and even be generous as far as expedient.

Let them avail themselves to the utmost of their fair and natural resources, which are great, many, sufficient, and far more calculated for their real welfare, than the present artificial, unjust, and inefficient system.—Mr. Huskisson's Bill on Colonial Trade, now brought into Parliament, and so much in their favor, will greatly tend to develop their capabilities, encrease their means, excite their energies, and place their honest prosperity on a proper basis—which let us promote as far as we can with justice and good policy.

The most natural, fair, and eligible mode for Government to afford relief to our West India proprietors, besides the provisions in Mr. Huskisson's Bill now pending in Parliament, would be to reduce the duties on their produce to the peace rate, say of 1791—or as nearly so as our revenue will admit, which would induce a greater consumption—this our colonists and the nation have a right to expect—but then, even if we continue to allow, at least for a time, the present bounties on re-exportation of West India, the restrictive duties against East India sugars should be withdrawn, which would be so much saved to the Nation, and a fair competition admitted in the home market between our East and West India subjects, though higher duties, as at present, if deemed politic, might still be levied on Foreigners.—It would also be more politic and equitable

to withdraw at once the bounty on exportation from England of refined West India sugar, and freely allow the planters and others to manufacture refined sugars of any quality and quantity in the colonies, to use and dispose of as they please.

Let the duties on East and West India sugars be at least equalized, id est, the same on each; or which would be far more equitable, rated according to classification of quality.—This our West Indians need not dread; their sugars possess a stronger saccrine property, and are better manufactured, so will commonly command a preference in the market.—They have also a much shorter transit in their favor.—These, and other circumstances are their great, natural, and permanent advantages, which they may safely rely on (with general good management) rather than meanly and unjustly seeking to exclude their Eastern brethren who after all at least as yet can only furnish an inferior commodity, brought from a far greater distance.*

* A plain and practical Pamphlet, lately published by Hatchard, on East India sugar, shews that its quality may be greatly improved, especially in point of strength, by a better process than hitherto in use among the natives; and it has always been of a fairer colour, greater delicacy of flavour, and superior fineness than West India sugar, and a more elegant article for use in an unrefined state; and may well serve as a substitute for the produce of Slavery, at least until the system shall be Abolished—when the public may take the choice of either, and purchase as best suits the particular purpose required; and will then obtain both on lower terms than at present.—The Tropical Free Labour Company now forming, will possess and use the means to bring East India sugar to its greatest possible degree of perfection.—At present it could and would be sold in our market much cheaper, if the extra duty of 10s. per cwt. were taken off, now levied on it more than on West India sugar.—What a shameful imposition on our East India subjects and on the Nation, as well as against the freedom of Commerce; and solely for benefit of our West India

Why if the artificial system of protecting duties, &c. is resorted to, it had better be in aid of the natural disadvantages our East India subjects unavoidably labour under, in being only able to produce inferior Sugar brought from a greater distance; whilst the better sort from our West India colonies, much nearer at hand, must generally command the market, and can shift for itself.—But even suppose that East India should ever attain an equal or greater degree of perfection than West India sugar, is this a fair and politic plea for restraining, nearly to prohibition, the admission into the home market of such production of our Eastern subjects, and from the labour of freemen, in order to give a monopoly to comparatively a handful of West India Slave-holders, much nearer at hand, with other advantages—yet, who without competition, will probably never furnish the article on as good terms to the Nation—and after all, from their paucity of numbers, and other causes, will not be able to take so much of our home productions in return, as our Eastern subject are likely to do if fairly encouraged.—And on the same plea, though certainly against the soundest principles of national trade and policy, we ought to levy a higher duty on Sugars from the more productive soil of Demerara, Essequebo, &c. than on those of our less fertile West India colonies, or exclude them altogether from our market—indeed, the old West India colonists have actually attempted this with the Government in their own favor, but expect that our East India subjects should be treated on quite a diamatrically opposite principle—that is, to pay a higher impost in proportion

Colonists, comparatively few in number, and for support of their slave system, in preference to those of our subjects who produce the same commodities by their free labour, and within our own territories!

to the disadvantages they have to contend with!*—And to carry the unnatural system still further, we might prohibit our colonies which can produce Sugar the best, from cultivating it at all, and reserve the privilege solely for those, that can only furnish it under the greatest disadvantages.—We had better leave things to find their proper level, and individuals to do the best they can for themselves.

But our West India planters think, that if Government will only allow them to monopolize the home market, which it has done, they can then, with assistance of the bounties allowed, afford to sell their superfluous produce, if they have any, to foreigners as cheap as other folks, or if they cannot so deal abroad, they can do without, and our East India subjects, or any body else, may fatten on their leavings—mighty liberal and patriotic truly—but ought they to be thus indulged,

* They even protest against the trifling quantity of Sugar raised in the small and single colony of the Mauritius being admitted into the home market on the same terms as that from the West Indies; though the mode of culture and manufacture is exactly the same, and the Mauritius as much a British Colony as any in the Western hemisphere; and from its greater liability to devastation from hurricanes, disadvantage of remoter distance, &c. requiring and entitled to at least equal fostering care from the Mother country.—It appertains to the Crown, not to the East India Company; and at its surrender during the late war, was guarranteed an equality of privileges with our West India colonies.—Moreover, the slave system is as much carried on in the Mauritius—and though this ought to be no plea in favor of the colony with Government, yet why should those who operate by slave labour in our Eastern territory be invidiously excluded from the same advantages we grant to those in the West; and the latter ought to admit them, if only from a fellow feeling for their kind; yet they object, such is their selfishness and rapacity, they expect to be the only favored party.—But neither ought to be so encouraged in support of the slave system.

the Nation so fleeced, and our East India brethren so proscribed?—With more Sugar colonies than any other nation, we obtain it the dearest, and even supply them cheaper ourselves, by making the people of England pay for it; and after all done in their favor, our West Indians can hardly shew their face in the foreign Sugar market—what a monstrous system!

No other Nation grants bounties, protecting duties, &c. in favor of one part against another of its colonial subjects; and yet can buy and sell colonial produce cheaper than ourselves, as do even those that have no sugar colonies at all!—(among other instances, see the American States.) Formerly our West Indians did well enough without this factitious aid, and why not hereafter, under proper management; like the colonists of other nations; and our East Indian subjects are willing to do, notwithstanding their natural disadvantages. Moreover, the latter are not Slave-holders—and though all British subjects are entitled to equal rights and privileges, yet if any invidious distinction be made, it ought rather to be in favor of free labour, than for the support of Slavery, especially within our own dominions.*

Even supposing we have too much territory producing sugar, yet why should one portion be systematically made to suffer most, in order to buoy up the rest? at any rate not more deserving; and this in a way least advantageous to the Nation—let them all equally shift for themselves, then there will never long be an over production, they will turn their attention to other articles —and especially let the home market be cheaply suppli-

* Other advantages less unfair and impolitic than the present bounties and protecting duties, might be granted, at least for a time, to those only of our West India colonies that unreservedly adopted the measures of Government as to their slaves.

ed by fair competition, at least between our own subjects.—And why have we so greedily sought to increase our sugar possessions?—if to keep them out of the hands of foreigners, that will never do, unless we could engross the whole sugar land on the globe, or could supply them cheaper than they can grow it themselves, or elsewhere obtain it—what wretched policy, which recoils on ourselves.—Foreign nations having tropical colonies, and who will not be tributary to us, or suffer our undue monopoly of the trade, are thus induced to extend their sugar cultivation, by breaking up fresh land, which is usually the best for the purpose, in order to supply themselves and others; it can also be procured by other means on better terms than from us—so we have too much left on our hands, thus is the biter bit—and we go floundering on in vain attempts to bolster up an unnatural system.—But we could supply ourselves and others cheaply, and our Sugar trade be much extended, with other advantages, if we left things to find their proper level, and our East and West India subjects without partiality to either, equally to shift and do the best they can for themselves.—Among other effects, our West India colonists no longer secure of a monopoly of the home market, would be drove to do their utmost to supply us and others on the best possible terms, a most fortunate necessity for them, which would be sure to induce good management on their part, and throw them on their own capabilities and resources, sufficient if made the most of.—Whilst a free admission of East India sugar would keep down the price, increase the consumption, and vastly enlarge our return trade with our Eastern subjects.—This also would be more consonant to the sound and enlightened policy of late adopted by our Government in its other commercial relations.—Yet notwithstanding the wise and liberal

maxims now professed and acting on by our Government, in its colonial and general commercial policy, the removal of impediments to trade of all kind being the order of the day—not a hint is given as to repealing, or even lowering the Restrictive duty on East India sugar, though an abatement of the heavy impost on their silk and cotton goods is to take place.—This inconsistency is too glaring to be plausibly ascribed to inadvertency, or even honest, though mistaken notions of expediency. —'Tis plain, that West India influence is still predominant against the rights of our Eastern subjects, and the general good of the Nation—The Mother country proves herself a *Step-mother* to her Eastern family.

With more sugar colonies than any nation, and with at least equal capital, skill, and enterprise, why cannot we turn them to advantage by supplying the article to ourselves and others on at least as good terms as it can be any where obtained?—'tis for want of good national policy, and inividual management—our Sugar Colonies might be rendered far more advantageous and less burdensome to the Mother country, and prosper well themselves, under a proper system.—But to return to the subject of Slavery.

Slave-holders expect to be allowed to do *Wrong*, merely because they say it is for their *Interest*. Whether or not it will be most for the interest of West India proprietors to substitute free for slave labour, is more their affair than that of the Nation.—'Tis enough that justice, humanity, and expediency, imperiously require the prohibition of Slavery in the British dominions, and these are paramount reasons, superceding all others, for its Abolition.—But that it assuredly will (with general good management) prove most advantageous for such proprietors, appears so self-evident, as the natural sequence of cause and effect (as I have particularly point-

ed out, and endeavored to prove, in the late pamphlet "Emancipation")—that did we not know the perverting power of habit, prejudice, and crooked policy, we might be astonished to find any difference of opinion on the matter.

Nor is it a question that ought to influence us, whether or not our West India colonists may be able to continue their system of Slavery.—They generally flatter themselves they can, if allowed and assisted by the Mother country*—for my own part, who have well marked the progress and tendency of the West India system, I verily believe, that from the acquired and increasing knowledge and civilization of the slave population, impossible to prevent; their vast superiority in number and physical strength; the nature of the country and climate; with the example of St. Domingo before their eyes; and other causes; the Whites will not much longer be able to keep them in slavish subjection, by any means they possess, however base they may be willing to employ, and though backed, as hitherto, by all the power of Great Britain so shamefully applied—and that most likely the continued attempt will end in a *terrible* catastrophe to the White colonists.—But even *suppose they should for ever be able to keep* up their system of slavery and oppression, ought they to be allowed and assisted by the English Government and people?—The crime is as atrocious and infamous in us at home, who could at once put an end to it, as in

* Speaking lately with a large West India proprietor resident in England, I requested him to seriously consider the improbability of being much longer able to keep up their slave system.—He answered, "Why we do think we can keep up the system, if Government will only let us alone, and supply us with plenty of troops."—This short and pithy reply, speaks volumes as to the real views and intentions of Slave-holders.

its more immediate perpetrators in our colonies—and moreover as fleecing, as iniquitous and disgraceful to the Nation—here is an appeal to our self-interest, as well as to our justice and humanity, which when generally understood, must finally prevail, or our folly must be equal to our crime.

The *immediate* Abolition of Slavery in our colonies, is not only the most *just*, but also the most *likely* mode by which it will ever at all be put an end to.

The Abolitionists have fallen into a fatal error, and given up the main strength of their cause, by supposing and admitting that Slavery can only be discontinued by very slow degrees—their opponents will take especial care it shall be *slow* indeed—done, as they boys say, "to-morrow come never"—and like Penelope's web, never get on—"Festine lente" (make haste slowly) will be their Motto.

'Tis a stale trick with crafty men benefited by a corrupt system, on finding a general outcry for its Reform, to plausibly admit that some reform is necessary—but this is not the proper time, or that it must be done by very cautious slow degrees; and above all, endeavor to get the contrivance and management of the plan to themselves, and then the game is their own.

Thus we find our West India colonists declare "that whatever reform of their slave system may be necessary and practicable, must be effected by very gradual means; and those suggested and executed only by themselves—that they will not suffer any interference from without, are the best judges of what can and ought to be done, and most interested in doing the best."—This has long been their tone, yet to go no further back than the last quarter of a century, since Reform has been more strenuously urged upon them, what have they done?—why nothing, or next to nothing—their system remains essen-

tially the same in all its prominent parts of injustice and oppression, and any little improvement which may have taken place, has been mostly effected by other causes than the voluntary wish and endeavors of the white colonists, chiefly by the outcry in England, and the increasing knowledge of the slaves rendering them less controulable than formerly under outrageous oppression.

Within these few months the chief Island of Jamaica, the leading organ of all the colonies, and containing in itself nearly a moiety of our whole West India slave population, has officially declared "that on a late review of the slave code, they find it so complete in all its parts, as not to require or admit of any alteration!—and that they will resist even the least, as only leading to greater innovations, finally tending to entirely upset the slave system, which they cannot do without, and will never agree to give up."—This, though bold, is at least honest, and ought to open our eyes.—Are we to go on believing or hoping that the colonists will voluntarily and in good earnest set about any material improvement of their slaves condition, and above all will cordially co-operate in measures for the final extinction of Slavery?

For my own part, I think we ought to feel thankful to them for their frank and open avowal of determined opposition to the measures only *proposed,* but not *enforced* by Government—for had they professed acquiescence, I know them too well, and the nature of the slave system, to have believed in their sincerity—it would have been followed by every species of evasion, and thus, at least for a time, the Nation might have been beguiled.

The propositions or instructions unanimously agreed to in Parliament two years ago, and sent out by Government to all our West India colonies, for improving the

condition of slaves, and with an ultimate view to the gradual extinction of Slavery—have been rejected with scorn and defiance.*—Now only let any good and sensible man read those propositions, or the still more comprehensive proposals of Mr. Buxton, and he will be astonished to find that such regulations, founded only on the plainest and most prominent principles of justice, humanity, and expediency, have not been put in practice long ago in our slave colonies, and more still that up to this very period they are violently opposed and rejected by Englishmen; and professing Christians, within our own territory.—And although the National Government declared at the time the instructions were sent out, that if in case the colonists proved refractory, then they must be *coerced* to obey—they have contumaciously refused to comply—the measures are allowed to lie dormant, and the colonists left to do as they please! —so much for successful bullying on their part, and the good faith of Government.†

* The large and leading colonies have violently rejected the measures recommended by the mother Government.—Some others have received them with less expressed intemperance, but no apparent acquiescence; and a few of the smaller Islands have professed a disposition to adopt in part some of the Regulations; for which, if they really put them in practice with good faith to the utmost, they will deserve praise and encouragement—but these constitute only a small portion of our West India colonies opposed to the measures, and left to do as they please.—Nay, after all, 'tis at best doubtful whether much improvement of the slave system can take place, even if attempted with zeal and fidelity; and besides diverting us from the main point, its entire Abolition, and leaving the door open for evasion to Slave-holders, perhaps the experiment of piecemeal incongruous reform may be attended not only with inconvenience, but also with danger.—However, the attempt is laudable, turn out as it may—and I heartily wish it success.

† The King's proclamation addressed to the slaves, issued since the propositions unanimously voted in Parliament, says, that "it

The whole has dwindled down into a trial of parts of the plan in the single island of Trinadad, not containing more than a 40th part of our West India slave population.—And even here, though more under the control of the Crown, every possible opposition and evasion may be expected—but even suppose that the Regulations are duly enforced, and productive of the best practical effects—the other colonists will not suffer it, for at least many years to come, to be even quoted as an experiment sufficiently tried—and then will find some plausible excuse for not adopting it among themselves—such as, "it may do well enough for Trinadad, but not for us"—or "we have Legislatures of our own, and best know how, and are entitled to enact for ourselves the internal regulations of our own colony"—thus is got rid of, sine die, the hated business of reform.

If they honestly wanted only to ascertain the practical effects of general emancipation—they might behold the experiment ready made to their hands in St. Domingo, Sierra Leone, the French West India colonies during several years up to the time of Buonaparte, Colombia, &c. but

> *"A man convinc'd against his will,*
> *Is of the same opinion still."*

Meanwhile their suffering slaves are doomed to

is not his Majesty's intention to emancipate the slaves"—whereas, the aforesaid propositions expressly state, "that this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects."—The Proclamation is also in other respects sadly at variance and inconsistent with the vote of Parliament, and seems a lame attempt at Retraction on the part of Ministers, as if they thought they had previously gone too far, and wish to draw in their horns; or at any rate, to pacify the West India party.—It has been aptly called "*The Hope Extinguisher.*"

endure for an indefinite, and who can say how long a period, unrestrained unmitigated oppression.—And when they know that the King's Government has mercifully interfered to ameliorate the condition of slaves in Trinadad, but not for them—it will only render them more impatient of their own hard lot—enough to drive to desperation—which may produce violent convulsions, ending either in the general massacre or expulsion of the Whites; or else the continued slavery and oppression of the Negroes, until their race becomes extinct or nearly so, in our colonies, already fast diminishing under the slave system, which will be further accelerated by occasional wholesale butcheries of them on any attempt, which henceforth most likely will happen more frequently and formidably than ever, to shake off their thraldom—either alternative is dreadful—to avert which is the earnest wish of the Abolitionists.

Whilst a man is a slave he cannot be effectually protected from injustice—whilst under the arbitrary will and power of his task-masters, subject to any infliction they may impose; considered and treated as chattles; liable to be sold like a beast; torn from his home and dearest connections; no right in his own personal carcass; denied the rights of a husband and parent, his wife and children, as well as himself belong to another; deprived of all free agency; his evidence not admitted in a court of justice against any free person, however his oppressor; the administrators of the Law Slave-holders themselves — any enactment or regulations made apparently in his favor, will practically prove mere nullities—every opposition, collusion and evasion, may be expected from Slave-holders and their myrmidons—who can prevent, detect, or redress all the abuse of power, especially going on in the secret recesses of plantations and other slave establishments;

or how dare the slave prefer his complaint to such constituted public tribunals; what chance has he of redress, nay, he is liable to their sentence of punishment for false, frivolous, or malicious accusation, if he fail to establish his plea!—and has still more to dread from the vengeance of his oppressors, against whom he has complained, when he returns into the clutches of their fearful power!*

Render all slaves free, define their rights as citizens, place them under the government and protection of the Law, (the administrators of which will no longer be Slave-holders) appoint respectable independent men to defend and preserve the rights of the emancipated negroes and people of colour—then, and not 'till then, may they be effectually protected from oppression, and their condition really and materially improved.—And we shall thus at once get rid of the crime and odium of keeping our fellow creatures and subjects in Slavery.

Abolish Slavery at once and for ever—when West India proprietors find that this is really and irrevocably done, then, and not till then, will they give up all further contest, evasion, &c. as useless; submit with a good grace, and seriously set about making the best of the new order of things—as they did on the Abolition of their Slave Trade with Africa.—The Colonists, if left to themselves, will be as averse to reform or abolition of

* Mr. J. Smith, late Missionary at Demerara, states in his journal—"The rigours of Negroe Slavery I believe can never be *mitigated*, the system must be *abolished*."—The Rev. T. Cooper, late of Jamaica, it is I think, who says, "I once thought that Slavery might be *ameliorated*, I am now of opinion that it cannot, but must be *abolished*."—For my own part, I had not been long in the West Indies, before I arrived at the same melancholy conviction, and have ever since continued to give it as my decided opinion.—This is the grand secret well known to practical Slave-holders, though they do not chuse to say much about it, except among themselves.

their slave system for ages to come, as at present, and always have been.—We had better begin and finish with them by doing all that is necessary and practicable at once, and keep a tight hand over them until we have done.

It is as great an error to suppose that Slavery can be best *Ameliorated,* as that it can also be best *Abolished,* by partial slow degrees.—We must begin where we now only expect to end, by its Abolition at once and for ever, before any material improvement can take place in the condition of the enslaved.—Proprietors could not, if they would, and by far the greater part of them would not if they could, effect much alteration for the better in their slave system.—It must continue pretty much as it is, or cease to exist at all, and probably die a violent death, involving the Aggressors in ruin or destruction. 'Tis entirely kept up by brutal force and despotic power on the part of owners, against the will and interest of their slaves, who will evade their toilsome profitless tasks, and otherwise trick their tyrants, whenever they can.—*Craft* against *force* is their chief weapon, unless they should obtain the ascendency, then power as well as stratagem will be employed, and most likely with a vengeance against the oppressors.

A slave has no motive to drudge for his owner except that of being forced by irresistible compulsion—without fair benefit to himself.—The moment you relax from the strict and ready discipline of the whip and other inflictions most suited to goad him, he will proportionally relax in his exertions on behalf of his task-master.—Grant him other indulgences, his low and degraded mind will be apt to abuse them;—he has no sufficient motives for personal respectability of character, nor hopes of emerging from Slavery—he knows he is still a slave, and thinks he owes no gratitude on any account

to his enslaver.—Seek to enlighten his mind, and the acquisition of knowledge only renders him more discontented with his slavish condition, and more troublesome and dangerous to those who hold him in thraldom. —A Freeman labours because he is paid for it, and reaps other advantages from industry, good conduct, and character—which is a much better incitement, founded on the right principle of self-interest, than the lash over slaves without other inducement.

I have known some humane and liberal Slave-holders, who really wished and endeavored to soften the rigors of the system as much as possible, without endangering its existence; but found that beyond a certain point, far short of what they expected and intended, they could not safely or conveniently go.—Take for instance the well known case of Mr. Robert Hibbert—heaven forgive his keeping his fellow creatures in Slavery, for sake of his merciful endeavors to ameliorate their condition as slaves.—Mr. Cooper bears ample testimony to his kind and liberal intentions—yet is forced to confess that no material improvement of the system had taken place on the estate—the toil, restrictions, punishments, liabilities, state of morals, &c. of his slaves, were much the same as on other plantations—the whip and other inflictions as much employed, which his Managers declared could not be dispensed with—at any rate, this is the opinion and practice of the agents, who are the practical men with the slaves, if not of their principal—indeed it appears they will act pretty much as they please, even in direct opposition to their instructions,—Thus we find the Sugar Mill set to work on Sundays, expressly against his order; the Overseer of fifteen years standing is at length discharged on account of his over severity, and other instances—nay, the discipline over the slaves is stated as

the most severe of any, one estate only excepted, in the whole Island—which shews how difficult it is for humane proprietors, especially if Absentees, to prevent being thwarted even by their own Agents, besides the opposition of surrounding Slave-holders and their myrmidons, jealous of any innovation on the general practice and policy of the country.—And even Mr. Hibbert repeatedly declares, he will not venture on any measure that may endanger the existence of the slave system; but only aims at its *Amelioration*, not its *Abolition* (which is also generally the case even with the best among Slave-holders—Amelioration is their ne plus ultra) thus he would not suffer his slaves to be taught to read, &c. —Being so shackled, 'tis not surprising he should not be able to effect much good.—Mr. Cooper ascribes the failure of his own mission to the circumstance of the slaves not having sufficient leisure from their avocations to attend his instructions, though it appears the proprietor had ordered sufficient time to be set apart for that purpose.—Yet how few, if any Slave-holders can be found, so benevolent and liberal as Mr. Hibbert, so able and willing to make such sacrifices in attempts to ameliorate and improve the system, yet even in this case under such unusual favorable circumstances, has it failed in producing any material alteration for the better —such is the nature of Slavery, it must be Abolished, it cannot be Improved.

It has been supposed, that if the owners of large West India estates more generally resided in the colonies, it would be much better for their slaves—perhaps so—but most of the large proprietors are living in Europe, and usually beyond their natural means of income, are often much embarrassed, and very greedy after large remittances from their agents in the colonies, without being over scrupulous as to the means by which they are

obtained, which leads to the exhaustion of slaves and soil—and their managers well know how best to please them by remitting them largely, which answers the purpose for the present, and both parties are generally reekless of future distant consequences.—Besides, managers are usually paid by a per centage on the amount of produce, and otherwise try to feather their nests by every means in their power—in consequence, every thing is overstrained to satisfy proprietors and agents—among the rest, they get as much work with as little expense as possible out of the slaves.

Even those absentee proprietors more prudent, who live within bounds, are content with moderate profits, and aim at good management, can very little know or controul the proceedings of their agents across the Atlantic, who will go on pretty much as they please—above all, are generally averse to every innovation on the ordinary treatment of slaves.—And what must we think of large proprietors who each own and hold several hundred human beings in slavery, and live in Europe, abandoning them to the management of mercenary hirelings 5,000 miles off, content with merely giving orders for the general good treatment of their slaves, to those whom it may be expected will evade them, as contrary to their own ideas and interest.

The Rev. R. Bickell recently returned from Jamaica, where he had officiated as a clergyman during the last five years, states in his work lately published, that several large West India proprietors resident in England, had sent out directions to their managers in that Island, to put in practice on their estates the measures recommended by the mother Government, but that such orders were generally unattend to, evaded, and opposed—we wish not to doubt the sincerity of their principals.

If West India proprietors will keep slaves, at least they ought to reside on the spot, and by their personal care endeavor to lighten the chains of their captivity.—I have often wondered how they can rest in peace on their pillows, and enjoy their guilty luxuries in Europe, under such heavy responsibility, and fearful dereliction of duty, to say nothing of the main enormity, that of at all keeping their fellow creatures in Slavery.

But even the comparatively few large proprietors who actually do reside in the colonies, very often lead extravagant dissipated lives on their estates, or in the neighboring towns where they can better enjoy themselves, and leave the management of their affairs to agents nearly or entirely as much as if they were Absentees—or else are rapaciously bent on making as much as soon as possible to enable them to retire to Europe, careless about the welfare of their slaves, and often tainted with all the West India prejudices against them.—Large proprietors are often not a bit more liberal in purse or in sentiment than the more petty, especially respecting their slaves—indeed, a slave is generally of most consequence to the latter, and who can better look after him, with few or no intermediate agents, often the greatest tyrants.—Small proprietors are generally the best managers, and come most in personal contact with every branch of their own affairs.

The Island of Barbadoes contains a greater proportion of resident proprietors of large estate than any of our West India colonies—yet are they not remarkable for kind treatment of their slaves, but commonly severe and haughty masters, though there may be more general good management of their own concerns—and are very rapacious after gain.

I have been among the Spanish plantations in the Island of Cuba.—The proprictors lead a kind of patri-

archial life, consider the Colony as their permanent home, live and die on their estate, and are succeeded in possession by their children from generation to generation—their habits are simple, their wants are few, and they cultivate on a small scale only sufficient to supply them—are kind and indulgent masters, and enjoy much more comfort, and so do their slaves, than is the case under a very different order of things in the British West Indies.

Many proprietors, though of large estate, are really more necessitous and embarrassed than those of smaller property.—Some succeed to an over-encumbered concern; or purchase on credit without sufficient funds to go on, or even to pay the purchase-money by instalments; or are careless, extravagant, or otherwise bad managers.—Many are entirely under the controul of their creditors; others are put out of possession until their debts are paid, and their creditors bent on making as much as they can during their own reign, and the same may be said of Executors in those regions.—Under these and many other untoward circumstances, continually occurring in West India affairs under the present system, is it likely much improvement can take place in the condition of slaves.—But were they retained as freed servants, they must be properly treated, or the estate would remain without hands, or must do the needful for those attached to it.

Proprietors of all sorts, whether of large or less estates, may be bad, unprincipled, and unfeeling men, who can and may neglect their duty and abuse their fearful power over their slaves, or else unable, if not unwilling, to take proper care of them.—But were they free servants under the protection of the Law as citizens, no one would be allowed to do or occasion them harm, whether intentionally or not.—Many slaves suffer

as much from the neglect, bad management, or necessities of their owners, as others do from more wilful cruelty.

But take a rara avis, the beau ideal of the sticklers for Slavery, from which they argue at least by implication.—A West India Planter, a good and sensible man, free from debt and incumbrances, with ample capital for all necessary purposes, residing on his colonial estate, managing well, and anxiously desiring and endeavoring to improve the condition of his slaves—yet he cannot answer for those who may come after him, or what may happen to himself; thus may his slaves be eventually transfered from a good to a bad master.—And even during his own time he will find himself continually thwarted by the nature of the slave system and its abettors, even among his own subordinate agents.—Nor is it likely he will venture to endanger its existence, or if he did, would soon be checked by surrounding Slave-holders.

If this be the case even with the best among Slave-holders, under circumstances so peculiarly favorable as rarely to be met with—how much worse must it be as to the far more general run of proprietors, who either cannot, or will not, at any rate do not improve the condition of their slaves.

Many, more especially among petty proprietors, and the subordinate agents and their understrappers of those with larger estate, are often the offscourings of Europe, needy, greedy, desperate adventurers, who risk their health and life in a deleterious clime, bent on making pelf by any means in their power, thorough goers through thick and thin, who will boggle at nothing they can do with impunity to answer their own purposes—these are generally the persons who come in most immediate contact, and are the practical men with the

slaves, and continually present impediments to all improvement in the condition of slaves, whether belonging to themselves or to others, and often finally arrive at being considerable proprietors.—Nay, do we not frequently find, even among opulent and enlightened men in England, those who purchase West India estate on speculation, merely to make the most of their money and consider the slaves as part of the cattle on the property to be drudged or sold to the utmost profit.*—

* Look at the unholy league lately forming, called "The West India Company," with a capital of four millions, for the purpose of upholding and profiting by West India Slavery.—The list of subscribing names ought to be placed on permanent record—'tis said they have been *prudently* destroyed.

In drawing out the foregoing Note some months ago, which here remains unaltered, the Author had certainly supposed that the precious scheme alluded to had, from certain causes, died in its infancy, but finds himself mistaken—for a Bill is now passing through Parliament to form the same or a like concern into a joint stock company—by which this confederacy will probably in course of time acquire nearly all the fee simple of our West India colonies; and needy, embarrassed, or inconsiderate proprietors of estates, &c. almost comprehending the whole, will, by getting into its clutches, be kept in thraldom, finely fleeced, and finally ousted. —Then what unsparing task-masters will such a sordid firm of money-makers and their agents prove to the poor slaves.—The system is bad enough at present even under individual owners, some of whom at least may from a right sense of interest, or feeling of compassion, be induced not to overstrain their slaves— but what can be expected from the ravenous nature of such a many headed monster.—However, as a counteracting project, has been first publickly announced within these few days the formation of "A Tropical Free Labour Company"—with also a capital of four millions.—'Tis gratifying to find that some men are as ingenious in their more laudable contrivances for the downfall, as others for the support of a nefarious system.—This is a new, and will probably prove a mighty blow against Slavery.

N. B.—Unless the more knowing leading Managers of the West

Is it from such we are to expect improvement in the condition of slaves.—In short, what can be expected but abuse of power from men, either good or bad, who are allowed to do as they please, or it may suit their convenience, with their fellow creatures.—Is it not against every institution of civilized society to guard against Tyranny?—Yet such is our West India system of Slavery—bad at best,—but in bad, negligent, or incompetent hands, most deplorable.

Even supposing that the most able and willing to benefit their slaves, may generally be found among the larger proprietors; these constitute but a small proportion of the great mass of Slave-holders, and have little or no influence over them.—It has been said, that the great West India proprietors resident in England generally agreed to the propositions voted by Parliament, and recommended by Government two years ago—yet we know they were peremptorily rejected in the Colonies.—And even the colonial Assemblies, which may be supposed constituted chiefly of the first rate and most intelligent Planters, or their Attornies, are as averse to any innovation, as the lowest and most ignorant Slave-holders.—And if any member should be found hardy enough to propose it, he would probably find as little support within as without the walls,† and would be soon ousted from his seat by his constituents.

India Company prove very immaculate characters, and if they or their proteges have West India property or claims of no very secure or profitable nature, they may palm them on the Company, and get more than their worth from the funds, or be otherwise accommodated.—Let the uninitiated unfavored Subscribers keep a sharp look out after the application of their money.

† This, among many other instances, has been lately further illustrated by the recent proceedings of the Jamaica House of Assembly.—On the 16th November last, one of its members, Mr.

The fact is, that from long continued habit, prejudice, and surrounding custom, as well as supposed interest, the Colonists have brought themselves to believe there is no great harm, if any, in keeping Negroes in Slavery, whom they have bought with their own money or otherwise legally succeeded to, and that the general treatment of slaves is good enough for such inferior beings, or as much so as expediency will admit of—these notions not only render them very tenacious of what they deem their rights and privileges as Slave-holders—but they also fear that besides present inconvenience, any tampering with their slave system may not only produce the final extinction of Slavery, which they will never voluntarily agree to—but likewise bring on themselves massacre, expulsion, or ruin—so far they may be excusable—though many who consider the present system as advantageous to themselves, are totally regardless, though fully conscious, of its injustice to those who suffer

Rennall, brought in a Bill, "rendering Negroe evidence or testimony admissible, upon any trial of an indictment against a white or free person, for murder, or for felonious homicide, of any negroe or other slave, or upon any trial of a misdemeanor in mutilating or dismembering any slave, or wantonly or cruelly whipping, maltreating, beating, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning; or keeping in confinement without sufficient support, any slave," &c. —The Bill was thrown out on its second reading, by a majority of 34 to 1, and that one the mover of the question, accompanied by the declaration of several members who took part in the debate, "that they opposed it not only as unnecessary, mischievous, and dangerous in itself, but also to shew their determination not to admit of any innovation whatever on their slave system, or interference of the Mother country"—And certainly, if they will not consent to such a measure as that proposed by Mr. Rennall, they need not fear we can entertain any doubt that they mean to abide by their declaration.—Persons not having easy access to Jamaica Newspapers, will find a detailed account of the debate in "The Times" of 17th January, 1825.

by it—and the more knowing and least prejudiced among them, are as well aware as ourselves, that their estates might be cultivated, and all the business of life carried on in the West Indies, as well and probably better by free agents as by slaves.—But this they will never consent to, whilst allowed to drudge their fellow creatures for nothing, and subject them to their own arbitrary will and power.—And others act without thought on the matter.

Now though I can never admit on any pretence their right to keep their fellow creatures and subjects in Slavery —especially when indemnified for their Emancipation, and their services further secured to them on easy terms; nor that the general treatment of slaves is as good as it need be, or that Slavery ought not to be put an end to—yet I do think there is much more difficulty and probable danger likely to accrue from attempts at incompatible Reform, than the entire Abolition of the incorrigible system.—Their error and their fault consist not so much in their repugnance to an incongruous piece of patch-work of half and half Slavery, which will not match or hold well together, as in their opposition to the entire extinction of Slavery, and the substitution of an uniform better order of things.

Look at the regular, every day, authorized usages under our West India system of Slavery.—A slave has no personal right to himself, to his wife or children, they belong to another; are considered and treated as chattles, may be bought, sold, let out on hire, given away, seized on for debt, &c. and for ever separated from each other; are driven and drudged like brute beasts; are not within the pale of the Law as citizens; but entirely subjected to the will, convenience, neglect, necessities, &c. of their owners; and have to run the gauntlet through all the abuse of power by subordinate agents; with other

enormous grievances too numerous here to detail—whilst such impediments exist, how is it possible to effect any material improvement in the condition of slaves.—The plain and general aim of Slave-holders is, to get as much out of the bones and sinews of their slaves, with as little expense as possible, and render them subservient for all their purposes; and many proprietors are drove to it from necessity, if not from inclination.—Then is it likely they will increase their allowance of food, cloathing, leisure, &c. especially when now they say they can hardly make ends meet notwithstanding all the toil and privation of their slaves.—Then as for enlightening their minds, Slave-holders full well know, and are quite in the right, that is the readiest way entirely to upset their system, which they so tenaciously cling to.—Why it cannot safely admit even of Religious light and knowledge among the slaves—for how can Christianity, which imperiously enjoins the duties of Justice, Mercy, and Purity of Morals, be propagated amongst slaves, without more opening their eyes to the palpable injustice and cruelty practised against themselves, and the gross immorality of their task-masters, who profess to be Christians!—No wonder our West India Colonists seek to shut out such religious illumination from their slaves.*—Then for instance, I should like to know how the institution of Marriage can be

* "The Colonist" of 18th Feb. 1824, (a Demerara Newspaper) speaks out plainly on this subject as follows—"It is most unfortunate for the cause of the planters, that they did not speak out in time.—They did not say, as they ought to have said, to the first advocates of missions and education—"We shall not tolerate your plans 'till you can prove to us that they are safe and necessary.—We will not suffer you to enlighten our slaves, who are by law our property, 'till you can demonstrate, that when they are made religious and knowing, they will still continue to be our slaves."

established and observed among Slaves, deprived of the rights of husband and wife, parents and children—so on through all the abominations of the system, presenting at every turn insuperable obstacles to improvement—its entire Abolition is more safe, easy, and beneficial.

As for any piecemeal attempts at Reform, Slave-holders are as jealous and averse to any even the least Alteration, as to the entire Abolition of their system, to which they consider it only as a prelude, and will never consent or co-operate; but will resist, thwart, and evade all measures for the purpose, and but too much possess the practical means to render them abortive.—The attempts to do away with one abomination after another of the slave system, will be each considered by Slave-holders as great an attack on their rights and privileges, and as much disputed as would be the immediate and entire Abolition of their system.—So that we shall have to dispute the ground inch by inch, and instead of by one grand effort getting rid of the whole system at once, and establishing a complete better order of things, we shall long be engaged in a succession of struggles, and most likely very often, if not always, foiled—whilst the system will be rendered incongruous and more dangerous, by being partly reformed, partly not.

At present, 'tis a machine kept in motion for the purposes intended, by a nice and cunning adaptation of its several parts to each other—derange its mechanism by the introduction of incompatible alterations, the whole is thrown into confusion, and will no longer operate for, but probably against its directors, and become uncontroulable.—This is what is principally meant by the Report of the Committee lately appointed by the Jamaica assembly, "That on a review of the Slave Code, they find it so complete in all its parts, as not to require or *admit* of any Alteration."—There may be more truth

than generally supposed in the assertion of Slave-holders, "that the system has already been reformed as much or nearly so as it will admit of, to be longer carried on with safety and advantage."—For my own part, were I a Slave-holder, I should, on the score of safety and self-interest, prefer the entire Abolition to any attempt at Alteration of the system.—And I verily believe that much more difficulty and probable danger is likely to accrue from any attempts at piecemeal incongruous Reform, than in the immediate and entire Abolition of the incorrigible evil—then we start free and unshackled to establish a complete and consistent better order of things, which will assimilate and work well together on uniform principles, for the reciprocal welfare of masters and their slaves as freed servants and citizens, and benefit of all parties concerned.—To this, after many vain attempts at partial Reform, we shall probably find it necessary to come at last, and had better commence with, if we really intend and expect, by the best means, to effect the extinction of Slavery.—The evil is radical, we had better strike at the root than aim at its branches —with all our lopping off and attempts at engrafting on the old stock, it never will produce good fruit, we cannot grow grapes on thorns, nor figs on thistles.

Even suppose that our system of Slavery might be Reformed and finally Abolished by slow degrees, in spite of existing obstacles, abounding in itself, and further thrown in the way by its abettors—consider the time that must elapse before much essential good could be effected; during which the slaves must continue to suffer from remaining grievances, especially the main evil of still being in Slavery—and the very means taken to improve their condition, enlighten their minds, &c. will render them more impatient of their thraldom, being still slaves, and bent on shaking off the yoke as soon as they

can, and better enable them, without waiting the lingering indefinite time prescribed by others, for their slow and uncertain emancipation, which at any rate most, if not all of the present race, must know will never happen to them, they must live and die slaves, unless they can effect their own deliverance.—So that after all we may be overtaken in the midst of our slow and partial measures by violent convulsions, ending either in the extirpation or expulsion of the white colonists, or else if we get the mastery, then in riveting more strongly the chains of Slavery, for our own alledged security; or yielding to the storm when we can no longer controul its fury, by vain attemps to conciliate the aggrieved, enraged, and then perhaps ascendant party, by tardy offers to concede all points in dispute—when they find they can do without us, it may be too late to obtain forgiveness of the past, or be trusted in future; they may resolve to get rid of us altogether, as at San Domingo.

PART III.

EARL BATHURST, our Colonial Secretary, adverting last session in the House of Peers to the prompt and decisive measures adopted by the Colombian Government for the extinction of Slavery throughout the Republic; his Lordship is reported to have said—"That the slaves in Colombia may be more safely emancipated, because they are *less* numerous than in our West India Colonies."—In reply may be said, that the danger of attempting to forcibly keep human creatures in slavery against their will and endeavors to be free, is great in proportion to the magnitude of their number—if so, then must not the danger be greater in our West India Colonies than in Colombia.—And mark, the emancipated negroes are about 150 to 1 white person in Sierra Leone —so much for his Lordship's *logic*.*

* "The West India party must have been agreeably surprised to receive this side long aid to their cause, from no less a personage than the Right Honorable Secretary for Colonial Affairs, especially after the late badgering they had previously given him, —threatening to petition his Majesty to remove him from his councils for incapacity, &c. &c.—Let us admire his Lordship's marvellous *Magnanimity!*

The enlightend and *honorable* Parliament of England took a quarter of a century to debate year after year, whether it should put an end to our horrible Slave Trade with Africa—and after all, it was Abolished by a new set of men only a few months in power, who having the cause really at heart, actually did at once, what their predecessors had been so long only in talking about.—Now nearly 20 years afterwards, it is beginning to talk of putting an end to Slavery in the British dominions—and this is already the third session it has been debating about the matter, and will most likely fill up another quarter of a century before it agrees as to the expediency and mode of effecting it—and then, if the plan of *gradual* emancipation be adopted, ages may roll away before much if any progress is made in accomplishing the main and ultimate object, the extinction of Slavery.—During all which time we are holding near a million of our suffering subjects in slavery within our own dominions, and so we have done for centuries!—What a specimen of the vaunted justice and humanity of the British Nation, or at least of its Government, and its promptitude to redress oppression, that the most revolting, a system of human Slavery existing among free born Englishmen, with all their boasted love of Liberty for themselves, and the rest of mankind!

N.B.—It will form a curious feature in future history of the last half century, supposed a moral and enlightened æra by its contemporaries, that the Parliament of Great Britain took so many years to debate on the expediency of an Abolition of our Slave Trade with Africa, the Emancipation of Ireland, the Abolition of Slavery throughout our dominions, and other equally important questions of such self-evident solution, and incumbent duty to act with promptitude and justice, that hesitation may be considered as disgraceful as

downright refusal.—Yet after all, are such cases often decided either by the general voice of the Nation outstripping the judgment or inclination of its Government, or the nefarious system upheld to the last by every art and manœuvre, for the benefit of a few against the good of the many becoming too intolerable to be longer endured or maintained; and then reluctantly given up by its abettors.—Some of the leading characters of our age will cut a sorry figure in the estimation of posterity!—And what must we think of a noble peer, the nephew and elevé of a late eloquent and popular statesman—his Lordship is usually enlightened, liberal, and patriotic enough in his general line of politicks—but possessing West India estate, see his speeches in the parliamentary debates on the Slave question.—Oh what a falling off is there.—When we behold this in such men, alas poor human nature!—Yet are there those among us of such high principle and patriotism, as would not, could not suffer private interest to interfere with public duty—would they were more numerous, and more in authority.

At the close of last session, the Foreign Secretary aimed at giving a quietus to Mr. Wilberforce by saying, "If he would not patiently wait the gradual development and operation of the plans contemplated by Government in behalf of the slaves, and any disaster should happen ad interim by insurrections, &c. in the West Indies, he should impute the whole blame to the precipitancy of the Right Hon. Gentleman and his party."—But in the present critical state of things, especially the advanced and increasing knowledge and civilization of the slaves; their proportionate impatience of Slavery; the example of St. Domingo; the hopes that have been held forth to them; and other circumstances; is not such danger much more likely to arise

from denial, delay, or insufficient redress of their grievances, than from prompt, effectual, and decisive measures for that purpose—and if a general rising should take place, and the slaves obtain the mastery, wreck their vengeance on their incorrigible oppressors, expel the survivors, and retain possession of the colonies, it will be in vain for the English Government, or for West India proprietors, to throw the blame on the Abolitionists—the sensible part of the Nation will rightly ascribe it to their obstinate perseverance in a system no longer tenable, against the dictates of common prudence and the warnings of the Abolitionists.—Government cannot thus excuse itself; nor will it redeem the character, or retrieve the affairs of the infatuated and ruined Colonists.

Mr. Canning, with his usual dexterity, appears to trim between both parties—on the one hand not giving an entire negative to the prayer of the Abolitionists; on the other not much alarming their opponents, who perfectly understand him, and have lately ventured to praise his *discretion*.*—By holding forth the necessity of slow and cautious measures, he seems to think he

* That Mr. Canning possesses first-rate talents is unquestionable—but which, if so disposed, only enables a man with more plausible dexterity, to evade right, commit wrong, and make the worse appear the better cause.—The age of man is threescore years and ten.—Mr. Canning is verging on his grand climacteric, a period of life when the world, its wiles and manœuvres are fast vaning in consequence to him, and he has no time to lose.—Sleep hath been called the semblance of Death, and lying down in our bed to lying down in the grave.—I solemnly conjure him, as he hopes to leave a good name among the virtuous in this world, and meet the approbation of his Maker in the next—Let him each night as he lies down on his couch for repose, scrupulously enquire of himself—"Have I done all I can, to put an end to human Slavery in the British dominions?)"—and let him act accordingly.

has brought West India affairs into such train, that Government may take its own time to do any thing or nothing, just as it pleases.—And so far he need not have been so scrupulous in superceding Mr. Buxton's more comprehensive propositions, and substituting his own for the general practice of all our West India colonies; because it turns out that neither have been so put into execution.—But it happens (perhaps inadvertently on the part of the Foreign Secretary) that he pledged the Government to this, namely, that if the propositions thus unanimously voted by Parliament were not complied with, they should be *enforced* on the Colonists.—Now then, if the Government is not disposed to go further at present, let it at any rate redeem this pledge before it seeks for, or the Abolitionists grant it, further confidence—and let the latter look well to its fulfillment.

At present, 'tis not a question in the colonies, whether it shall be immediate or gradual Emancipation, for they declare they will never consent to either.—Nor how much or how little shall be done in the way of Reform by the National Government, for they say they will not suffer any interference with their slave system, but will only do as they please.—What is a handful of emaciated Whites, trembling with fear of surrounding myriads of their slaves; and who could not exist in safety for an hour without the protecting arm of the Mother country, to spurn the councils, dispute the supremacy, and brave the power of Great Britain?—Jamaica in a Passion, a Puddle in a Storm!—Why the very troops we furnish them with to keep down their slaves, if accompanied by proper civil functionaries of our own appointment, would be more than sufficient to enforce any regulations of the supreme Government respecting the slaves, or any other ordinance (that is, if it placed the slaves under the protection of the Law as citizens, otherwise

the colonists might by craft and opportunity covertly evade, what by power they could not openly resist) and if we were to withdraw our troops, the slaves would soon settle the matter for themselves—or only war with West India finances, withdraw the protecting duties, &c. admit East India on the same terms as West India sugars; and if that be not sufficient, shift the protecting duty to the former; and if that prove not enough for supply of the home market, &c. then give all due encouragement to Foreigners.—This would soon bring our infatuated, hectoring West Indians to their proper senses, and tame submission.—Thus then, if there be a will, there is a way.—Let us now wait for a while, and watch the future proceedings of Government.

Whether the British Government be really friendly to the general cause of Freedom, I shall not here stop to investigate, nor adduce instances of its policy at home and abroad, which might elucidate the fact.—But this is certain, that whilst it is under the domination of an overruling, selfish, and rapacious Oligarchy, were all the members of our Cabinet as enlightened and liberal as only some are now supposed to be; and were they usually as unanimous, as said to be discordant in their views and opinions; they would often find they could not execute their designs, however wise and virtuous.—Mr. Pitt declared, that "*under the present system, no English Minister could be an Honest Man.*"—But this Mr. Canning calls "*The system working well.*"—Thus Corn Laws, oppressive and impolitic, especially grinding on the poor, are made to give a monopoly and high prices to the Landlords of England, who chiefly constitute both Houses of Parliament.*—Protecting Duties are given

* The Landlords of England whilst indulged with their Corn Laws, cannot with any face object to Protecting Duties in favor of the West India interest—'tis a give and take business among the Oligarchs in dividing the Loaves and Fishes.

in favor of the West India Interest, which has much influence within and without the walls.—So on through all the range of the Oligarchal party to be secured and satisfied; with rank, office, pensions, sinecures, &c. to its individual proteges.—And after all, its bigotry and prejudices are to be combatted with, and very often yielded to.—Ministers, and even a higher Personage, are as much in thraldom as West India slaves, and under as unsparing tyrants in their way.—And this must be the case, until our Rulers trust for support to the integrity of their motives, the wisdom of their measures, and the consequent approbation of the Nation, always sensible of, and grateful for, the blessings of good government, and ready to rally round and defend it.—Oh what strength and glory for a British Monarch, and his Ministers!

It cannot well be supposed that the English Government should have any natural voluntary liking for our West India system of Slavery, which is most infamous in itself; disgraceful, impolitic, and shackling to the Government; and fleecing to the Nation; as well as against its better feelings and constitutional principles; and the general spirit of the Age—and Ministerial *patronage* in the West Indies would remain as much as ever, probably more, under a system of general emancipation, as of Slavery.—And if it were not for the political influence at home of the West India party, the National Government might not be detered by the empty vaporing and peurile refractoriness in the colonies, from enforcing its measures for the extinction of Slavery in that only part of our dominions where it is so shamefully and anomalously suffered to exist; and Ministers might not be sorry for a sufficient excuse to satisfy the West India leaders at home, by being enabled to plead the irresistible voice of the Nation for the Abolition of Slavery.—Let then the people of England thus aid its

Government, and whether the latter really wish for it or not, it must finally give way to public opinion, if generally expressed and resolutely persevered in—how many abuses have thus been Reformed.

But it is not a partial, faint, or short-lived effort, a sudden impulse and soon over, which will sway the Government.—Ministers are accustomed to watch the public feeling, and on any outcry for reform or change of measures, to lay by and temporize to ascertain whether it is likely after a time to weaken and die away, or to continue and become more formidable.—In the first case, they bend to the storm, until its violence has passed over, and then resume their former position and practices.—In the latter, though often tardily and reluctantly, they really give up to public opinion—"'tis by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," the Abolitionists must seek to influence the Government, which will then coerce the Colonists, and the business is done.—The Nation has already caused Government to stir in the Slave question, and must not be diverted from its main object by a tub thrown out to the whale.

The Colonists protest against any interference of the Mother country with their slave system—but vaguely say that they will do what *is right* and necessary in the way of Reform at proper seasons, if left to themselves, without any specification of plan as to object, time, mode, or particular measures; or any guarantee for their performance.—And even if they were to propose or consent to any defined or sufficient plan not only for the mitigation, but also final extinction of Slavery, is it likely, if left to themselves, they would honestly and zealously put it in practice?—No, Ministers cannot be so credulous as to believe or expect it.—And if they go on much longer in merely attempting to persuade the Colonists to adopt the measures recommended, and afterwards trust to them for their execution, then the

obvious inference to be drawn by all persons of common sense and penetration must be, that Ministers are deluding the Nation, and playing into the hands of the West India party—that's plain English without mincing the matter.—If they really wish and intend to accomplish the measures they ostensibly recommend, and to prove their sincerity, let them ordain instead of merely propose, and provide sufficient means for the execution of their ordinances.—And although it is my clear and firm conviction, that our West India system of Slavery cannot be materially mitigated whilst suffered at all to exist, and that the best, most likely, and probably only effectual means ever to produce its Abolition, will be to render all slaves at once free under certain necessary restraints and regulations, and placing them as subjects under the government and protection of the law and proper authorities; with suitable enactments and provisions specially made for the state and condition of the emancipated classes, and those connected with them.—Yet, if the supreme Government be not yet disposed to go so far, but to proceed by more gradual measures, then what it deems requisite and sufficient to be done—*let it ordain* and *enforce*.

N. B.—The daring aim and cunning policy of our leading slave colonies appear at present to be, to set out by making a bold stand for the whole and sole controul of their slave system, rejecting in toto any interference, whether in the shape of propositions, or otherwise, of the Mother country.—But if they find that this will not prevail, then most likely they will appear to concede so far as to consent to some Reformations, stipulating that the arrangement and execution shall be left to themselves; then little practical good can be expected.—But if after all, they find the supreme Government bent on framing and enforcing them, then comes their last resource, namely, they will trust to their ability

to thwart and evade any measures they dislike in actual practice—which they will possess too much power and opportunity of doing, unless the slaves are declared free, and placed as subjects under the protection of the law, and of proper authorities appointed by, and dependent on, the National Government.

'Tis pretty well known that the West India party now flatters itself that the late outcry against their slave system is beginning to subside in England; that most of the clamour, as they term it, has been excited by a few leading Abolitionists, who stirred up the people en mass, and obtained signatures to Petitions for Negroe Emancipation, &c. from the multitude imposing in numbers on paper, but not of much consequence in point of respectability; and who, for the most part, really know or care little or nothing about the matter—a sudden ebulition soon evaporating; that it is not likely they can again be brought or kept to the charge with much ardour, weight, or perseverance—that all which has been written, said, or otherwise done on the subject of Slavery has only produced a transient sensation—indeed, that the people of England generally, feel but little curiosity or interest about what is going on in distant colonies across the Atlantic; that out of sight is out of mind, and most folks are fully engaged in their own more immediate concerns, those also often of as nefarious a nature as West India Slavery, and may keep it in countenance.—That Government will not materially interfere with their system, unless overborne by the voice of the Nation, which is not likely to happen, or if it do, the Colonists may be able to resist, thwart, or evade all attempts at Alteration, not approved of by themselves.—In short, that the West India party will be able to stand its ground.—But in this, and other calculations, it is egregiously mistaken.

Such is the nature of the West India system that it

only requires to be thoroughly known to be generally reprobated—that knowledge is fast diffusing among the people of England; and must secure as determined opponents the virtuous, intelligent, and reflecting part of the community, who, acting from a sense of right and duty, are not likely to flag or prove lukewarm in such a cause, or to fail in influencing others.—'Tis not alone the just, humane, and honorable among us, who feel for the wrongs of our fellow creatures and subjects held in Slavery by Englishmen within our own dominions—'tis not only those who seek to erase this foul stain from our national character—but even persons chiefly influenced by self-interest, must join in the hue and cry against it, when they come to know that the West India system is as fleecing as disgraceful to the Country —thus will it be assailed on all hands.—Thank heaven, 'tis not a narrow party question, the good and sensible of all parties join in their execration of the slave system, and will cordially unite their efforts to put an to it in the British dominions.

I have heard West Indians jeeringly say, that "John Bull does n't trouble his head about whether the Sugar he uses is produced by the labour of slaves or of freemen; or whether it comes to him a penny or twopence a pound dearer for the support of Slavery, as long as he gets it at all when he wants it."—But wait a bit; and let us see, when his eyes are sufficiently opened, whether he will prove so spiritless and doltish, as to tamely bear to be sneered at and choused at the same time, and also entrapt into being a virtual supporter of Slavery.

Nor let our West Indians flatter themselves that the temporary calm which has succeeded to the late crowd of petitions and general outcry against Slavery, is any indication of abated zeal or perseverance in the cause—they rejoice in the truce, and will not be the first to

break it.—The Abolitionists are giving time for the Colonists to act right if they will, and for the Government to induce or coerce them—but the motions of both are watched, and will, if necessary, be quickened and regulated by the irresistible voice of the Nation.—Then too, a thorough knowledge of the nature and effects of the slave system is widely diffusing among the people of England, and must produce, as the result of sufficient information and calm reflection, determined resistance to its further continuance.—The seed of knowledge is sown, and must spring up, yielding a plentiful harvest of sturdy opponents to Slavery.

Let it likewise be observed, that not only will the public voice be raised with one accord, and prove irresistible in swaying the Government, but the people of England possess within themselves, independent of their Rulers, the means to give a staggering, and peradventure a deadly blow to the West India system, by merely abstaining from the produce of Slavery; and at the same time clear themselves from the personal guilt of being its supporters.—Nor will this occasion them much sacrifice, for they can be sufficiently supplied with similar productions from the labour of freemen and fellow subjects—and tropical produce would soon in consequence come to us cheaper than ever.—Then too, as already observed, The Tropical Free Labour Company now forming, will further tend to accelerate the downfal of Slavery.—The people of England can also mark their scorn and abhorrence by shunning all personal intercourse with Slave-holders individually and collectively. —If men branded with infamy, are excluded from respectable society on account of their mal-practices, what can be more atrocious and infamous than holding human creatures in Slavery, especially when offered an indemnity for their emancipation, and a continuance of their

services.—Slave-holders had better not drive us to extremities with them.

Moreover, the West India system is quick undermining on its own ground in the colonies, by the progress of its slaves, who are growing more and more impatient of the yoke, and increasing in means to shake off their thraldom, and may not stop there.—From these and other causes, the system is more than beginning to totter, and must soon fall to pieces—let not its blind and infatuated proppers up tempt too far their fate, or they may be crushed in its ruins.

Slavery in our West Indies must be put an end to either by the Colonists, the supreme Government and Nation, or by the Slaves themselves, or continue to go on.—That the Colonists will never effect it of their own voluntary accord, is clear to demonstration.—How far Ministers may be really sincere and zealous in the cause, or disposed to go far enough, let us await their further proceedings before we decide on the matter.—But after all, the Nation may be relied on for putting an end to the nefarious system.—As for the Slaves effecting their own deliverance, the attempt and even success, is far from improbable—and were there no alternative, if they and their posterity must either remain in interminable slavery, or by force overpower their tyrants, and even exterminate them, what honorable man in England would not say, "if there be no other way, then even so must it be done; be the blood of the incorrigible aggressors upon their own head"—this we seek to avert, not only for sake of the slaves themselves, and even of their oppressors, but above all, because we are sure that the Nation, unless anticipated by the slaves, will put an end to their grievances by means beneficial for all parties concerned, instead of such a catastrophe.—In the interim, let the slaves remain patient, and firmly rely on the justice,

humanity, and power of the Mother country, which henceforth will not fail to end their wrongs, and promote their welfare—'tis a debt we deeply owe them, and duty to ourselves.

Never will the Abolitionists rest until they have accomplished the downfal of Slavery in the British dominions.—In this they are sure eventually to succeed,—the system is too atrocious and impolitic to be much longer endured among Englishmen, when sufficiently aware of its nature and effects—no pains will be spared to enlighten them.—Slave-holders had better cede with a good grace to the necessity of the case—but no, every feint, every fetch will they practice to prolong the game, though their chance is now so desperate, that it may be considered as already decided against them.—The contest may be of longer or shorter duration according to circumstances, as in the case of the Abolition of our Slave Trade with Africa, but the result is as certain—and temporary procrastination will prove only a sorry consolation to Slave-holders, whose final discomfiture is sure, and will be the more disgraceful in proportion as they stand out to the last in defence of an infamous cause.—And in the interim peradventure the slaves may step in between them and the Nation, and settle the matter themselves, then probably woe to the Colonists! —Nor may our Government be so able or willing as hitherto to supply them with troops, on which they so much depend, to butcher their slaves on any attempt to shake off their thraldom, or if it can and do, they may not prove effectual, even if willing to act for the infamous purpose.—Thus by delay alone of proper measures may not only the base designs of the Colonists be frustrated, but what must be lamented, the benevolent intentions of the Government and Nation may also be rendered abortive.—What is necessary to be

done ought to be done promptly and effectually—no half measures, no delay.

The West India party would fain as formerly continue to glide silently on without observation, and trust to the distant corner of our empire, where alone Slavery is suffered to exist for concealment of its atrocities—but the secrets of the prison-house are unfolding to the people of England, and that is the best appeal to their judgment and feelings.*

* Mr. George Hibbert, agent for Jamaica, a shrewd and knowing man, well versed in the mystery of West India policy, and very dexterous in the management—usually on any convention of a public meeting of West India proprietors, recommends to the company "not to launch into debate on the general West India question, but to confine themselves to the business of the day, passing the Resolutions which will be brought before them (ready cut and dry) and leaving the rest to be managed by their committee and agents, who well know what ought to be done, and how to set about it."—This is discreet, for the less said in public on the West India system, the better for its party.—And the more wary among them generally seek to shun discussion, but cannot always restrain their less judicious adherents.

Mr. H. has lately been *honored* by an unanimous vote of thanks from the *Honorable* House of Assembly at Jamaica for his services as their Agent; which he richly deserves, for he has laboured hard, and long, and adroitly, in his vocation; and may be as proud of this feather in his cap, as Captain John Hawkins, of notable memory, who (vide Hume) received the honor of Knighthood from Queen Elizabeth for the *meritorious* service of being the first of her subjects who opened the Slave Trade between England and Africa!—And granted him a patent to bear for his crest *a demi Moor bound with a cord.*—And to do him the greater honor, Clarencieux, King at Arms, was commanded to wait on him in proper form with the patent.—What *blushing* Honors for those who confer and receive them.

Mr. H. hath grown Rich by the slave system—but naked came we into this world, and naked must we go out of it, stript of every thing but Virtue, the only current coin in the world to come.

Slave-holders, mirabile dictu, expect that their system and themselves should be treated with the greatest courtesy and forbearance—but what is there to deserve it in either.—The system is the most unjust, inhuman, and impolitic that can possibly exist among any civilized people, most of all inexcusable among Englishmen, and what must we think of its more immediate perpetrators.—Then too, who more furious and abusive than Slave-holders—touch their system and you touch the apple of their eye—as if it were the most just and salutary imaginable, and themselves the most honorable and wrongfully persecuted among mortals—they wish to pass as the emblem of injured innocence personified.—Fair argument they have none, their cause will not admit of it, so necessarily have recourse to sophistry, invective, and false statement.—Certainly the thousand pounds voted by the Jamaica Assembly, and proportionate quotas from the other slave colonies, for the purpose of hiring mercenary scribblers to make the best of a desperate cause, may purchase a plentiful deal

—'Tis said, that Buonaparte's physician on receiving certain proposals, replied, "If it requires such qualities to make a *great* man, I thank God I do not possess them"—and so we may say of many a *Rich* man.

Human life is short, even from its commencement—and though we attain its most protracted span; no sooner are we born, than we begin to die.—Mr. H. is gliding down the vale of years, and hath grown grey in the West India service.—Great is the propensity of Man to excuse and cajole himself even in his greatest aberration from plainest duties.—What qualms of conscience, or peradventure what degree of satisfaction, Mr. H. may experience from the review of a long life spent in support of the slave system, I cannot pretend to know—or how far at the close of the scene, when he finds this world receding from him, and he is verging on another state of Retribution, he may hope for the welcome greeting, "*Come thou good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord.*"

of cavil, falsehood, and scurrility—though if the nymphs of Billingsgate could only write in the same strain as they can speak, the latter article of scurrility might probably there be purchased on lower terms, but certainly not in grosser perfection.—Yet in sober seriousness, all this only renders the discerning people of England more abhorrent at the frightful system of Slavery, and disgusted with the ferocity, baseness, and meanness of its abettors.

Slave-holders resident in the colonies, blinded by prejudice, surrounding custom, and wrong notions of interest; elated with the power of domineering, and their imaginary superiority over the black and coloured people, keep each other in countenance, all think and act in the same way, and really imagine among themselves that they are mighty good sort of people, and their system right and necessary, or at least very excusable.—And so think the felons in Newgate of themselves and their depredations—but the just, intelligent, and dispassionate among the people of England entertain very different notions on the matter.—As for those in the colonies, who, callous to every honorable principle, or feeling of humanity, would knowingly and willingly perpetrate any deed, however atrocious, to gratify or aggrandize themselves, if they could do it with impunity—there are no hopes of voluntary good from them.—But it might be expected that the more enlightened, and supposed honorable and liberal West India proprietors, chiefly resident in England, would not only be fully aware of the injustice of their system, but also, marking the signs of the times, would perceive that in all probability it cannot be much longer tenable, by any means in their power, and would have at least the good sense, (leaving honor and humanity out of the question) to cede to the necessity of the case, and prepare for a

different order of things.—Yet no, even the best among them tenaciously stick out for the perpetuity of Slavery, and will only consent to attempts at reform and emelioration of the system—whereas they ought to know that such attempts are as incompatible with the system itself, as with the general feelings and inclinations of the Colonists.—However, the Abolition of Slavery can, and probably will be effected without their consent or assistance.—Nor need we much regret, except for their own sake, the want of such auxiliaries.—What can be expected from men who not only persist in holding their fellow creatures in slavery from generation to generation,—but live luxuriously in Europe on means wrung from the toil and privations of their slaves, whom they abandon to the management of mercenary hirelings across the Atlantic, and will not reside on their own colonial estate, or even visit the spot, by their personal care to lighten the yoke of those they insist on holding in Slavery—what unprincipled hard-hearted selfishness —yet these forsooth are *honorable* men!

I have still connections among West India propreitors, and deeply lament for their own sake, and of others, that they are Slave-holders.—I wish them well, but cannot spare their system nor mal-practices.—I certainly am in earnest with them, and bent on the downfal of Slavery —yet prove myself their friend in pointing out the means by which they may be extricated from their delinquency and entanglements with advantage to themselves, and justice to others.—In adjusting the claims of all parties concerned, I have here endeavored to hold the balance with an even hand, though may have thrown more into the scale in favor of Slave-holders than they may be entitled to in strict justice, though perhaps not too much on the score of expediency.—Moreover, be it known that though never concerned in the remotest degree in

the slave system—yet it so happens that I am a West India Annuitant, though not to a large amount, yet of considerable consequence to me—and if any serious reverse should befal West India affairs, I should probably be stript of my chief means of support—yet would rather be reduced to my last shilling, than the system of Slavery should continue to exist.—But in declaring this with the greatest sincerity, I cannot take to myself much disinterestedness of motive, for I am clearly convinced that the prosperity of West India affairs will henceforth chiefly depend on the Abolition of Slavery.—However, it may serve to shew that I have an interest in common with West India proprietors; and in proportion to my circumstances, probably as much at stake as any among them—so may be supposed not likely to advise to their prejudice.—Nor am I of the party ycleped the *Saints*, nor of any party, and without alluding to any particular set of men, have a hearty contempt for all those who make a cloak of Religion to serve their worldly purposes.—Nor am I strait-laced in other respects, but make liberal allowance for the frailty of human nature—yet cannot consent to give up the grand distinctions between right and wrong in their prominent features—and really those who deem it, as some do, canting hypocrisy, or visionary enthusiasm, to cry out against a system of human Slavery among Englishmen, have arrived at a degree of liberal latitude in their moral notions, far beyond what I can ever attain.—Nor, I believe, can the people of England in general.—I shall only say, as Doctor Johnson did more invidiously of another, "when such folks come to dine, I'd advise ye to count your silver spoons."

After all, the Abolitionists are the best friends of West India proprietors in urging, or even forcing, them to measures more for their honor, safety, and real interest,

than the present system.—When this shall be achieved, and they reap the advantages, the angry passions will subside; and even Slave-holders may prove thankful to the Abolitionists.—If we bore them any grudge, we need only leave them length of rope enough, and they would be pretty sure to hang themselves.

To conclude—why should Slavery exist any longer in the British dominions than it can well be got rid of?—That it can be best done away with at once and for ever with safety, justice, and advantage to all parties concerned, I have here endeavored to shew.—And if that has been proved, then what honest or plausible plea can we adduce to justify or excuse us in the opinion of the good and sensible part of mankind for its farther continuance—cant and craft will not avail—with our pretensions to liberty and liberal institutions, to superior sanctity, justice, and benevolence, we must stand confest as the most hypocritical, selfish, and inexcusable among Nations.

The Author has here throughout recommended the immediate emancipation of all our slaves, under certain necessary regulations, as the best and most likely means, under existing circumstances in our West India colonies, by which the Abolition of Slavery can be accomplished.—And even if it be admitted that Slavery might be put an end to by slower degrees, yet why should such a monstrous evil be suffered to last any longer in the British dominions, than it can be got rid of with safety and advantage to all parties concerned.—That it can be so immediately done, and its necessity, I am clearly convinced, and have here endeavored to shew.

I am aware that the proposition of immediate general emancipation, will startle those who have been in the habit of taking it for granted that Slavery in our West India colonies can only be safely and beneficially abolished by very slow and cautious measures.—But I believe that this opinion, so generally entertained, has been adopted from want of sufficient knowledge of the practical nature and effects of the slave system scarcely admitting of improvement; with the general habits and dispositions of Slave-holders and their agents, equally adverse to any innovation.—Nor let us be unmindful of the progress of time and events; the present race of slaves are far more enlightened and civilized than their predecessors of former times, and proportionally fitter subjects for an extension of privilege, more impatient of their thraldom; and more dangerous as slaves to the white community; they are likewise as much entitled to freedom as their posterity; we have also lost much time, which now requires a plan of quicker operation. —And I conceive it will be difficult, nay impossible, to prove, that placing such slaves as freed subjects under the government and protection of the law and proper constitued authorities, allowing the fair controul, instead of arbitrary will and power of their masters, is not sufficient for every good and necessary purpose.

I earnestly entreat my readers to fairly examine the matter—and trust they will be as thoroughly convinced as myself of the utility and necessity of the plan here recommended, in preference to any of less comprehensive nature, slower progress, or more uncertain effects. —To their candour I leave it.—'Tis a serious subject, requiring fair and full consideration.—What just man among us would not wish for the Abolition of Slavery as soon and entirely as prudently practicable.

However, if what at least I deem a fatal error, should

longer continue generally to prevail, namely, that slaves of the present race, at least those too old for education and proper training, are not fit subjects for general emancipation—Then at any rate, it must be admitted that such objection cannot be urged against their children, under 7 years of age, who must be as susceptible of all necessary improvement, as those of any generation which may hereafter exist.

If then all the present race of slaves, above 7 years of age (except say those of colour down to Mulattoes inclusive) many of them still in early life, are to be generally doomed to the hard and hopeless lot of Slavery, to end only in the grave—which I am convinced is as unnecessary, as cruel and unjust, moreover, may not be unattended with danger to the Whites.—But if, alas! it should be so decreed, then, besides facilitating the means for individual *Manumissions* among this class, as far as deemed expedient, let the supreme government take proper measures for the *Amelioration* of their condition as slaves, and entrust them to its own constituted authorities—though after all, *slaves* cannot be effectually protected from injustice—which is among the cogent reasons for the entire Abolition of Slavery, as soon and as well as we can.

Under this more contracted plan, let all existing slave children, of every shade, not above 7 years of age, be at once declared free, properly brought up, and bound to serve their Mother's owner gratuitously up to the age of 24—quite sufficient, as already shewn for his indemnification and profit, and then be allowed to act as free agents and provide for themselves.—Or if proprietors of such slave children, must be paid in money their standing worth, under 7 years of age at the time of sale—then on the scale aforementioned, for 150,000, at the average rate of £10. each, it will cost the nation £1,500,000.

Slaves of colour, above 7 years of age, down to Mulattoes inclusive, being when adults, at least a generation before the Negroe slaves generally at present in knowledge and civilization, and for other reasons aforestated,* may, and ought to be at once emancipated, and at the age of 24, left to act as free agents, having served their owner gratuitously up to that period, and then paid for at the rate of £20. each; which at their estimated number of say 80,000, (deducting one-fifth or 16,000 =£160,000 for their children, under 7 years of age, to be purchased at the average rate of £10. each) will amount to £1,440,000.

N. B.—The deduction of one-fifth for such children of colour, must be taken into the calculations of the preceding pages.

£1,500,000	cost for Redemption of all existing slave children under 7 years of age, at average rate of £10. each.
1,440,000	cost for ditto of all slaves of colour, down to Mulattoes inclusive, above 7 years of age, at £20. each—to be paid on their having attained the age of 24.
£2,940,000	

Thus then, the whole cost to the Nation for Redemption of all slaves, on the limited scale of not including

* The Charter granted to the first settlers of Jamaica by Charles IId, contains the following passage—"And we do further publish and declare, that *all* children of any of our natural born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be reputed to be, and shall be free denizens of England."

Thus then, at least all persons of colour, down to Mulattoes inclusive, born in Jamaica, being white men's children, and their fathers Englishmen, are free denizens of England, by right of birth, without fee or reward, purchase or favor.—I wish they would try the question on this side the water.

slaves of the present race above 7 years of age, except those of colour down to Mulattoes inclusive, will amount only to £2,940,000.—certainly not a large sum, or to be grudged, for the accomplishment of so much good.—Nor ought the additional expense in Annuities stated at page 52, for the purchase of all other slaves at or above the age of 34, to be considered as a sufficient plea for leaving them to pass the whole of their lives in Slavery—especially as the bounties and protecting duties, of much greater amount, now granted in support of the slave system, might be withdrawn, and thus Slavery abolished with a saving to the Nation—and West India proprietors would thrive better under a system of free labour, and general good management.

Let all children henceforth born of slave parents be declared free from their birth, be properly trained, and bound to serve gratuitously their Mother's owner, if the child be reared by him, up to the age of 24—and then released from such servitude, and afterwards to provide for themselves.—This is six primest years more than allowed in Colombia for indemnification of such proprietors—and ought to satisfy the more rapacious English Slave-holder.

Thus then, on this limited scale of speedy emancipation, all slaves of the present race under 7 years of age, and all slaves of colour aforesaid, will be rendered free.—And though unfortunately, and I think unnecessarily, it leaves all the other existing slaves to bondage for life, yet all their children henceforth born will be free, which though a poor consolation to the parents for their own hard fate, or to restrain them from forcibly asserting their rights, and perhaps inflicting vengeance on their oppressors; yet, besides much present good effected, it fixes a certain specific time and mode for the entire Abolition of Slavery—which has ever hitherto been

carefully avoided by the abettors of the system.—All this might and ought to have been done long ago, when at least most of our slaves at the present day might now have been free subjects, properly trained, and acting as free agents for their own benefit, and useful members of the community—but up to this late period, we have done nothing, or next to nothing, for the Abolition of Slavery within the British dominions.—'Tis high time we should redeem our character, and bring the matter to the test.

Let Government, in which at its own seeking we have confided, now take the most prompt, judicious, and effectual measures for the purpose—if it do not of its own accord, then let the people of England insist that it shall be done, and it will be done.—In the interim, let every conscientious person abstain from the guilty produce of Slavery—this is in every one's power, and if generally done, will alone soon put an end to our slave system.

If the people of England do not thus exert themselves to the utmost—then are they more inexcusable than the Government, and even than Slave-holders themselves.—The Government, under the present system, may plead the shackling power of West India influence over it—but the people of England are under no such shameful controul.—The crime of Slave-holders may be somewhat paliated, by allowing for their prejudices, long continued habits, and supposed, though mistaken, notions of interest.—But the people of England know and avow the iniquity of the slave system; and as for any advantage—'tis as fleecing as disgraceful to the Nation.—Therefore, if we do not all we ought and can to get rid of it—why then, as before said, our *folly* must be equal to our *crime*.

THE END.

(Published 20th June, 1825.)

CORRECTIONS.

The number of Slaves of Colour, *only* down to *Mulattoes* inclusive, as stated at page 60 and 119—is probably much overrated—if so, it does not alter the principle of the plan proposed, but will cost the Nation proportionately less for their separate Redemption.

The over statement, if any, proceeds from having taken the usual West India calculation, that the slaves of colour amount to about one-tenth of the whole slave population—but this probably includes *Samboes*, a numerous grade, the offspring of Negroe and Mulattoe parents conjunctively.—The plan proposed, only comprehends slaves of colour down to *Mulattoes* inclusive, which would be a great reduction of numbers, and consequently of expense for their purchase to the Nation. —Most likely, since the Registry of slaves, the exact number of each and every class may be accurately ascertained—but I have not been able to gain access, if they exist, to any such documents.

At page 119, £10. each is allowed towards the Redemption of slave children of colour, under 7 years of age—but no such extra charge need to be made, as such children must be fully included in the amount of £1,500,000. provided for the purchase of *all* slave children under 7 years of age of every description—which is a further diminution of expense to the Nation. —The deduction of one-fifth for the children under 7 years of age, on 80,000 slaves of colour, at £20. each, amounts to £320,000. only £160,000. is deducted at page 119.—Or say, deduct one-fifth = 16,000 from 80,000—leaves 64,000, at £20. each—amounting to

£1,280,000. instead of £1,440,000. charged at page 119.—Or if the Nation chuse to pay £20. each for every slave of colour, down to Mulattoes inclusive, at the end of their gratuitous service, and having attained the age of 24, then on the assumed data of 80,000, the cost will be £1,600,000. according to the plan proposed at page 60—this may be optional.

N.B.—A SUPPLEMENT to this Work will be speedily published—" On the Capability of West India Affairs under proper Management."

Printed by J. COWELL, 22, Terrace, Pimlico.

Letters

ON THE

NECESSITY OF A PROMPT EXTINCTION

OF

BRITISH COLONIAL SLAVERY;

CHIEFLY ADDRESSED

TO THE MORE INFLUENTIAL CLASSES.

"WHATSOEVER THY HAND FINDETH TO DO, DO IT WITH ALL THY MIGHT."

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THOUGHTS ON COMPENSATION.

LONDON:

SOLD BY HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY,

AND BY

T. COMBE AND SON, LEICESTER.

MDCCCXXVI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE the prospectus of the following work was issued, its title and contents have undergone considerable alteration, consequent upon the change produced in some of the writer's views of the subject, by a correspondence with one of the most able and devoted leaders of the Anti-slavery Society. From this privilege however, it is feared that the following pages will evince that the writer has profited but very partially.

Printed by Combe and Son, Leicester.

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LETTER I.

AN

EARNEST APPEAL

TO THE

Great Leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society.

In appealing to the great leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society, we appeal to the concentrated wisdom and virtue of the nation — consequently the language of great deference and respect is justly due.

None can appreciate more justly than we do, the talents and virtues of those whom we thus presume to address; their disinterested, persevering exertions, in the great cause of humanity and justice are beyond all praise; but no eminence in virtue or talent exclude a liability to error; imperfection is inseparable from humanity: —the ablest, the wisest, the best men, who in different ages have been an ornament and a blessing to society, have been partially wise, imperfectly good; on some important point of opinion

or practice, the most enlightened have been in the dark; the most acute and discerning, deceived; the most sincere and upright, opposed to the truth.

In the great conflict of right against might, you have borne the heat and burden of the day; you have stemmed the strong torrent of West-Indian interest and prejudice; you have rowed hard against wind and tide, "toiled all the night and (have, as yet) taken nothing." Ask yourselves *why* the persevering exertion of so much zeal, of so much talent, in a cause so just and so righteous, should have been so little availing.

The appalling "view of Negro slavery existing in the British Colonies," drawn up and circulated by your Committee, in April, 1823, is circulated again in 1825! Had any important change, any change worth noticing taken place in the system,—it would, of course, as a matter of justice, have been recorded. But notwithstanding the petitions to parliament, for its mitigation and gradual abolition; notwithstanding the Orders in Council, and meliorating measures, recommended two years ago, to the colonial legislators; still, the "view of Negro slavery," as it exists in 1825, is precisely the same as it existed in 1823—and such, without miraculous invention, will it, in all human probability, remain to the end of the century—unless some important change be effected in the sentiments and measures of the abolitionists;—unless there be a greater agreement between

the evil they have exposed, and the remedy they propose for it.

The evil they have exposed is of the most enormous and flagitious nature; it involves, according to their own statement, the worst crimes which can disgrace, and the severest sufferings which can afflict our fellow-creatures;—"*It outrages every feeling of humanity, every recognised principle both of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion.*" The Abolitionists have informed us that the objects of their sympathy, have, "*themselves or their parents, been the victims of the Slave-trade. They were obtained by no* LAWFUL MEANS, *but by the most undisguised rapine, the most atrocious fraud. Torn from their homes, from every dear relation in life, barbarously manacled, or driven like herds of cattle to the sea-shore, crowded into the pestilential holds of slave-ships, transported to our colonies, where they are branded like cattle with hot irons;—separated and sold without regard to family ties, to the highest bidder;—compelled to labour, night as well as the day, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages;—subjected, for any, or for no offence, at the caprice of their master or his delegate, to have their persons shamefully exposed and barbarously tortured, with the Cart Whip, an instrumeut of dreadful severity, which cruelly lacerates the flesh of the sufferer;—denied the means of legal redress, even in cases of the most atrocious*

barbarity, by the rejection of their evidence in the Colonial Courts," &c. &c.[a]*—Therefore,* this system of barefaced injustice and merciless oppression, is only to be *mitigated* and *gradually* abolished!!—What agreement we ask, is there between such promises and such conclusions?

An impenetrable veil of mystery and delusion seems to envelope and screen this enormity from merited and prompt destruction. The wisest and the best seem to be withheld from applying to it, not their own superior wisdom and exalted principles merely, but that common sense and common justice which govern common mortals in their ordinary transactions. On the subject of West-Indian slavery, a theme in the abstract, so inexhaustibly fruitful of eloquent declamation and powerful argument, the wisest and the best, when they come to the practical application of their own cogent reasonings, seem to reverse their ordinary every day conclusions. " *No effectual steps* (the Abolitionists inform us) *have yet been taken,* since the extinction of the slave trade (eighteen years ago) *either by this country or the colonists for softening the rigour of Negro bondage*" —*or for putting an end to* " *a condition of society, which outrages every feeling of humanity,—every recognized principle both of the British constitution and the christian religion.*"—And therefore they

[a] See a " Brief view of the nature and effects of Negro slavery," published by the Anti-Slavery Society.

still propose only to *mitigate* and *gradually* to abolish it!!

Suffer, we entreat you, the word of serious and earnest remonstrance. Compel yourselves to examine afresh, the ground you have taken as *Gradual* Abolitionists,—and see whether it be such as affords any rational hope of success;—see whether it be not hollow and treacherous ground, which it is high time to abandon. Hollow and treacherous we are confident that it is—and dangerous also,—dangerous to your own principles, as well as treacherous to the cause you have embraced. The proposition for *Gradual* emancipation is, we are confident, secretly sapping the foundation of public virtue, paralizing its resolution, familiarizing and reconciling us to crime; rendering us a Nation of hypocrites,—empty preluders to humanity and justice, who expose and reprobate crime, not to extirpate but to tolerate and foster it;—who plead, for the oppressed and miserable, not to rescue, but to abandon them. This pusillanimous proposition is operating like a powerful opiate on our feelings and principles;—it is neutralizing our sympathy, palsying our exertion, and benumbing our charity in behalf of the poor Negro like the touch of the torpedo. Without the spirit of prophecy we confidently predict that the *mitigation* and *gradual* abolition of West-India slavery will, humanly speaking, never be obtained; and

moreover, that if the great leaders of the Anti-slavery Society, remain satisfied with no higher aim, they themselves, the most enlightened and humane, will find their feelings and their principles gradually, imperceptibly accommodated, like those of the Planters, to the existing state of things;—the wisest and the best, on this trite and hackneyed subject, will come to have "eyes that see not—ears that hear not—hearts that understand not." Such is the inevitable consequence of tampering with conviction; of familiar knowledge of abuses, long acquaintance with oppression and cruelty which are only partially and feebly resisted.

If West-India slavery be the monstrous injustice and atrocity which you have represented it, with what consistency can the friends of humanity and justice tolerate and tamper with it?

We wish to be temperate,—to reason rather than declaim on a business so momentous,—but the mysterious incongruity in the language and conduct of the Gradual Abolitionists, seems to justify some warmth of remonstrance. Their language has been in the highest degree, calculated to rouse, and stimulate, general indignation against slavery. They have represented it as involving crimes of the deepest die, as a concentration,—the very focal point of all crimes. Consistency requires that the disclosure of its enormity should be followed up, by determined and unremitting

exertions for its speedy and utter extinction.—It had been better never to have known the horrors of the system,—than having known, to tolerate and cherish it.—The exposure of its iniquity, so long as it is suffered to exist, only occasions an increase of crime and suffering;—an increase of crime in those, who passively sanction, as well as those who actively support it, in as much as sins against light and knowledge are greater than those of ignorance:—the sufferings of the slaves will be aggravated by the bitter disappointment of those hopes of redress which the public exposition of their wrongs excited, and the rigours of their bondage will be increased, so long as *Gradual* emancipation, is hanging, *in terrorem*, over the heads of the planters, who, exasperated by British interference and fearing more decided hostility, will determine to make the most of their slave property whilst they have it in possession, by extracting all the advantage they possibly can out of it.

The work of emancipation, if it be not vigourously pursued, had better never have been meddled with. Insurrections have increased in consequence of the knowledge obtained by the slaves of the public sympathy and of the interposition of the British Government in their favour;—they claimed the benefit of that interposition—and have been massacred or executed, or doomed to endure the protracted torture of a

thousand lashes—and to labour in chains during the residue of their lives, for their audacity. ! ! ![b]

After all that has been said and written about the shameful degradation, the enormous wrongs of the poor Negro, what has he gained by all our declamation against the atrocious injustice and cruelty of which he is the victim? Worse than nothing. His Tyrants have only strengthened their fortifications and entrenched themselves deeper against future attacks, by organizing a powerful body of supporters in this country, backed with a capital of two millions, whereby the ramifications of the slave-holding interest are greatly extended and the chains of the slave more strongly rivetted.

"But there must be time allowed for the seed sown in the cause of emancipation to take root." Yes, but it has had time to take root—and to bring forth abundantly,—and its produce has been suffered unprofitably to perish. By the information which has been so copiously diffused on the nature and effects of West Indian slavery, the public sympathy and indignation have been powerfully awakened—to no purpose—no right direction has been given to them and they are rapidly subsiding into the most torpid insensibility.

"But great moral revolutions must be effected

[b] See the sentences passed on the insurgents at Demerara.

by slow degree." Why must they? There is a warmth of feeling and an energy of principle awakened by the first powerful conviction of the duty and necessity of such revolutions which would facilitate and expedite their accomplishment. But this warmth of feeling and energy of principle will gradually subside if not kept alive by those vigourous exertions to which they instinctively prompt; and when they *have* subsided, the work of reformation will indeed be effected by *slow* degrees. Reason, humanity, justice, religion in such a case as this, all unite in calling for dispatch, not delay. To keep up the spirit of an enterprise it must advance,—if it be a just and righteous one, the more rapidly, the better.

"But deeply rooted prejudices are not hastily eradicated;—long established interests, however unjust in their origin, are not violently to be destroyed." Why are they not? Deeply rooted prejudices, the longer they are suffered to grow, will strike their roots the deeper; and long established corrupt interests, ill-gotten, or ill-retained possessions, are never *voluntarily* relinquished. The futile and audacious claims of the slave-holders to the detention of their captives, or to remuneration for their loss, have been often exposed and indignantly repelled. It has been proved that the labour of the slave, on the lowest calculation of its value, replaces his cost, sup-

posing it to have been so high as £140, in seven years.* This consideration however, let it ever be remembered, has no bearing whatever on the justice of the question. *The slave did not sell himself*,—consequently his purchaser has no *right* to an equivalent out of *his* labour.

"But the Planter will be ruined by the immediate liberation of his slaves." If, by the ruin of the Planter, is meant only his temporary embarrassment and humiliation;—we candidly say —"'tis a consumation devoutly to be wished."—'tis the natural, the necessary means of his correction, and improvement,—the only cure for his pride and his insolence, his sordid selfishness and hardheartness. — When were long established habits of robbery, oppression and cruelty abandoned without humiliation and suffering?—when was vice cured without punishment?—On the *petty* robber it falls with unsparing hand. Is theft criminal only in the poor? Is the crime cancelled when committed by the rich on the persons of the poor? Shall the poor man, who steals a sheep, forfeit his life for it? And shall the rich man who steals his Brother, or (which is the same thing) detains him in unjust and cruel bondage (being stolen) shall he be held guiltless? Shall he be required to make no restitution till restitution be attended with no loss

* See "The West-Indies as they are," by the Rev. R. Bickell, p. 245.

or inconvenience? Shall "the stolen captive" never be reclaimed,—the helpless prey never taken out of the hands of the robber,—till an equivalent be provided, till no loss accompany the restitution?

"But the Planters *purchased* their slaves, or they obtained them by *inheritance*, and therefore consider them as their rightful property." AND CAN THE PAYMENT OF ANY SUM, FOR AN ARTICLE OVER WHICH THE SELLER HAD NO RIGHT, IMPART ANY RIGHT TO THE PURCHASER? IMPOSSIBLE! IF JUSTICE BE ANY THING MORE THAN AN EMPTY NAME,—A MERE NOSE OF WAX, WHICH MAY BE MOULDED AND FITTED TO ANY FACE, THE HOLDER OF THE SLAVE, WHETHER HE OBTAINED HIM BY PURCHASE, OR BY INHERITANCE, IS AS GUILTY AS THE ORIGINAL THIEF. THE RIGHT OF THE SLAVE TO HIS OWN FREEDOM IS INHERENT IN HIMSELF;—HE DOES NOT LOSE HIS RIGHT BECAUSE A ROBBER AND A TYRANT WREST IT FROM HIM. GOD MADE HIM FREE—AND APPOINTED THE BOUNDS OF HIS HABITATION IN THE WILD REGIONS OF AFRICA. THE WRETCH WHO STOLE HIM THENCE, COULD, BY NO POSSIBLE MEANS, EITHER ACQUIRE, OR TRANSMIT, THE RIGHT TO MAKE A SLAVE OF HIM, OR TO KEEP HIM IN SLAVERY. HE HAS A RIGHT TO HIS LIBERTY; THROUGH WHATEVER NUMBER OF

TRANSFERS THE USURPATION OF IT MAY HAVE PASSED—HIS RIGHT IS UNDIMINSHED —AND SO IS THE CRIME OF WITHOLDING IT.

"But of what advantage is it to contend for his right, if he cannot obtain it? His possessor will not voluntarily restore it;—the law will not compel him,—and the slave himself has no power of reclaiming it." But though his possessor refuses voluntarily to liberate him;—though he be unable to assert his own liberty; though British law has hitherto declined to award it—because it has never yet been demanded;—it may yet be had for asking. It could not be withheld by the British Government from the united claims of humanity, justice and religion, if boldly and perseveringly urged. The Abolitionists have hitherto gained nothing for their poor clients, because they have asked too little.

"But *immediate* emancipation is regarded by the sober and dispassionate, as a wild and impracticable theory, scarcely entitled to a serious thought."—Wild and extravagant as it may appear in some quarters, in others, it is rapidly gaining ground—and we trust the time is not far distant when this startling proposition will cease to alarm the most sober and dispassionate, and be unanimously adopted by every friend of justice and humanity.

Negro slavery, being, (according to the declared convictions of the gradual abolitionists) "*an out-*

rage of every feeling of humanity, every recognized principle both of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion"—its existence on *British* ground, must be regarded by them as an open mockery of her laws,—an impious defiance of her religion;—they must see it pointing with the finger of scorn and derision to her pretended equal administration of justice,—her high christian profession;—writing on her criminal courts "Tyranny,"—on her christian temples "Hypocrisy;"—displaying with insulting triumph, its broad license to commit injustice, robbery and sacrilege, in comparison of which the crimes which crowd our prisons and furnish the executioner with ceaseless occupation are slight and venial. For a long season the public were unacquainted with the real nature of this abomination;—it is an infernal birth, which has for ages, thriven in darkness;—at length it has been dragged to light;—rather, it has with blind and frantic infatuation, obtruded and forced itself into light. The frightful monster, with hideous hissings, has darted into public view, unfolded its enormous coils, stretched the full length of its horrid deformity in broad day-light. It has reared its brazen front, displayed its poisoned fangs—and has menaced and defied both earth and heaven.[d]

[d] Witness, the late transactions in Barbadoes and Demerara: Trial of the Missionary Smith; Language of the Colonists on the receipt of the Orders in Counsel, &c. &c.

And shall we suffer it to live to continue its ravages, — to taint the moral atmosphere around it with poisonous infection, — to blast with pestiferous breath every principle of justice, humanity and religion within its reach? Or shall we with cruel and imbecile lenity, instead of crushing it at once, condemn it to die by inches, doom it to *gradual* destruction, — to lingering torments? You admit that it is worthy of death, — that its protracted existence is protracted crime and misery, disgrace and infamy. And can crime and misery be too soon arrested? — can disgrace and infamy be too soon obliterated? Slavery is the one grand impediment to the moral renovation both of the Negro and his master. If the slaves are kept in bondage for another generation, they will not be at all better prepared for freedom than they now are, — nor will their tyrants be at all more willing to relinquish their pretended right to them. No good reason can be given for suffering slavery in the British colonies to exist for another year which cannot be given for its existence for interminable ages.

In the proposition for *Gradual* emancipation there is a manifest dereliction of the fundamental principle on which emancipation is grounded, a tacit denial of that *unqualified right* of the slave to freedom on which rests all the justice of his enfranchisement. By *acceding* to his remaining in slavery until he shall be better qualified for

freedom, or until, by a stipulated quantity of labour he shall, in a course of years, have worked out or purchased his own freedom,—the *right* of his possessor is recognised to hold him in bondage; and the same sort of reasoning which can justify the withstanding his liberty for a year or a day, will justify the witholding it for ever.

"But *Gradual* emancipation, is defended on the ground of *expediency* rather than that of strict justice." But by quitting the high ground of justice, for that of expediency, the impregnable bulwarks of the cause are surrounded, and its advocates, instead of struggling for eternal principles of right,—contend for a delusive phantom, —an ignis-fatuus which will perpetually elude their grasp. For *Gradual* emancipation, whatever may be said of its expediency, will be found utterly unattainable. The proposition *has* done nothing, and *will* do nothing but deceive and betray;—deceive its individual advocates with vain imaginations of the utility of their labours—and betray the cause of emancipation into the hands of its enemies. An emancipation *so* gradual as would have been attained by a law securing the freedom of all Negro children born after a specific time has been solicited in vain. We are bold enough to predict that the solicitation of a law for the prompt and complete extinction of slavery would meet a more successful issue. By the last discussion of the question in

Parliament, the Planters are said to have gained a complete triumph. With insolent audacity they resist the authority of the British Legislature, and set at nought both its recommendations, and its laws. They assume the control of absolute monarchs, lawless tyrants,—they hold no party with justice,—make no concession to humanity. They have the power and are determined to surrender no modicum of it to treaty or remonstrance.

Had the best concerted measures for the mitigation and gradual abolition of colonial slavery been fully acceded to by the British Government, —and the Colonists, instead of openly resisting, had, from motives of policy, appeared to acquiesce; —still they would have contrived to evade their operation. No plans of melioration or gradual emancipation have any chance of taking effect in such a soil. What says the report of Mr. Cooper after a residence of three years on the estate of a Planter who invested him with full authority to improve the condition of his slaves? "HE COULD DO NOTHING.—The habits and prejudices of the Colonists, independently of their laws, rendered IMPROVEMENT IMPRACTICABLE." What says the journal of the martyred missionary Smith? "THE (slave) SYSTEM IS INCAPABLE OF IMPROVEMENT,—IT MUST BE ABOLISHED ALTOGETHER."

The proposition of *gradual* instead of immediate emancipation has utterly failed as far as

rg ards the *conciliation of the Planters*, they having as vehemently protested against the one as the other. The exercise of unlimited power having so completely blinded their understandings, hardened their hearts and subjected them to the tyranny of their own lawless passions, that it will be found far more difficult to subject them, than their slaves, to the restraints of reason and justice. If conduct is ever to be regarded as the surest test of principle, how high, in the scale of morals does the poor Negro mount above his master! Patience, fortitude, magnanimity, boundless gratitude to his benefactor, — forgiveness of injuries;—are his ordinary characteristics:*—and

* The following anecdote is selected, from many others of a similar character, from the "West Indies as they are."

"In the city of Kingston, where there are eight or ten thousand slaves, and a greater number of free Blacks and free people of colour, there was a strong guard kept all the holidays, and fearful rumours were afloat, of the horrid and diabolical intentions of the slaves. It was said that they were all to rise on a certain night, to set fire to the city in ten places, and murder all the white people as they should come out of their dwellings. The free blacks and people of colour were also suspected of being inclined to join them. But an incident happened, just before the commencement of the holidays, which completely satisfied my mind that all those fears were idle dreams. A fire occurred within fifty yards of my own residence; it broke out about ten o'clock at night, and as I was retiring to my bed-chamber, I heard the exclamations of the mistress of the house, crying Fire! Fire! Soon after the drums beat, and the church bell struck out, giving the alarm. I ran up stairs, and from a back gallery could clearly perceive the fire, which was very alarming. Though

if in spite of the brutal ignorance, the heathen darkness in which his task-master would bind him, — he should happily hear and embrace the glad tidings of the Gospel—then might the highest professor of religion look to the slave for practical illustrations of its transforming efficacy. What though, whilst forcibly withheld, (as the far

I never gave full credit to the rumours of the horrid intentions of the Negroes, yet I was somewhat staggered, and hardly knew what to do, being the only white person in the house. I considered, however, that if the fire was not got under in half an hour, it would reach us, and we should be burnt out or perish in the flames; so that if a conspiracy were taking place I might as well be murdered as burnt; and that moreover, I should have some chance of my life by fighting for it; so I resolved to go out and do my best. Calling therefore my own black servant, and arming myself, I proceeded to the conflagration, and found very few whites indeed, but many people of colour and blacks, free persons as well as slaves, who were all busily employed in carrying water, and otherwise assisting to extinguish the burning mass. I remained there till the fire was got under, and I never saw people behave better than the free people of colour and the slaves did. It may be truly said, that they saved the city from much damage, for it was in great danger. They prevented the flames spreading before the firemen or soldiers arrived at the spot; for as to the few whites who were there, they did little or nothing. Had the slaves and people of colour then been inclined to mischief, they had an excellent opportunity, for there were no armed men to prevent their extending the fire. On the contrary, however, they and they only, put a stop to it, and by so doing, completely shewed that they were not deserving of the infamous insinuations spread abroad to the injury of their character."

The following anecdote was inserted in a respectable provincial paper, published a few weeks since. "When the late

greater proportion of them are) from all knowledge of the true religion, he be justly charged with propensities to theft and idleness,—how can such propensities, in his circumstances, be regarded as crime?

THE MASTER COMMITS A THEFT UPON THE PERSON OF THE SLAVE, IN HOLDING HIM IN UNJUST AND CRUEL BONDAGE, COMPARED TO THE ENORMITY OF WHICH, ALL OTHER THEFTS ARE SLIGHT AND VENIAL;—and it is preposterous to accuse a human being of idleness, from whom every stimulant to labour is withheld, but that of the cart-whip! It is the slave-owners (generally speaking) far more than the slaves, who have proved themselves unqualified for liberty who stand most in need of coercion —who are most deficient in religion and morals. The great majority not only reject religion themselves, but, like the dog in the manger, exclude their poor captives from all participation in its blessing. With a few honourable excep-

Edward Rushton, of Liverpool, early in life, was engaged in the sea service, he was one day detached with a boat's crew, of which Quimina, a negro, for whom he had contracted a friendship, and whom he had taught to read, was one. The boat upset, and Rushton attempted to reach a small water cask, a point of safety which Quimina had already attained. The poor African, with a warmth of generosity to which tutored minds would probably have been strangers, seeing that his benefactor was too much exhausted to reach the cask, pushed it from himself towards him, bade him 'Good bye,' and sunk to rise no more."

tions, the evidences are so palpable of the profligacy and impiety of slave-holders; — in Barbadoes and Demerara these evidences have recently been so infamously marked, in their outrage of all law and justice,—their malignant hostility to religion,—their bitter persecution of its ministers,—their savage and relentless barbarity towards the wretched victims of their lawless power, when feebly struggling, not for the recovery of their rightful possession, but merely for that little dole of charity, that modicum of mercy, which the British Government had dealt out to them,—that there can be no question, in the estimation of impartial justice, which of the two parties, the slave or his master, may be most safely entrusted with liberty.

We may as well close our ears and our hearts for ever to the deep groans of these 800,000 of our oppressed and abused fellow-creatures, as persist in pleading for their *gradual* emancipation. FROM THE FIRST MOMENT WHEN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR EMANCIPATION WAS ADMITTED, EVERY DAY'S DELAY IS DEDUCTING SOMETHING FROM THE CONVICTION OF ITS DUTY, AND ADDING SOMETHING TO THE DIFFICULTY OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT. Had the Colonists acceded to the meliorating measures recommended by the British Government, emancipation (humanly speaking) might for ever have been despaired of. For what is the present grand

opposing plea of the West Indians and their numerous partizans? That their slaves are more contented and happy than the British peasantry; —that emancipation would be cruelty instead of kindness! — How then would they exclaim against the aggravated barbarity of emancipation had the condition of slavery, by the adoption of the proposed improvements, been rendered still more felicitous? The true Friends of emancipation may congratulate themselves that the Colonists have resisted and scouted these same meliorating propositions, since their adoption would, in all human probability, have been fatal to their object.—At all events, they would greatly have retarded it by rendering the duty less obviously urgent.

We have seen in the conduct of France, what has been the result of the proposition of *gradual abolition*, as applied to the *slave trade*;—what consequences have followed a full recognition of the principles of justice without their immediate adoption,—a distinct avowal of guilt without its instant abandonment. The late King of France, in the definitive treaty of peace signed in 1814, (after the first fall of Bonaparte) admitted that the slave trade was "*repugnant to the principles of natural justice*"—and agreed to relinquish it in *five years* from the date of this admission!! The five years demanded by France, and granted by the British Ambassador to continue (or rather to

create a new slave trade; for France had not, at that time, a foot of ground on the habitable globe to be cultivated by the toil and blood of a single Negro:—she had no property embarked in that commerce of human misery; all her colonies had been conquered; and in them all, the slave trade had been abolished by the irreversible decree of Great Britain, the absolute possessor of them): the five years granted to France to pursue this new created traffic in the bones and muscles of living men, has long since expired, yet it is still pursued in full vigour. The fiend-like cruelty, with which it is carried on by that country is little known and less regarded by our own. Look at the 15th and 18th Reports of the African Institution, to see in what manner *his most Christian Majesty* carries on this merchandize in 'slaves and souls of men'—years after their sovereign had stipulated to abandon it![f]

Does the example of France in illustration of the principle of *gradual* abolition, as applied to the slave trade, afford no warning to us against its application to slavery? His late "Most Christian Majesty," in 1814, admitted the slave trade to be "*repugnant to the principles of natural justice,*" and agreed to relinquish it in five years: —yet still it is carried on by France, with increased avidity and aggravated cruelty. Mr.

[f] See Montgomery's "Voyage of the Blind."

Canning, in 1823, admitted, " *That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures, for meliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's Colonies, and preparing them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects.*"—Yet slavery, in unmitigated rigour still exists in the British Colonies. The Abolitionists are said to have gained *something*, by these concessions of France and of the British Minister. What have they gained—but the conviction that all their labours to disclose the enormities both of the slave trade and of slavery, have been utterly fruitless—worse than lost labour? The trade has been carried on with keener avidity, with more relentless barbarity *since* the concession of France than before. And may not similar results be anticipated from all the labours of the Anti-slavery Society, to disclose the enormities of slavery in the British Colonies, so long as they aim only at its *gradual* abolition? An action had better never have been proved and admitted to be criminal, if after having been so proved and admitted it is still to be publicly sanctioned and legalized. It is better to sin in ignorance, or by secret connivance, than to sin against conviction by public licence—better for the criminal—better for society —since by the latter course, the culprit is emboldened and rendered irreclaimable, and crime

instead of being winked at, is publicly authorized *as crime.*

Are we not fully warranted in the conclusion that *gradual* emancipation has no ground either of justice or expediency, to stand upon? May we not reasonably call for its abandonment on this ground, if on no other, (viz.) that it is making no progress, that it is literally *standing still*, that its supporters however earnest, however indefatigable, are labouring in vain,—spending precious time and precious talents to no purpose. From this delusion,—this "baseless fabric of a vision," it is devoutly to be hoped they will speedily awake.

The restoration of the poor Negroes' liberty must be the beginning of our colonial reform, the first act of justice, the pledge of our sincerity. It is the only solid foundation, on which the reformation of the slave, and the still more needful reformation of his usurping owner, can be built. Recent transactions prove incontestibly, that slavery has a far more malignant influence upon the latter,—in as much as moral degradation is worse than physical. The perversion of mind, hardness of heart, and moral depravity consequent on slave-holding;—its shocking effects on the higher and cultivated classes;—"on men of education and liberal attainments";—and even upon the softer sex, in obliterating their natural tender-

ness, and substituting in its place a disgusting and ferocious cruelty;—is delineated with temperate, yet dreadful accuracy, by the very intelligent and benevolent Adam Hodgson in his "Letters from North America."[g]

But the grand objection to immediate emancipation, that, which with the great leaders of the Anti-slavery society is said to outweigh all the rest, is *the interest of the slave himself.* Were he in a fit state to be intrusted with the full possession of his liberty, it is freely admitted that we have no right to withhold it a day—no, "not a single hour, on account of any intermediate advantage to be derived from his labour."[h] That he *is* in a fit state to be intrusted with the full possession of his liberty has been abundantly proved by the laborious investigations of one of the most cautious and dispassionate of your own body.[i] It is true indeed, that the avowed object of his indefatigable labours is to recommend *gradual* emancipation, but the facts which he has brought forward and the powerful reasoning which he has built upon them, fully establish the conviction that all apprehensions of danger from immediate

[g] See Letter 11th, pages 189 and 191.

[h] Such at least, is the declared conviction of the Member for Norwich.

[i] See "Thoughts on the necessity of improving the condition of the slave in the British Colonies, with a view to their ultimate emancipation," by T. Clarkson, Esq.

emancipation are groundless and futile. Familiar as his important "Thoughts" upon the subject must be to every well informed Abolitionist, some passages present such irrefragable proof of the *safety* with which the slave may be entrusted with liberty, both as it regards himself and his master, that we cannot withhold their insertion.

"In examining a period comprehending the last forty years, I find no less than six or seven instances of the emancipation of African slaves *in bodies*. The first occurred at the close of the first American war. A number of slaves had run away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace arrived, their services were no longer wanted. To leave them behind to fall again into the hands of their former masters would have been great cruelty as well as injustice. It was therefore determined to *give them their liberty,* to disband them in Nova Scotia, and to settle them there upon grants of land as *British subjects* and as *free men.* The Nova Scotians on learning their destination were alarmed. They could not bear the thought of having such a number of free blacks among them, particularly as they understood the use of arms. Government however, persevering in its intention, distributed them into the country, to the amount of two thousand and upwards. To gain their livelihood, some worked upon little portions of land of their own; others worked as carpenters;

others became fishermen. In process of time they raised places of worship of their own, and had ministers of their own from their own body. They lead a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people, from their white neighbours. A few years afterwards the climate being found too cold for their constitutions, a number of them, to the amount of between thirteen and fourteen hundred, volunteered to form a new colony, which was then first thought of, at Sierra Leone. And they are to be found there, they or their descendants, most of them in independent, and some in affluent circumstances, at the present day."

"The second case may be taken from what occurred at the close of the second, or last American war. Some hundreds of slaves joined the British standard, by invitation, in the southern states of America. When the campaign was over, the same difficulty occurred about disposing of these as in the former case. It was determined at length to ship them to Trinidad as *free labourers*. But here, an objection was started against receiving them, on a different ground from that which had been started in Nova Scotia. *The Planters of Trinidad were sure that no free Negroes would ever work*, and therefore that the slaves in question would, if made free and settled among them, *support themselves by plunder*. Sir Ralph Woodford, however, the Governor of the island,

resisted the outcry of these prejudices. He received them into the island and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shewn his discernment. These very men, formerly slaves in the Southern States of America and afterwards emancipated in a body at Trinidad, are now earning their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away."

"A third case comprehends those Negroes which composed our West-Indian black regiments. Certain of these regiments were transported to Sierra Leone and disbanded there, and the individuals composing them received their discharge *as free men.* This happened in the spring of 1819. *Many hundreds* of them were *set at liberty at once* upon this occasion. Some of these were afterwards marched into the interior, where they founded *Waterloo, Hastings,* and other villages. They were all settled by grants given them by Government. It appears from accounts received from Sir Charles M'Carthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, that they have conducted themselves to his satisfaction, and that they will prove a valuable addition to that colony."

"A fourth case may comprehend what we call the captured Negroes in the colony last mentioned. These are totally distinct from those

either in the first or last cases which have been mentioned. These were taken out of slave ships captured at different times from the commencement of the abolition of the slave trade to the present moment, and on being landed *they were made free*. After having been recruited in their health they were marched in bodies into the interior, where they were taught to form villages and to cultivate land for themselves. They were *made free* as they were landed from the vessels, *from fifty to two or three hundred at a time*. They occupy at present twelve towns, in which they have both their churches and their schools. Regent's Town having been one of the first established, has become a pattern for industry and good example. The people there have now fallen entirely into the habits of English society. They are decently and respectably dressed. They attend divine worship regularly. They exhibit an orderly and moral conduct. Many of them after having supplied their own wants for the year, have a surplus produce in hand for the purchase of comforts or superfluities."

"Here then are four cases of slaves, either Africans or descendants of Africans, *emancipated in considerable bodies at a time*. I have kept them by themselves, because they are of a different complexion from those which I intend should follow. It will be said that the three first cases are not strictly analogous to that of our West

Indian slaves, whose emancipation we are seeking. It will be contended that the slaves in our West Indian colonies have been constantly in an abject and degraded state. Their faculties are benumbed. They have contracted all the vices of slavery. They are become habitually thieves and liars. Their bosoms burn with revenge against the Whites. How then can persons in such a state be fit to receive their freedom? The slaves, comprehended in the three cases above mentioned, found in the British army a school which fitted them by degrees for making a good use of their liberty. While there, they were never out of the reach of discipline, and yet were daily left to act as free men. They obtained also in this preparatory school some knowledge of the customs of civilized life. Hence it will be said, they were in a state much more favourable for undergoing a change in their condition than the West Indian slaves. I admit the difference between the two situations. But as a comparison has been instituted it must not be forgotten, that if there was *less* danger in emancipating the other slaves, because they had received something like a preparatory education for the change, there was *far more* in another point of view, because *they were all acquainted with the use of arms.* This is a consideration of great importance. Would our West Indian Planters be as much at their ease as they now are, if their slaves had acquired a know-

ledge of the use of arms? Would they think them on this account *more* or *less* fit for emancipation?"

"It will be said again, that the fourth case, consisting of the Sierra Leone captured negroes, is not strictly analogous to the one in point. These had probably been slaves but a short time, when they were returned to the rank of free men. Little or no change therefore could have been effected in their disposition and character; and as they were never carried to the West Indies, they never contracted the bad habits, or degrading vices of slavery there. It will therefore be contended, that they were better, or less hazardous subjects for emancipation, than the slaves in our colonies. I admit this objection, I give it its full weight. I admit it to be less hazardous to emancipate a new than an old slave. Yet the case of the Sierra Leone captured negroes is a very strong one. They were all Africans. They were all slaves. They must have contracted *as mortal a hatred of the Whites* from their sufferings on board ship, by fetters, whips, and suffocation in the hold, as the West Indian slaves from those severities which are attached to their bondage upon shore. Under these circumstamces then we find them *made free;* — not after any preparatory disicipline, but almost *suddenly*, — not singly, but in bodies at a time. We find them also settled or made to live under the *unnatural* government of the whites; —

and what is more extraordinary, we find their present number as compared with that of the whites in the same colony, nearly as one hundred and fifty to one."

"It will be said, lastly, that all the four cases put together prove nothing. They give us nothing like a *positive assurance,* that the negro slaves in our colonies would pass through the ordeal of emancipation without danger to their masters or the community at large, Certainly not. Nor if these instances had been far more numerous than they are, could they, in this world of accidents, have given us a MORAL CERTAINTY OF THIS. They afford however a HOPE, that emancipation is practicable without danger. They afford ground for believing, that there is a peculiar softness, plasticity, and pliability in the African character."

"The fifth case may comprehend the slaves of St. Domingo, as they were made free at different intervals in the course of the French revolution. To do justice to this case I must give a brief history of the circumstances connected with it. When the French Revolution which decreed equality of rights to all citizens, had taken place, the free people of colour in St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of large property and liberal education, petitioned the national assembly, that they might enjoy the same privileges as the whites there. At length their petition was

granted, but in terms so ambiguous as to occasion disturbances and bloodshed between the whites and people of colour. In 1791, the people of colour petitioned the assembly again, the result of which was a more explicit decree, determining that the people of colour in all the French Islands were entitled to all the rights of citizenship, provided they were born of free parents. The news of this decree had no sooner arrived at the Cape, than it produced an indignation almost amounting to phrenzy among the whites. They trampled under foot the national cockade, and with difficulty were prevented from seizing all the French merchant-ships in the roads. The two parties armed against each other. Horrible massacres and conflagrations followed, the reports of which, when brought to the mother country, were so terrible, that the Assembly abolished the decree in favour of the free people of colour in the sme year. The news of the rescinding of this decree produced as much irritation among the people of colour, as the news of the passing of it had done among the whites, and hostilities were renewed between them. New battles, massacres, and burnings, took place. When these events became known in France, the Conventional Assembly knew not what other course to take than to do justice, whatever might be the consequences. They resolved accordingly that the decree of 1791, which had been both made and reversed

by the preceding Assembly in the same year, should stand good, and appointed Santhonax and Polverel to repair in person to St. Domingo, to act as commissioners, to enforce the decree, and to keep the peace. In 1793, the same divisions and bad blood continuing, the commissioners, who had little more power than the authority which their commission gave them, resolved to call in the Negro slaves in the neighbourhood to their assistance, and issued a proclamation, *promising freedom to all the blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banners of the Republic.* The result was, that a considerable number of slaves came in and were enfranchised. Soon after this transaction Polverel left his colleague at the Cape, and visited the capital of the South, where, finding the minds of the slaves to be in an unsettled state, in consequence of their having become acquainted with the riots at the Cape, and the proclamation of Santhonax, and being convinced that emancipation could neither be stopped nor retarded, and that it was absolutely necessary for the personal safety of the white Planters, that it should be extended to the whole island, drew up a proclamation to that effect, and exhorted the planters to patronize it, they having become pretty generally convinced by this time that their own personal safety was concerned in the measure. In 1794, the Conventional Assembly of France passed a decree for the abolition

of slavery throughout the whole of the French Colonies."

"I shall now inquire how those who were liberated on these several occasions conducted themselves after this change in their situation,—whether they used their freedom properly, or whether they abused it. With respect to those emancipated in the North, we have nothing to communicate. They were made free for military purposes only; and we have no clue whereby to find what became of them afterwards. Respecting those emancipated in the South, and those directly afterwards in the West, by the proclamation of Polverel, we are able to give a very pleasing account. Fortunately for our views, Colonel Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct and character. His account, though short, is quite sufficient for our purpose. 'After this public act of emancipation (says he) by Polverel, the Negroes remained quiet both in the South and the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers residing upon them, for some had been put in prison, and others, fearing the same fate, had fled. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the Negroes continued their labours, where there were any inferior agents to guide them; and on those estates where no white men were left to

direct them they planted provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks *continued to labour as quietly as before.*' Ridiculing the notion entertained in France, that the Negroes would not work without compulsion, he alludes to others who had been liberated by the same proclamation, more immediately under his own cognizance. 'If (says he) you will take care not to speak to them of their return to slavery, but talk to them about their liberty, you may with this little word chain them down to their labour. How did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed before his time in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the plantation Gourand, more than eight months after liberty had been granted by Polverel to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time be asked. They will all reply, that *not a single Negro* upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty labourers, *refused to work;* and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I, myself, inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management.' Such was the conduct of the Negroes for the first nine months after their libetation, or up to the middle of 1794. Let us pursue the subject, and see how they conducted themselves after this period."

"During the year 1795 and part of 1796, I learn nothing about them, good, bad, or indifferent, though I have ransacked the French historians for this purpose. Had there, however, been any thing in the way of *outrage*, I should have heard of it: and let me take this opportunity of setting my readers right, if, for want of knowing the dates of occurrences, they should have connected certain outrages, which assuredly took place in St. Domingo, *with the emancipation of the slaves*. The great massacres and conflagrations, which have made so frightful a picture in the history or this unhappy island, had been all effected *before* the proclamations of Santhonax and Polverel. They had all taken place *in the days of slavery*. They had been occasioned, too, not originally by the slaves, but by quarrels between the white and coloured planters, and between the royalist and the revolutionists, who, for the purpose of reeking their vengeance upon each other, called in the aid of their respective slaves. I repeat, then, that during the years 1795 and 1796, I find nothing wherewith to reproach the emancipated Negroes in the way of outrage. There is every reason to believe, that they conducted themselves, during this period, in as orderly a manner as before."

"I come now to the latter part of the year 1796; here, happily, a clue is furnished, by which I have an opportunity of pursuing my inquiry

with pleasure. We shall find, that from this time there was no want of industry in those who had been emancipated, no want of obedience in them as hired servants: they maintained a respectable character. Let us first appeal to Malenfant. 'The colony (says he) was flourishing under Toussaint. The whites lived happily and in peace on their estates, and the Negroes continued to work for them.' Now, Toussaint became General-in-Chief of the armies of St. Domingo, a little before the end of 1796, and remained in power till 1802, or till the invasion of the island by the French expedition of Buonaparte, under Le Clerc. Malenfant means therefore to state, that from the latter end of 1796 to 1802, a period of *six* years, the planters kept possession of their estates; that they lived upon them peaceably; and finally, that the Negroes, though they had been all set free, continued to be their labourers. Can there be any account more favourable to our views than this, after so SUDDEN an emancipation?"

"I appeal next to General Lacroix, who published his 'Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo,' at Paris, in 1819. He informs us, that when Santhonax, who had been recalled to France, returned to the colony in 1796, he was astonished at the state in which he found it on his return. The same author tells us, that in the next year (1797) the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. 'The colony

(says he) marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendour; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape, and the plantations of the North, rose up again visibly to the eye!' Now I am far from wishing to attribute all this wonderful improvement to the mere act of the emancipation of the slaves. But I must be allowed to maintain, that unless the Negroes, who were made free, had done their part as labourers, both by working regularly and industriously, and by obeying the directions of their superintendants, the colony could never have gone on, as relates to cultivation, with the rapidity described."

"The next witness to whom I shall appeal, is the estimable General Vincent, who lives now at Paris, though at an advanced age. He was stationed in St. Domingo during the time both of Santhonax and Toussaint. He was also a proprietor of estates in the island. He was the man who planned the renovation of its agriculture after the abolition of slavery, and one of the great instruments in bringing it to the perfection mentioned by Lacroix. In the year 1801, he was called upon by Toussaint to repair to Paris, to lay before the Directory the new constitution, which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He obeyed the summons. He arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens, and found, to his inexpressible surprise and grief, that Buo-

naparte was preparing an immense armament, to be commanded by Le Clerc, for the purpose of *restoring slavery in St. Domingo.* He lost no time in seeing the First Consul, and he had the courage to say at this interview, what, perhaps no other man in France would have dared to say at this particular moment. He remonstrated against the expedition;—he told him to his face, that though the army destined for this purpose was composed of the brilliant conquerors of Europe, it could do nothing in the Antilles. He stated that the expedition was totally unnecessary, and therefore criminal; for every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. *The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy.* He conjured him therefore in the name of humanity, not to reverse this beautiful state of shings. But, alas! his efforts were ineffectual. The die had been cast: and the only reward which he received from Buonaparte for his manly and faithful representations, *was banishment to the Isle of Elba.*"

"Having carried my examination into the conduct of the Negroes after their liberation to 1802, or to the invasion of the island by Le Clerc, I must leave a blank of nearly two years. It cannot be expected during a war, in which every man was called to arms to defend his own personal liberty, and that of every individual of his

family, that he should see plantations cultivated as quietly as before, or even cultivated at all. But this was not the fault of the emancipated Negroes, but of THEIR FORMER MASTERS. It was owing to the prejudices of the latter, that this frightful invasion took place;—prejudices, indeed, COMMON TO ALL PLANTERS WHERE SLAVERY OBTAINS. Accustomed to the use of arbitrary power, they could no longer brook the loss of their whips. Accustomed to look down upon the Negroes as an inferior race of beings, or as the reptiles of the earth, they could not bear, peaceably as these had conducted themselves, to come into that familiar contact with them, as *free labourers*, which the change of their situation required. They considered them, too, as property lost, but which was to be recovered. In an evil hour, they prevailed upon Buonaparte, by false representations and promises of pecuniary support, to restore things to their former state. The hellish expedition at length arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo:—a scene of blood and torture followed, such as history had never before disclosed;—THOUGH PLANNED AND EXECUTED BY THE WHITES. But the French were not the authors of tearing to pieces the Negroes alive by bloodhounds,—or of suffocating them by hundreds at a time in the holds of ships,—or of drowning them, whole cargoes, by scuttling and sinking the vessels;—but the—

Planters. TILL THAT TIME THE PLANTERS RETAINED THEIR PROPERTY,—AND THEN IT WAS,—BUT NOT TILL THEN, THAT THEY LOST THEIR ALL. In fine, the French were driven from the island, and in 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed emperor of this fine territory. In process of time; the Negro troops were disbanded except such as were retained for the peace-establishment of the army. They who were disbanded, returned to cultivation. As they were free when they became soldiers, so they continued to be free when they became labourers again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They or their descendants are still the persons, by whom the plains and valleys of St. Domingo are still cultivated, and they are reported to follow their occupations still, and with as fair a character as other free labourers in any other quarter of the globe. We have now seen, that the emancipated Negroes never abused their liberty, from the year 1793, (the era of their general emancipation) to the present day,—a period of THIRTY YEARS."

Let the conviction which this brief narrative must force upon every unprejudiced reader be carefully cherished,—let it be honestly and boldly avowed. Let every tongue give expression to the judgment of his understanding and the feelings of his heart, and declare that the oppressed and calumniated Negroes in our own colonies,

are not only *entitled* to present liberty;—may not only be *safely* entrusted with;—but that it is injustice and cruelty (not prudence and humanity) to withhold it for a day, or, (to use the expression of the worthy member for Norwich), for "a single hour."

We do not follow our author in the statement of his two succeeding cases because they do not directly bear upon the subject in question—that of complete emancipation. We make no apology for these long, though somewhat abreviated quotations from these important "Thoughts." Much as they have been read and applauded for the strong sense, powerful argument and striking facts which they exhibit, it is evident they have been read and applauded too superficially. We cannot but believe that their benevolent author *intended* them to produce convictions in the minds of his readers far beyond those which he professes to establish. When they were first published the public mind would have revolted at the *avowed* project of immediate emancipation; but subsequent events have been preparing the way for its reception—have been *forcing* the conviction of its expediency and necessity. The writer of the work from which we have made these large extracts, must, we doubt not, have designed to bring the public indirectly and unsuspectingly to this conviction. He must have cast these lucubrations like "bread upon the

waters," trusting that it would be "found after many days;" trusting that his occult meaning would, in time, be developed;—that the evidence of his facts and the force of his reasoning would, at length, be fully admitted,—and that IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION would, be seen to be both SAFE AND EXPEDIENT AND NECESSARY.

Let such as still contend for a *preparatory school of moral discipline*, enquire who are to be its superintendents;—where is to be found the requisite authority for carrying its provisions into execution? The persons to whose absolute controul the pupils must be intrusted, during the interval of their probation, have proved themselves NOT TRUST-WORTHY. Judging from experience, we may, without breach of charity, expect as a matter of course, that the slave masters would do their utmost to defeat the object of this preparatory discipline, and to render it abortive. They have, it is now apparent, THEMSELVES DEVISED PLOTS AND INSTIGATED INSURRECTIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF EVADING THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL AND MELIORATING MEASURES RECOMMENDED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.[k] And may they not reasonably be expected to devise fresh plots, to instigate fresh insurrections for the purpose of defeating a measure

[k] See the article Jamaica, in the pamphlet entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain."

still more abhorrent to their prejudices and supposed interests—that of forthwith preparing their captives for liberty? Are men who can persecute to the death the disinterested and devoted ministers of religion;—who can, in open day, pull down places of worship;—who TRAMPLE BIBLES UNDER FOOT;[l] who defy and menace all authority;—who triumph and exult, like maniacs, in their devastations and outrages;—who punish in their slaves, the most exalted virtues, as the most atrocious crimes;—who immure in dungeons the noble minded Negroes, who, in despite both of bribes and threatnings, firmly refuse to bear false witness—to criminate the guiltless;[m] are such men proper superintendants of a system of moral and religious education designed to prepare their slaves for freedom? We need not enumerate all the frightful items in the long catalogue of crimes with which the slave-masters stand accused and convicted. We only protest against the farther delegation of absolute power to hands which have so tremendously abused it.

But were it otherwise. Did slave-holding produce fruits of a less malignant, less virulently poisonous quality;—did it present no decided hostility to this preparatory school for slave eman-

[l] See an authentic report of the Debate on Mr. Buxton's motion relative to the demolition of the Methodist Chapel." page 25.

[m] See the "Anti-Slavery Reporter." No, 4. page 31.

cipation; did it even accede to, and shew a disposition to *favour* the design—*still*, must we protest against it, as a farther violation of the rights of justice;—as a farther protraction of our cruel aggressions;—as an arbitrary assumption, or rather retention of power, which we have no right to exercise.

"But, if we have reason to believe that the liberated slave would abuse the sudden restoration of his liberty, it would surely be right and just and humane *not* to restore it to him suddenly." No, we cannot accede to the justice even of *this* assumption. It leads to the invasion of a province which does not belong to us,—*that* of futurity. Prescience is no human attribute. Man is a very limited, short-sighted creature, and it is well both for individuals and for society, that very precise and explicit laws have been promulgated for the regulation of his conduct;—that the language of the Decalogue is express and imperative, and that the christian exposition of it is express and imperative also. "Thou shalt not steal," includes a prohibition of all kinds and degrees of injustice, however modified, by whatever pretexts recommended. It does not admit the suspension of a clearly defined obligation, until we can ascertain what will be its precise consequences;—it does not admit of our withholding from a fellow-creature his just right, until we can positively assure ourselves what use he will make of it;—it

does not admit of our *detaining* a fellow-creature in slavery who has once had the calamity to be unjustly deprived of his liberty, until we are *sure that* he will not abuse its restoration. It requires us to do our own duty and to leave the consequences, — guarding of course, as carefully as we can, against anticipated evil, —but not suspending the discharge of our own obligation on any uncertain contingencies involved in its performance.

The indefatigable Philanthropist from whose "Thoughts" we have made such copious extracts, has (happily for our views) so arranged his own powerful arguments as to make them prove (as we have already observed) much more than he professes to establish. He has proved, as far as reasoning from facts and experience can prove, that the injured creatures whose cause he so ably advocates, may not only be safely intrusted with liberty *after* passing through a preparatory school of discipline, but that they may be safely intrusted with it before.

In short, he has proved too much for *gradual* Abolitionists—he has proved that the slaves in our own colonies may NOW safely be intrusted with liberty,—consequently that they OUGHT now to be intrusted with it,—and that every additional day and hour that it is withheld, aggravates the guilt of those who have the power to restore it, and refuse its exertion. Nevertheless, had all these very important and satisfactory proofs been

withheld of the safety with which immediate emancipation may be effected; still we should have contended with equal confidence for the justice and urgent necessity of the measure. The power we possess to hold them in slavery having been unjustly acquired, must of necessity be unjustly retained.

The public understanding has been sufficiently enlightened to see the impolicy of slavery;—the public feeling has been sufficiently awakened to revolt at its barbarity; public virtue has admitted that it stands impiously opposed to the laws of God—insolently defying the laws of the land:—it has been arraigned and condemned at the bar of justice and policy, of humanity and religion. What is it then which upholds and cherishes the pest? It is *gradual* abolition. But for this proposition, sentence of death would, long since, have been executed. Neither the Government nor the people of England could have endured its existence, after having been so tried and so convicted, had not HUMANITY TO THE SLAVE,—HIS PRESENT SUPPOSED INCAPACITY FOR FREEDOM, been admitted in bar of speedy—instant execution.

We never for a moment suspected the sincerity with which the Abolitionists have advanced this plea;—we believe them to be most sincere, but on this one point, most mistaken. We believe them to be most upright and earnest in the

cause they have so disinterestedly and nobly espoused, — but most deluded as to the means of obtaining a successful issue.

We do not forget who they are to whom we have the temerity to apply this language; — that they are, many of them, persons of exalted rank, preeminent talent, distinguished virtue; — that they are the wise and the good; — the wisest and the best: — and we are aware that by applying such language to such characters we must incur the charge of extreme ignorance and extreme arrogance; — nevertheless, we dare not withhold it.

Happily for the world, the laws of humanity and justice are clearly defined; — the requisitions of religion and conscience are intelligible to the simplest understanding. "The way-faring man though a fool" need not "err therein." Such, may be less liable to err on the subject in question, than those who are accustomed to deep reasoning and subtile argumentation, to look at all the bearings aud connexions of a simple proposition, till the plainest truths become invovled in intricate mazes of uncertainty, and the most obvious duties suspended or evaded by doubtful casuistry.

The Gradual Abolitionists, though perfectly sincere in the belief that our West Indian slaves are not in a fit state for immediate emancipation, may, nevertheless, have been unconsciously misled by the prejudices, the misrepresentations, the

artful glosses, the palpable falshoods of the West Indian party. Our readers, we trust, will not forget, in the short sketch with which we have presented them of the invasion, by Leclerc, of St. Domingo, to what tremendous mistakes and destructive consequences the prejudices of slave-holders may lead. Many of the leading Abolitionists are personally acquainted with West-Indian proprietors who are "men of education and liberal attainments"—of humanity—and religion; by which means their judgments are insensibly biassed. These accomplished, humane, and pious slave-holders assert that their slaves are incapable of making a right use of their freedom; —that immediate emancipation would be destructive of their own happiness, as well as the property and lives of their masters;—and men of such high character *must* be believed;—those who are in habits of intimacy with them *cannot* withhold their assent:—but *we can*—and *we do*, withhold ours.

We would neither assert nor insinuate that these gentlemen are aware of the falsehood of their own representations. Many of them, we have no doubt, are themselves deceived;—they believe the lie which they so industriously propagate. Prejudice and interest have so blinded their understandings and perverted their judgment as to render their minds, on this subject, inaccessible to truth. They are not impartial

witnesses,—consequently their evidence is not to be relied upon;—the evidence we have quoted above, PROVES THAT IT IS NOT.

"We owe these poor victims of our rapacious avarice and cruel injustice a debt,"—truly, the debt is an appalling one;—and every year, every month, every day, that we delay to do our utmost to discharge this debt, we are adding largely to its extent.

The righteous law of our Creator has not been impressed on our hearts;—promulgated in thunder and flame from Mount Sinai;—illustrated and enforced by the express word, the solemn injunctions of the Son of God himself,—to be cast behind the back, or trifled with, with impunity. We may neglect the warnings, forget the denunciations of Divine justice;—we may lull our consciences asleep, and say in our infidel hearts, because judgment is not speedily executed upon the oppressor, "God doth not regard." But the decree has passed the lip of TRUTH—"WITH WHAT MEASURE YE METE IT SHALL BE MEASURED TO YOU AGAIN." And He hath solemnly pronounced—"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." Though we forget or neglect the warning, its execution will not be thereby rendered the less certain.

Who then, who believes in Divine Revelation,—who that is convinced that the globe we inhabit

is constantly subject to Omniscient inspection;—that all the varied actors in its busy fluctuating scenes, will individually appear at the tribunal of Divine justice, there to "give account of their stewardship;"—to receive everlastingly "according to the deeds done in the body;"—to await the fulfilment of the unchangeable decree, above cited; who, that really believes these solemn truths, but must tremble at the dreadful individual responsibility which every one of us is incurring by withholding our utmost exertions for the *immediate* emancipation of our West-Indian slaves?

"What, (says the objector) would you let them loose upon their masters?—turn them adrift upon society without resources,—without any means of support but depredation and plunder?" No, certainly. The measure we so earnestly urge would most effectually obviate a catastrophe so dreadful—the near approach of which, from a general insurrection of the slaves, should they much longer be suffered to remain such, cannot but be anticipated. It is not a violent but a *legal* emancipation, for which we contend; accompanied as it would be, by wise and effectual provisional restraints and regulations. The requisitions of justice on behalf of our West-Indian Negroes would not be satisfied by the simple act of immediate emancipation. We owe them a deep debt, for having so long withheld from them their just rights, for subjecting them to so long a

course of shameful degradation and bitter suffering. We owe them GUARDIANHIP, PROTECTION, AND PROVISION, (where necessary) as well as LIBERTY. "As some compensation for injuries committed, we owe them the attempt to confer upon them every benefit in our power. We owe them especially, instruction in the doctrines and morals of christianity. But still, should we fail to bring one single slave to the profession of the truths of christianity, or to the enjoyment of its blessings,—not one iota the less do we owe freedom to every slave we possess. His right to himself does not depend on his conversion; nor although he should continue a Heathen to the day of his death, would the injustice of our detaining him in slavery be at all diminished."[n]

The liberty of the slave being his UNQUALIFIED RIGHT,—it must, of necessity, be an UNQUALIFIED WRONG to withold it. Let this simple obvious inference of common sense and common justice unite all the friends of humanity in one common object—that of a SPEEDY and COMPLETE EMANCIPATION.

[n] See the Speech of W. Smith, Esq. at the General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, June, 25, 1824.

LETTER II.

To those who are tired of the subject of West-Indian Slavery.

THOSE, to whom the following appeal is particularly directed, are not, we lament to say, exclusively confined to the selfish unfeeling multitude, nor to the heterogeneous mass of mere nominal christians. Many who stand high in general estimation for benevolence and piety;—many who have joined the Anti-slavery standard; who have pleaded with such forcible eloquence the cause of the oppressed Negro as to have blown the slumbering embers of pity, in other bosoms, into a fervid glow,—have suffered them to be extinguished in their own.

Many who have been awakened to the enormous guilt of human slavery,—who have been roused into a just sense of the disgraceful hypocrisy of suffering it to exist in a christian country,—who have been alarmed by fearful anticipations of the retributive justice, the righteous vengeance impending over a nation whose practice, in this respect, so impiously opposes and mocks its pro-

fession,—appear to have sunk into a deep slumber of selfish insensibility, of cruel apathy to crimes and sufferings in which they imagine they have no immediate share. From this slumber so reproachful to their hearts, their understandings and their principles, we must endeavour to rouse them.

You are tired of the subject of West Indian-slavery;—you are wearied and disgusted with reiterated details of atrocities and miseries which you imagine you have no power to redress; unexpected difficulties and delays have arisen in the way of emancipation—and its attainment appears so remote and uncertain that you abandon it in despair;—it ceases to interest—and is at length become an object of disgust.

West Indian slavery, is, it is true, a trite and hackneyed subject, but it must become more trite and hackneyed before it can be suffered to rest. After all the disclosures of the enormity of the system, of its wretched impolicy as well as wickedness—the crime and disgrace of suffering it to continue are inexpressibly aggravated. The knowledge obtained of this execrable tyranny, would, one should have imagined, in a civilized and christian country, have been followed up by earnest enquiries after the most certain means of putting a speedy end to it. If one expedient failed, another, we might confidently have expected, would have been promptly resorted to;—

acquiescence or indifference under such an accumulation of guilty responsibility—one would have imagined impossible;—but that we should not only continue passively to acquiesce in this atrocious system—but actively to support it at an enormous expense out of our own pockets of upwards 2,000,000, annually,!! is an unsolvable paradox.

What a humiliating picture of apathy and imbecility, of inconsistency and hypocrisy does such conduct exhibit! We have exhausted all the powers of language in expressions of abhorrence of slavery—we petition Parliament for its abolition—whilst we are actively as well as passively supporting it at the expense of our money, our character and our principles. We pretend to commisserate the wretched condition of the enslaved Negro, whilst by our daily habits we are riveting his chains;—gratifying our appetite with the very luxury, the cultivation of which constitutes the most barbarous severity of his oppression.

After all that has been said and written upon this inhuman business, it is evident that the public mind has never yet been properly impressed with it. Our understandings have been informed and our feelings excited—but the crime of making or of holding slaves in an enlightened, a free and a christian country has never yet been properly felt—has never yet sufficiently penetrated our hearts or taken hold of our consciences. We

acknowledge it to be a national crime, but have not felt it to be an *individual* crime;—though its shame and its guilt rest with all who suffer themselves to be indifferent or supine;—with all who employ not their *best* exertions to put a speedy end to it. We execrate the injustice and cruelty of West Indian slave-holders, but perceive not that we are in fact more guilty than they—because, with less temptation,—with less excuse, we are confederates in the crime. The West Indians have large property embarked in slavery,—they imagine that its destruction would involve them in ruin;—but we, who consume its produce, are its chief abettors and supporters.

We must remind you who are tired of the subject of West Indian slavery, that the emancipation of its wretched victims is not a matter of option in which a *christian* may engage or decline, and be equally innocent. By withdrawing his interest from this arduous work, he betrays a solemn trust, disgraces his christian principles, and deserts a cause peculiarly his own.

"THE LORD EXECUTETH RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENT FOR ALL THAT ARE OPPRESSED". He invited you to become some of the honoured instruments of executing His righteousness and judgment for the most oppressed of His creatures. He caused you to become acquainted with their oppression, their hard and cruel bondage. He touched your hearts with

sympathy for their bitter sufferings. He gave you zeal and ability to plead their cause,—to stir up the hearts of the people, to excite a general insurrection of feeling and principle in their behalf,—which, had it been kept alive, must shortly have insured their deliverance. But you have suffered the very considerations which should have braced your resolution and stimulated your exertion to relax and infeeble them. You have allowed your familiarity with West Indian enormities to end in indifference; your confirmed knowledge of the most barbarous oppression, to extinguish your sympathy for its helpless victims. No longer urged on by impetuous feeling, by the ardour of a new enterprize, you have grown languid and weary. You have been so effeminately delicate, so fastidiously selfish, as to shut your ears to the enormous wrongs and sufferings of 800,000, of your fellow creatures, because there is no novelty in the relation, because the sound has become monotonous. But we must, in spite of your weariness and disgust, do our utmost to force back your attention and to fix it upon the crimes and miseries of slavery, until the means are not only discovered, but vigourously applied, for putting an end to them. We must, to the utmost of our power, ring changes upon this subject of weariness and disgust, until the sound and the sense shall have reached every ear and every understanding—penetrated all hearts, made of "penetra-

ble stuff,"—all consciences, but such as are "seared, as with a hot iron;"—till the duty of immediate emancipation, is not only admitted in general terms, but its promotion, by every means in our power, is felt, individually, to be of imperative and urgent obligation;—in short, until all who have any pretensions to religion and humanity are actually engaged in it, with all their heart and with all their soul. By so doing, we are confident we shall render essential service to our country;—we shall give practical efficacy to its best principles, exalt its moral character and thereby enlarge and secure its prosperity and happiness.

By fixing general and individual attention upon this great and righteous work, until it be finally accomplished, we are persuaded that we shall be doing more for the cause of morality and religion, more for the best interests of society, than was ever effected by the most impressive dissertations on abstract principles of virtue. One instance of practical righteousness outweighs all the mere speculative knowledge in the world. It is better to *do* one good action, than merely to admit the propriety of a thousand. It is better *thoroughly* to discharge *one* paramount obligation of christian charity, than to be *superficially* occupied with the whole range. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." Thus the way of duty will be cleared, the path farther opened,—increased light will shine upon

it,—greater strength and alacrity will be found in pursuing it.

For want of such a method, many "disquiet themselves in vain,"—"toil all the night (and day also) and take nothing;"—build upon their high christian profession "hay and stubble"—abortive schemes, unsubstantial purposes of good, instead of those solid works of righteousness, of justice and mercy, which would follow them to that tribunal where they will be "judged according to their works."

And therefore, on this trite and hackneyed subject of slavery, though we want no more knowledge,—we want a great deal more conviction, to prevent our being the worse for our knowledge. We are the worse for our knowledge, so long as it urges us to condemn this inhuman system in *words* only, and leaves us at liberty *practically* to encourage it. All our fine reasoning and pathetic declamation against slavery in the abstract, whilst we decline to put forth a finger to liberate the slave,—only prove us to be eloquent hypocrites. With christians, whose hearts are true to their principles, their acquaintance with the nature of West-Indian slavery would have been immediately succeeded by earnest inquiries for the most speedy and effectual means of its extinction;—the discovery of those means would have been instantly followed up by their vigorous

application:—this would be the natural—the necessary consequence.

There is a lesson of deep and solemn import in that emphatic injunction, "Take heed how ye hear; for unto him that hath shall be given, but, from him that hath not, shall be taken away that which he hath." This admonitory warning applies to every perception of truth, every conviction of duty, every glow of benevolence, every pleading of compassion. These are not imparted as graceful embellishments of our nature, to kindle self-complacent satisfaction, but to stimulate to useful and beneficent exertion,—to render us willing agents of the Divine purposes,—"fellow workers with God." They are implanted for use, not for ornament;—if their purpose be not answered they will be withdrawn:—the mind once divinely illuminated will become darkened,—the heart once divinely tendered, will become insensibly obdurated;—from those who trifle with convictions of duty,—who suffer their compassion for sufferings which they have the power to redress, to evaporate in useless declamation;—who, when empowered to arrest the arm of injustice, to rescue the victims of oppression, decline to interpose;—from these, on whom the evidences of truth, the convictions of duty, the requisitions of justice and the pleadings of humanity have operated in vain;—from these will be "taken away that which they have."

There are times and seasons in the moral as well as natural world of which it is our wisdom and our interest to take advantage, — which it is dangerous—often fatal to neglect. As surely as suffering the appointed season for ploughing and sowing to pass idly over, will be followed by famine, so surely will the neglect of the appointed season and prescribed means of moral renovation be followed by corresponding consequences. "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin,"—sin, for which he must suffer the just punishment, — punishment proportioned to the magnitude of the evil which his cruel indifference or procrastination is the means of perpetuating.

For all the information which has been so widely diffused on the subject of colonial slavery; —for all the sympathy which its wretched victims have excited —we are accountable. It is at our own peril that we trifle with our knowledge and convictions respecting it.

For sins of ignorance there is mercy; — for patient suffering there is rich recompense. A glorious redemption in eternity, if not in time, may await the meek and unresisting victims of oppression. But upon sins against light and knowledge punishment will fall in heavy inflictions. "He who knew his Lord's will and did it not, will be beaten with many stripes." That it is the DIVINE WILL that this abomination should be

swept away, that the time is fully come for its *utter extirpation*, may be clearly ascertained by the full blaze of truth which has been made to shine upon it;—by the strong evidence which has been forced upon the public mind of its miserable impolicy and wasteful prodigality, as well as horrid injustice. It was not without design that so many great and good men have been called to devote their time and talents to the detection and exposure of that "refuge of lies'(behind which it has endeavoured to screen itself from public indignation;)—to drag it forth from all its dark hiding places of fraud and artifice, to strip it of every disguise, and to expose every feature of its horrid deformity to the broad day-light of truth;—it was not merely to gratify curiosity, to fill the imagination with horrid images, to appal and overwhelm every feeling mind with unavailing grief and shame and indignation, that the real nature of West-Indian slavery has been so clearly exposed.—No,—it was to excite our abhorrence for the purpose of rousing and stimulating our best exertions for its speedy and utter extinction.

But though our eyes have been wide opened to this enormity;—though we have revolted with horror at the frightful mass of crime and misery which it has presented;—though we have shuddered at the dreadful extremes of depravity at which human nature has arrived under its malign influence;—though we have admitted that it is as

impolitic as wicked—as repugnant to every maxim of enlightened interest as to every feeling of compassion, every principle of religion and justice; —though we have the means put into our own hands of expelling from our country this scourge of humanity, of obliterating this foul blot, this brand of infamy from our national character, —there it still remains, deepened and aggravated a hundred-fold by our empty professions of guilt, our fruitless professions of repentance. On this appalling subject, the convictions of judgment, the compunctions of conscience, the tender feelings of pity, the stern requisitions of justice, the solemn obligations of religion—have hitherto been admitted in vain. Surely, no force of language can justly portray the odious combination of vices, the imbecility, cruelty and hypocricy which must stamp our character, if we continue supinely to suffer the 800,000, victims of West Indian injustice, to remain in slavery—in aggravated slavery—tantalized with hope, which is to be extinguished in despair.

"There is a time (a right time) for every thing under the sun." We believe that the right time is fully come for the extinction of British slavery. We believe, moreover, that the present moments are critical,—that the right time *being come* for the execution of this righteous work—it is dangerous to trifle with it, We believe it must be *now, or never*, as far as our agency is concerned. The

work lies straight before us, — we are *invited*, but not *compelled* to it. The purposes of Divine mercy towards the despised outcasts of the great family will not be frustrated, but other means may be employed in their accomplishment, — and we may be left to abide the fate of unprofitable, disobedient servants. We are invited by every argument which can convince, every motive which can persuade, every consideration which can stimulate the exertion of moral agents, accountable creatures—Christians, most especially, — but we are not *forced* upon the work. We may know our obligations, and feel their weight — yet refuse to discharge them,—but it is at our peril that we do so.

That an institution so repugnant to every principle of humanity and justice, — so impiously opposed both to natural and revealed religion, should have been suffered to exist for so many ages, unknown or disregarded by the christian world, is an inscrutable mystery; — but the long-continued existence of every other moral and physical evil is an inscrutable mystery also. Infinite power, wisdom and goodness, could, doubtless, by the simple volition of His will, expel from the universe, evil, of every description — and this we are assured will be the final issue of His dispensations. In the mean time, the permission of evil is essentially connected with our present probationary state — and instead of inquiring

why Almighty power and goodness are not miraculously exerted in extirpating slavery and every other species of oppression and suffering from the face of the earth, let us rather inquire into our own duties, and learn how we ourselves are required to act in relation to that mighty mass of moral and physical evil with which we are surrounded;—especially towards that which is concentrated with such dreadful force in the British West Indies. "Woe unto the world because of offences; for offences must come; but woe unto them by whom they come"—and *by whom they are perpetuated.*

Some well-meaning persons have not scrupled to declare, that the evil in question, is too gigantic for human encounter,—that it can be vanquished by no power but that of Omnipotence;—the hitherto unsuccessful issue of the Anti-slavery exertions has been presumptuously referred to the Divine will;—the time for accomplishing their object, it has been said, has not yet arrived—and instead of ascribing their failure to a deficiency of general interest and co-operation, impiously call in question the Divine goodness—and expect the intervention of miracles to supply the place of the right exertion of the various talents and capacities with which we have been entrusted. What great reformations were ever effected without the strenuous exertion of human means? Though it be true, that "the good that is done in the earth,

"the Lord doeth it," — He doeth it nevertheless, through human instrumentality,—by enlightening the understanding and influencing the will of His intelligent creatures. To supply the millions of the human race with food produced from the ground on which we tread, is, we are sure, the work of Omnipotence; but we do not therefore conclude that the puny labours of man, the operations of ploughing and sowing, may therefore be dispensed with. Rich harvests in the moral as in the natural world, are the result of diligent, well-directed, persevering exertion,—though it be God alone, in both, who "giveth the increase."

The difficulties which obstruct the work of emancipation furnish no just cause of discouragement; they ought rather to be considered as tests of sincerity. *Abhorrence* of slavery is an *involuntary* consequence of its exposure; but its *extinction* must be a work of labour and difficulty proportioned to its strength and deeply-rooted tenacity. Shall we therefore abandon it, because it is connected with no present interest of our own? —because there is nothing to bind us to it but the generous sympathies of nature, the tender pleadings of pity, the strong ties of christian obligation?

Why the Divine image, in these oppressed Africans, has been so long suffered to be trodden under foot,—why their sufferings have been hitherto so little known and so little regarded—is no concern of ours. The veil of ignorance being

now withdrawn—the horrid "secrets of their prison house" being now disclosed—it is at our peril that we make light of them. The arm that governs the universe, let us remember, is an Almighty arm;—it lifteth up and casteth down nations as well as individuals. The Father of all the families of the earth "will do right"—He is a God of justice and judgment as well as mercy. All the powers of nature are *His* obedient ministers.—"He speaketh, and *it* is done; He commandeth and it standeth fast." How soon may our vaunted pre-eminence among the nations be lost. How soon may we exchange the proud station of command for that of subserviency,—the character of masters for that of slaves. From a quarter the most unexpected—at a moment the least thought of, the instruments of our humiliation and punishment may arrive. To dispel our infatuated dreams of endless prosperity and security, Divine judgments may be commissioned to break in upon us, (as formerly upon the secure and voluptuous Chaldeans) in a moment, without warning;—or they may proceed by silent, unperceived, yet unerring progress towards the certain accomplishment of their unsuspected purpose.

But though national judgments may be long suspended or averted,—not an individual can escape the visitations of retributive justice in that eternal world to which we are hastening. *There*, "Judgment will be laid to the line, and justice to the plummet;"—*there*, if not here—we must ex-

perience the strict fulfilment of the Divine warning—"With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." And from the awful parable of Dives and Lazarus, we may derivep rofitable notice of the kind and degree of punishment which will hereafter fall, not on the tyrant and the oppressor alone, but on such as have been *regardless* or *negligent* of the sufferings of the afflicted and destitute. This parable may have a much wider application than we are generally aware. It may unfold the future destiny not only of the slave and the slave-holder,—but its design may not be at all distorted by supposing it may also indicate the separate abodes of the cultivator and the careless unfeeling *consumer* of West-Indian produce. The first idea may be offensive and revolting, but a little reflection will prove that there is nothing fanatical or extravagant in the supposition. For what were the different characteristics of Dives and Lazarus, which placed such an impassable gulph between them? No greater crime, no more palpable offence is charged or insinuated against the former, but those of selfish indulgence, thoughtless insensibility, or unfeeling neglect of a fellow creature's privations and sufferings; nor is any virtue exhibited in the latter, but that of patient endurance of those privations and sufferings:—yet is Divine Justice represented as placing these two characters, in the next life, at an infinite distance from each other,—the one in torments—the other, in

blessedness. The Omniscient Arbiter, judgeth not as man judgeth. "Man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh at the heart."—"That which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God." He acquits where man condemns,—He condemns where man acquits. A poor outcast from society,—a loathsome beggar,—(whom modern refinement regards as a public nuisance,—whom modern justice suffers not to beg at the rich man's gate, for the crumbs which fall from his table, but sentences to prison as a criminal)—is carried by angels into Abraham's bosom;—the rich man, on the contrary,—respected, applauded, probably, by his contemporaries for his hospitality, his generosity,—his splendid and costly entertainment of his rich friends and neighbours;—who had a conscience, it might be too scrupulously tender to *encourage beggars*,—who was too observant of his social duties to suffer even the crumbs which fell from his table to be given a poor Lazarus—he lifts up his eyes in torments!

That Omniscient eye, which, with ineffable tenderness, and compassion, wept over Jerusalem, foreseeing the awful impending consequence of her obdurate impenitence,—taking into account the eternal duration of human existence, the transitory nature of time, the comparatively short duration of the most protracted corporeal sufferings,—the strict responsibility of man for every talent entrusted to him;—for light and knowledge,

for mental, moral, and christian cultivation;—for all the discoveries of duty, all the capacities and means of doing good;—ordaining that to whom much is given, of him will much be required:—that Omniscient eye, may discern in the free-born, illuminated, highly favoured sons of Britain, more than in the enslaved, benighted, afflicted children of Africa, to call for compassion, for mourning and lamentation.

Possibly, those to whom this appeal is particularly directed may regard it in no other light than that of a declamatory invective, uncalled for and unmerited by the parties addressed, who, having expressed their abhorrence of slavery, and petitioned Parliament for its mitigation and gradual abolition, imagine that they have fully discharged their consciences and done all respecting it which duty requires of them.

But the slavery against which they have petitioned still exists in unmitigated rigour. The voice of the people has, as yet been very partially and feebly exerted against this enormity;—so partially and so feebly, that its supporters have argued from thence, that the sense of the country is with, and not against them.

"But the people (it may be said) the great mass of society, admitting they have the power, by the reiterated and more unanimous expression of their abhorrence of slavery, to put an end to it, have not the principle to exert that power;—they are not to be wrought upon by abstract con-

siderations of humanity and justice;—they are governed by custom and interest." The great mass of society inherit the same intelligent nature, the same capacities and feelings with the more enlightened and conscientious—and may be wrought upon by the same motives and principles of action. The people, the great mass of society, who appear so inert, so little accessible to any appeals but those of passion or interest, are nevertheless *capable* of a much higher and better influence. They may be moved, powerfully moved, by a sense of justice, by feelings of compassion, by motives of moral and religious obligation,—were proper means employed to bring these feelings and motives into exercise. Were persons of ability and influence,—such as we are now addressing,—who have been qualified to labour in the great vineyard,—to enlighten the ignorant, to teach the thoughtless to reflect;—were such as these faithfully occupying the five and ten talents with which they have been entrusted, such a general and deep abhorrence of this baneful institution might soon be excited and expressed, as could not fail to be decisive with the British Legislature. Such is the preponderating weight of West Indian influence, that without such a strong expression of public feeling and public principle, no radical change of Colonial policy is to be expected. But besides the incitement of more general and earnest petitions and remonstrances to Parliament against slavery, there

is one simple and obvious means of discountenancing it which lies within the reach of every individual,—which every individual of common humanity is bound to adopt and to urge upon all within the reach of his influence, (viz) the substitution of the produce of *free* for that of *slave* labour. But whilst this simple and obvious means of undermining and extirpating slavery is so generally neglected by the more influential class, and so little exertion is made, even by such as adopt it themselves, to bring it into general operation — we believe they are incurring a heavy weight of guilty responsibility.

How much of the bitter sufferings of their enslaved fellow creatures, they will have to answer for, who have the power thus to excite and to keep alive the public feeling in their behalf and neglect to exert it, is not for us to ascertain; —but we are forewarned that we are in the strictest sense responsible for *neglected* as well as abused talents,—for the good which we have ability to do, and leave undone, as well as for the positive evil which we do.

Sloth and infidelity often assume the guise of humility. "How little (they exclaim) can human effort accomplish with regard to the wide extent and appalling magnitude of crime and misery which have from age to age deformed and afflicted the world! How perplexing is the attempt to reconcile the present state of things with the Divine attributes — with the infinite goodness and

love, as well as wisdom and power of the great Governor of the universe! He hath all power in Heaven and in earth. He doeth his own pleasure—none can resist His will: "He turneth the hearts of the people like rivers of water." But what can the puny efforts of man effect with regard to that mighty mass of sin and suffering which seems to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea? To the few whose hearts have been in some degree softened by the tendering influences of religion, that sin and that suffering are the occasion of mourning and painful sympathy:—they are anxiously solicitous to restrain the one and to heal the other. A love of rectitude, the awakened sensibilities of humanity, as well as a sense of duty, stimulate their exertions —but alas! what do they atchieve? Here and there, they do a little—a very little;—the reformation theye ffect, the relief they administer, is but deducting, drops as it were, from the overwhelming flood of moral and physical evil:—and yet, a single effort of the Divine will—a word, from the mouth of him, who "speaks and it is done," would restore virtue and happiness through all the bounds of the creation! We stand appalled at the frightful accumulation of crime on the one hand, we weep over the heart-rending extent and variety of suffering on the other, yet it is little, almost nothing which *human* effort can do towards the diminution of either! In reference to this terrible evil of slavery, the most prolific source of crime

and misery;—what has been accomplished by years of persevering unremitted labour? Our compassion for the wretched slave can bear no proportion to that of his Heavenly Father,—his Divine Redeemer;—yet still he is suffered to remain in hopeless bondage—still he is suffered to be disinherited of his birthright, and degraded below the level of the brute!"

Probably there are few minds, accustomed to reflection, in which thoughts like these do not occasionally pass—and what is their practical tendency? A folding of the hands in slothful apathy, or in hopeless despair. But what will the humble-minded believing Christian say to such reasonings? He will say, "Get thee behind me Satan,"—he will resist them. He sees that their tendency is to negligence, to unbelief, to atheism. He knows that "here we see through a glass darkly"—that the dispensations of Providence are to us, in our present state, veiled in clouds and darkness,—nevertheless, he has the fullest assurance that "the Judge of all the earth will do right,"—and a ray of Heavenly light clearly points out his own path of duty. The course he is to follow has been illuminated by the footsteps of his Lord and Master;—pursuing that radiant track, he is certain to join the triumphs of his glorious Leader, who, though invisible, is "going on conquering and to conquer;"—who "reigns King of Kings and Lord of Lords,"—who "must reign, until all things are subdued under Him,"—

until "all things that offend" are gathered out of his kingdom;—till sin is vanquished, and "death swallowed up of life." In the mean time, for purposes inscrutable to finite comprehension, the tares are suffered to grow with the wheat,—sin and suffering are both permitted;—and the business of His humble followers is, to "eschew evil and to do good;"—their duty and high privilege is to become "co-workers with God." To instruct the ignorant—to reform the vicious—to feed the hungry—to clothe the naked—to relieve the stranger—to visit the prisoner—and to redeem the captive, are, according to their ability, their chosen and happiest employments. They will not withhold their hand because they can do so little, but will faithfully employ their one, or their ten talents in promoting the cause of righteousness upon earth;—and however slow its apparent progress—whatever powers of earth or hell may resist it—they will go right onward in the path of duty, well knowing, that whilst they are so engaged—stronger is He that is for them than all which can combine against them.

Those whom we are now especially addressing, may still object to the particular exertions which we so earnestly recommend, that they are confidently persuaded their great object will never be by such means accomplished. Certainly it will not;—if those means are not brought into operation;—if the exertion of them continues to be generally discouraged. But we rejoice in the

conviction that this will not be the case, for should the more influential classes remain inert or opposed to the measures in question; others, we doubt not, will be raised up to supply their "lack of service;"—"if they hold their peace, the very stones will cry out:"—humbler, but more devoted and laborious agents will take the places which they ought to occupy.

Uncertainty, must, of necessity, ever attach to human efforts;—nevertheless, in the great work of emancipation we are bound to exert them to the uttermost, in dependence on that power which alone can render them successful. To use the fervid language of one of the most able and devoted Leaders in this righteous cause;—"EVERY HEART AND HAND AND TONGUE AND PEN SHOULD UNITE IN PROMOTING PUBLIC MEETINGS;—IN EXHIBITING BEFORE THEM SLAVERY IN ITS TRUE AND HORRIFIC COLOURS;—AND IN MULTIPLYING PETITIONS TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, UNTIL PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT ARE CONVINCED, WHICH THEY ARE NOT AT PRESENT, THAT THE PUBLIC VOICE IS DECIDEDLY IN FAVOR OF EXTINGUISHING SLAVERY:"—we must add,—of extinguishing it PROMPTLY.

LETTER III.

To the more influential Classes of the Christian Public.

In appealing to the christian public on the subject of West Indian slavery, we have no adequate medium through which to convey our convictions of its urgent claims to a deeper attention in this quarter than has hitherto been bestowed upon it. "Argument and eloquence have been employed to exhaustion" in the exposure of its impolicy and wickedness,—its hostility to every recognised principle of the British Constitution,—its impious violation of the laws of nature and of God. Yet the crime and disgrace so broadly exposed, so eloquently deplored, so generally execrated;—against which we have protested and petitioned—still exists. And we believe it will continue to exist until christian feeling is more deeply interested, until christian principle is more earnestly exerted for its extinc-

tion. If slavery in the British colonies be ever eradicated without violence and blood-shed, it must be through the awakened energy, the constraining force of christian obligation; through the authority of Laws which have been long since promulgated;—which are as old as the world;—which were impressed upon the very frame and constitution of man, written on "fleshly tables of the heart" by the Supreme Lawgiver, before they were written on tables of stone. In the christian code, their obligations are extended and enforced by considerations the most persuasive and solemn by which the human mind can be affected. These laws are uncompromising and peremptory. This is their explicit imperative language—"THOU SHALT NOT KILL."—"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL."—And how are these prohibitions interpreted to the christian? "THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF."—"BY THIS SHALL ALL MEN KNOW THAT YE ARE MY DISCIPLES IF YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER." Of what kind and of what degree is the love which constitutes this infallible criterion? It is no other in kind,—no other in degree, than that which thou bearest thyself. "ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE, EVEN SO UNTO THEM," Must it not follow then, of necessity, that the Christian,—he to whom the name truly belongs,—he who would be acknowledged as such on the

great day of distinction, of final separation between the sheep and the goats, must take a deeper interest than he has hitherto done, in the cause of the enslaved African?— must, in short, *make it is own?* —keep alive his compassionate sympathy,—exert himself in his behalf, with such zeal and perseverance as he would implore for himself were he to exchange places with the slave?

With the nature of his slavery we are but too familiarly acquainted. We have heard of his cruel wrongs and bitter sufferings till we cease to be affected by them. The numberless well authenticated details of West Indian barbarity may produce upon their hearers similar results to those which a long residence in the country almost invariably effects,—a lowering of the standard both of feeling and of principle,—a searing of the conscience and a hardening of the heart. But no such consequence would ensue were the knowledge of these enormities followed up by determined and persevering exertions to destroy their prolific root. Our interest in the arduous work would deepen in proportion to the earnestness of our labours. We are become so cold and heartless in the cause of emancipation because we are so idle. Having once been awakened to a just sense of the enormity of the individual as well as national crime of slavery;—having seen the complicated injury, the dreadful extent of suffering which it entails on one party, the appal-

ling depth of guilt into which it plunges the other;—that it degrades the image of God on one hand into a brute animal—transforms it on the other, into a fiend;—that it obliterates in the more immediate agents of this infernal system, every vestige of humanity, extirpates every feeling of compassion,—converts the "milk of human kindness" into gall and wormwood—into corrosive and deadly moral poison—and renders man to his fellow man a monster of cruelty more fell and remorseless than the tiger or hyena:—having seen that it dooms hundreds of thousands to hopeless misery in the present life;—that it plunges countless multitudes into final perdition:—it might have been expected as a matter of course—of necessity, that every christian would combine his best exertions to put the speediest termination to a system so terribly destructive of human virtue and happiness. But hitherto they seem only to have contemplated the evil as a frightful *phantasmagoria*, a scenic representation of horrors exhibited for stage effect,—for the mere purpose of strong and transient excitement. At most, they seem to have consideration the pictures presented by it of human degradation, crime and misery, as a history of past enormities, of scarcely credible brutalities which marked the long gone by ages of ignorance and barbarism. They never yet seem to have beheld them as faithful representations of the present actually existing state of

things in the British Empire, in the very heart of Christendom;—much less, do they seem ever to have suspected that they are all individually implicated in their wilful encouragement and support;—otherwise, how could so profound an apathy have prevaded the more conscientious portion of the community on a subject so calculated to rouse and to keep alive its intense interest?

Where their own interest is at stake, they can reason wisely, act consistently, vigourously, perseveringly,—consequently, with the reasonable prospect of a successful issue. But, where the interest temporal and eternal, of 800,000 of their enslaved fellow creatures, whom they are bound by their christian profession to love as themselves, is at issue—then, though they have most eloquently pleaded their cause in public meetings, described them as degraded below the brutes,—subjected to a tyranny so severe, to outrages so barbarous, that every feeling of humanity has recoiled at the relation,—the heart has sickened at the horrid catalogue "of ills which man inflicts upon his fellow man"—and the listener has blushed and hung his head, to think himself a man."—Yet, when from declamation, they come to action,—when from appaling descriptions of oppression and cruelty—duty calls to administer relief—then, what a reproachful contrast do their reasonings and actions present to those of which self-interest is the object. Instead of pursuing

the natural, obvious, and certain method of destroying this inhuman tyranny, by ceasing to encourage it themselves, and by using their best exertions to engage all within the reach of their influence in the same resolution of withdrawing its support by refusing its produce;—instead of striving by every possible means to keep alive and to increase the public interest in the cause of emancipation, by inciting the people to renewed and more earnest petitions to Parliament, for justice, strict, impartial justice, to all the subjects of British Government, without distinction of colour;—to rescue, as it becomes a *christian* Legislature, the weak and helpless from the grasp of oppression;—instead of this, too many, even of the high professing christian world, seem to have closed their eyes, and gone to sleep over the dreadful history of West-Indian barbarity, and left its wretched victims carelessly to their fate. Alas! how grossly may we flatter ourselves with the imaginary possession of virtues to which we have no real pretension, by mistaking feeling for principle—transient impulses of humanity for the virtue of charity.

We know that human nature is versatile, selfish, indolent;—that, however eagerly it may start in the cause of suffering humanity, when spurred on by indignant abhorrence of oppression and involuntary sympathy with the oppressed, that it will soon relax when those impulses are

withdrawn. We know how powerfully it is wrought upon by novelty, and how difficult it is to prevent familiarity with crime and suffering from begetting indifference: and we also know that no important good can be secured without thwarting and overcoming this natural instability. We know that all the great momentous objects of our regard — death, judgment, eternity, are familiar themes, — and that neither our own true interest nor that of our fellow-creatures, can be promoted, unless *principle* be made to supply the transient ebullitions of passion and feeling. And we know that the poor Negro, after all the eloquent commiseration which his enormous wrongs have called forth,—will, notwithstanding, be left, from generation to generation, in the grasp of his ruthless oppressor, unless violence be done to this selfish supineness; — unless *christian principle* rekindle our zeal in his cause, and quicken our tardy humanity.

The enfranchisement of eight hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures from the galling yoke of West-Indian bondage will be found no easy atchievement. All who are really in earnest in the cause of these defenceless outcasts, will prove it by their conduct as well as their language. We have no rational ground to expect that their deliverance will ever be accomplished, without laborious persevering effort. The double chain which binds them in moral and corporeal slavery,

will not fall off of itself,—its strong rivets will not be loosened by declamatory invectives. The great and difficult work of emancipation must be effected, like all other great and difficult works, by the diligent application of rational and appropriate means.

By the conduct and language of some professed enemies of slavery, one would imagine they expected this mighty revolution would be effected without effort,—by magic,—by some self-moving mysterious process in direct contradiction to the established order of things. "The work (they tell us) is in progress, and will be accomplished by the gradual advance of knowledge and moral improvement." Though they take no active interest in it themselves, but, on the contrary, do their utmost to retard it, by continuing to consume the productions of slavery, and to discourage those who are using their utmost exertions to prevent that consumption, The same mode of reasoning and acting applied to the common business of life, would lead the farmer to sit still in the confident expectation of a plentiful harvest, though he neither ploughed his fields, nor sowed them with grain;—they would lead the sick man to presume on the recovery of his health by persisting in those very courses which had engendered his disease;—they would lead the man whose house was on fire to expect the conflagration would be stopped by fanning, instead of

throwing water on the flame. It is vain to urge in their excuse that they are not *convinced* that abstinence from the productions of slavery will ever effect its destruction. It is *one* important means which it is the duty of every man of common humanity to exert to the uttermost as a testimony of his own abhorrence of the system, and his determination to do *all in his own power* to destroy it. And though the operation of this single means, however generally exerted, might fail in itself, to effect its *speedy* and complete destruction, yet, in conjunction with stronger remonstrances, more earnest petitions to the Legislature, we may reasonably hope that another session of Parliament would not be suffered to pass without its accomplishment.

We have heard the insolent contempt with which the orders in council, the recommendations and the *commands* of Government, have been received by the colonists;—and we have seen that their language of insult and threatened rebellion, instead of meeting with its deserved chastisement, has, on the contrary, been succeeded by additional concessions in their favour, and by a reduction of the duties on West Indian produce!!!

By what other means then, but the rejection of that produce, and by earnest appeal to Parliament for the assertion of its own dignity; for the establishment of national honour and security, by the administration of equal law and equal jus-

tice through all the bounds of the British Empire,—can we expect that West Indian slavery will ever be extinguished? Is it by commercial speculations?—By more enlightened and accurate calculations of interest?—By the establishment of a "*Tropical free labour company*"?—Are we to leave 800,000, of our fellow creatures in the hands of their merciless task-masters, until their liberation becomes the inevitable result of mercantile competition?—Would this be to do justice and to love mercy, on christian principles?—Speculations on the comparative profitableness of free and slave labour, may *ultimately* effect the destruction of slavery,—but christian charity will not wait the tardy uncertain result;—she will employ the best means in her power for its *speediest* destruction,—and as abstinence from slave produce is the *only means* over which the people have absolute control, this, she will use her utmost exertions to bring into prompt and vigorous operation. The formation of a Society which inlists the all controling principle of *interest* on the side of humanity, shews something, it is true, of "the wisdom of the serpent,"—but true christian charity will far outstrip even the rapid motion of self-interest, and secure its object by a more direct course. She will hail such establishments as that of the "Tropical free labour company" as auxiliaries and secondaries, but will not suffer them to usurp the place, or supersede the exer-

tion of moral and religious principle. The laws which guide her operations are quick and spontaneous, and prompt to the same exertions for the relief of others sufferings as for her own. She regards the dreadful disclosures of the real nature of colonial bondage as affording a test, a certain test of the sincerity or spuriousness of christian profession. "If a man love me (said our Lord) he will keep my commandments." What commandments? How readest thou? What was the reply to the enquiry—"which is the first and great commandment"?—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. *This* is the first and great commandment. (But *mark the sequel.)* The second is like unto it. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* On these two commandments hang all the Law and Prophets."

"If we love not our Brother whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?" If we so love not our degraded and oppressed fellow creatures, of whose nature we so intimately partake, and with whom the spontaneous sympathies of humanity compel us to feel; —if we so love them not as to exert every means in our power of rescuing them, from the merciless thieves among whom they are fallen;—how can we love God,—their Father as well as ours? By the fruit alone is the nature of the tree ascertained. By "works of mercy and labours of love" are

genuine christians to be distinguished from the promiscuous throng of empty professors. "Herein, is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit". —Do we ask, what fruit? Let us turn to the divine sermon on the mount,—to the awful disclosures of the day of Judgment, and see, what are the fruits,—the different course of life, which mark the difference between the ransomed and the reprobate.

Can it possibly be imagined after the affecting enumeration of acts of kindness and mercy recorded in the close of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, which our Lord represents himself as accepting and rewarding as *done unto Himself*, because done unto one of the least of his family; —can we possibly imagine that acts of justice and mercy to those wretched captives who stand so much in need of our sympathy and assistance, will not be equally accepted?

Let such as have not yet ascertained the precise line of duty between the two propositions of immediate and gradual emancipation, refer their doubts to the divine records for solution. "ALL THINGS, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do EVEN SO unto them". Mark the precision, the commanding force of the lang uag. Here is no room for evasions or exceptions;—no admission for cold procrastinating delays. The rule is short, intelligible and decisive —and requires us to pursue that precise line of

conduct towards all men, which we ourselves would reasonably desire were we in their circumstances. The enquiry therefore, what line of conduct a christian should pursue respecting the subject in question, resolves itself into a very small compass. He must put himself in the place of the slave—think of the torture of his galling chains, his ulcerated wounds;—the premature exhaustion of his powers, from over-strained exertions, under the most barbarous coercion;—the painful consumption of his life in hopeless despair. He must remember, that the poor Negro, has no one in the land of his oppression, to plead his cause or to avenge his wrongs;—he must remember the strong arm of power with which every feeble struggle for his own relief is borne down;—the inhuman chastisement with which his unavailing complaints are silenced;—then, let him ask his own heart if he would not, above all earthly blessings, above *life itself*, desire, groan, for *immediate liberation from the horrors of such a bondage*![m]

We have then the express authority of a DIVINE COMMAND, to stimulate and combine all our exertions for his prompt emancipation. Then, let all who humbly hope for Divine approval, en-

[m] Let it ever be remembered that emancipation from *slavery* is not emancipation from *law*,—does not preclude such wise provisional regulations and restraints as so sudden a change of condition might render expedient.

gage without delay, and with all their hearts, in the arduous work. Let them no longer deal treacherously with their own principles, and keep back any of the price which they demand. Let those who have leisure and influence make it their business to diffuse more general information of the horrors of West Indian slavery; to incite a deeper and more general sympathy for its wretched victims, and (as the British legislature can alone effect their *speedy* and *complete* emancipation) to incite throughout the nation the most earnest and pressing appeals to Parliament no longer to withhold from these despised outcasts their FULL RIGHTS, because they are themselves too feeble to demand them, because they are so crushed by oppression that they dare not even beg for them;—no longer to listen to the cruel suggestions, which procrastinating selfishness is ever insinuating,—that because they have been so long the victims of lawless power,—because their necks have so long been accustomed to the yoke,—because they have never participated in the rights of humanity and justice,—because the image of their Creator has, in these His abused creatures, been so long trampled underfoot,—that therefore there need be no haste to rescue their bodies from lacerating whips and galling chains—and their minds from brutish ignorance and Pagan darkness. And let none of us any longer mock the sacred name of truth by

calling those slow reluctant feeble concessions, implied in the principle of *gradual* emancipation, just, reasonable, merciful,—when, in fact, they are only new modifications, more disguised and subtile modes of oppression.

"LET MY PEOPLE GO,"—is the authoritative language of the great Parent of the Universe, to all who have ears to hear the voice of reason, of conscience, of revelation;—to all who keep aloof from the confused Babel of sordid interest and political expediency;—who turn a deaf ear to those artful glosses, those selfish evasions, those "vain traditions," whereby the Divine command is rendered "of none effect." "LET MY PEOPLE GO,"—is as clearly the Divine command respecting these poor despised outcasts, as it was respecting the oppressed Israelites. In their case, it is true, the command was express and audible,—enforced by great signs and wonders—and its resistance attended by immediate and supernatural punishments. But in the case of the poor Negro, the command is not less intelligible, in a Christian's ear, because conveyed by the spirit, instead of the letter, of the Divine injunction—and the punishment of disobedience, though it do not immediately follow, will, he is sufficiently warned, fall in heavier inflictions upon Christian, than upon Egyptian slave-holders. And who are so emphatically slave-holders as the consumers of slave produce? Is not he who

bribes another to commit a robbery or a murder, the greater criminal of the two, though he shed no blood and commit no violence?

He who kidnaps and forces away the defenceless Negro from his friends and country, and puts him in irons on board a slave-ship;—he who buys him of the slave merchant,—who stamps brand marks into his flesh with hot irons;—who compels him to labour all the days of his wretched existence, without wages, under the lash of the cart-whip;—who, if he attempt to escape, or make any resistance, hunts him down like a beast of prey,—chains and flogs him without mercy,—shoots and gibbets him at his pleasure;—who seizes upon his children also, from generation to generation, as his lawful prey;—all these,—he who steals and makes merchandize of his fellow man;—he who buys the stolen merchandize,—and he, who inheriting such ill-gotten property, lays impious claim to it as a rightful possession;—all these, guilty as they are, are not the *most* guilty parties in these transactions of iniquity;—they have employers, who make it worth their while,—who bribe them to commit these atrocities.

It is a true adage,—"if there were no receivers of stolen goods, there would be no thieves." For what are those poor Negroes stolen away from their native country? For what are they bought and sold like cattle? For what are they

chained and branded and forced to labour, night as well as day under the most brutal coercion?—BECAUSE THE PRODUCE OF ALL THIS OPPRESSION AND CRUELTY—FINDS WITH ENLIGHTENED CHRISTIANS, A PROFITABLE MARKET!!

Heretofore, we sinned in thoughtless ignorance;—we knew little of the dreadful price at which our West Indian luxuries were procured;—now, the veil of ignorance is removed: The enormous crimes and sufferings inseparable from the system of slave cultivation, have at length, been fully exposed;—henceforth the guilty responsibility of slave holding rests with the consumers of slave produce. Let conscience therefore do her office and fix the conviction of blood-guiltiness in our own bosoms. Let us seek no ingenious palliations or self justifying evasions, but confess that "we are verely guilty concerning our (captive) Brother,"—and determine to make all possible atonement for past criminal carelessness of his wrongs, not only by conscientiously abstaining from all farther consumption of the produce of his inhuman oppression, but by determining, henceforward, to make his cause our own, and resolving never to desert it until the rights of humanity are restored to him,—till he is raised from the condition of a brute to that of a man and a Christian.

Henceforward, let us "remember those that

are in bonds, as bound with them." Let the speedy redemption of the captive Negro be the object of our fervent prayers, of our earnest persevering labours,—of prayers so fervent, of labours so earnest and persevering as may bear some resemblance to those which we ourselves should desire, were our own enfranchisement suspended on their issue. Our prayers will then be heard; —the Divine blessing will crown our exertions— and British slavery will be annihilated. And though our *power* to liberate the captive sons of Africa, be restrained within the bounds of our own territory — our *example*, when it becomes CONSISTENT, will not be so limited. It is CONSISTENCY alone which gives force either to individual or national example. Why has no greater efficacy hitherto attended our tardy example in the relinquishment of the African slave trade?— Because it has wanted this essential virtue;— because when we relinquished the traffic, we retained its guilty perquisites; — because we not only detained the living victims of the slave trade in cruel bondage, but doomed their children also, and their children's children to the same dreadful inheritance; — because, whilst we persist in so doing, we appear to surrounding nations, with polluted hands, and a *Janus face*, consequently disqualified for successful pleaders against a system of iniquity which we have so reluctantly and partially renounced.

Had christians continued to adorn the doctrine they profess with those living fruits, those works of mercy and labours of love with which it was at first ornamented;—had the extended knowledge and profession of the Gospel been accompanied by a practical conformity to its righteous precepts,—slavery, with all its attendant crimes and miseries, must long since have been abolished throughout the world. But the separating the profession of christianity from its righteous and beneficent practice, has rendered it, comparatively, of none effect;—has occasioned its glorious light to be "hid under a bushel,"—the "salt," given to counteract moral corruption, to "lose its savour,"—to be, in great measure, "trodden under foot,"—calumniated and despised, as a thing of little worth.

Yet this Gospel, whose lustre has been so tarnished by modern professors, is the only means appointed for salvation, to the ends of the earth. No new revelation is to be expected;—by no other power will that grand prophetic renovation be accomplished which shall "fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." The stone, "cut without hands," seen in the vision of Daniel, which "brake in pieces the iron, the clay, the silver and the gold;"—which subdued every opposing power and "became a great Mountain which filled the whole earth,"—

is no other than that Gospel which, with us is held in such unprofitableness and unrighteousness.

The world around us does not retain its present disordered miserable condition for want of light and information,—for want of the means of its restoration to order and happiness. No, ample provision has been made for recovering the lost harmony of this discordant world. It would not remain as it is, waste and deserted of good,—fruitful and rank in evil, were those who have been called to work in this great vineyard, diligently labouring in their respective allotments; —were "the children of light as wise (and as active) in their generation as the children of this world."

We can imagine nothing better calculated to rouse their slumbering zeal, to give new life and vigour to their torpid principles, than the consideration of the dreadful state of moral and physical wretchedness in which 800,000, immortal beings are *held on British ground, chiefly by the thoughtless consumption of the produce of their slavery* by professing christians; who, from the time when the real condition of slavery was first made known, must be accountable for every day's unnecessary prolongation of so inhuman an institution—and for all the crimes and miseries from which it is inseparable, whilst they neglect the use of any means in their power for its speedy and complete destruction.

Time flies swiftly—so does conviction of duty, —so does the inclination and the power to obey it, from those who trifle or procrastinate. Neglected capacities and opportunities of doing good, are not only withdrawn, but *avenged*, by leaving in their place the curse of increased insensibility, —and those who have been most abhorrent of slavery, may, by remaining quiescent, imperceptibly become as reckless of its sufferings as the West Indians themselves.

Then let us "work whilst it is yet day"—remembering that it is a short one,—that, with many of us, "it is far spent;"—and therefore "whatsoever our hand findeth to do (whereby the double bonds of these our oppressed and benighted fellow creatures may be broken) let us do it with all our might."—Let our zeal and diligence bear some proportion to the magnitude of the work and the strength and resolution of its opposers. The interests of slavery have hitherto stood firm, have, thus far, resisted and defied all attack, because they have been supported with pertinacious and determined courage—and when the interests of humanity and justice are supported with equal zeal and resolution, they will not only prevail, but triumph gloriously. There is in their nature a spirit of ascendency and dominion. Oppression would tremble and fall prostrate before them, were their professed friends and supporters but half as zealous and persevereing as their enemies.

We may appear to have laid a very undue

stress upon the single duty of emancipation, since it regards only the temporal condition of the slaves. We have been thus earnest in pressing this duty because we consider it as a necessary preparation for one of still greater obligation. We may not violate the established order. We must *first* "Do JUSTICE *(then)* love mercy".—We must do justice before we obtain a capacity to love mercy. To plead for the instruction of the poor Negro and to oppose his emancipation;—to keep his body in slavery that we may deliver his mind from bondage, is to "do evil that good may come;"—to lay the foundation of charity in oppression. We have been thus earnest in pressing the duty of emancipation, because we consider it as having an important bearing on the whole of our christian conduct and character. The various exertions which a hearty engagement in this cause would call forth, would lead to the detection and counteraction of that inherent selfishness which is the origin and support of slavery, the *spirit* of which manifests itself in our own country—in our hearts—in various other forms of injustice, oppression and cruelty, which are of the same nature if not of the same extent. An earnest engagement in this cause, would not, as some imagine, withdraw our attention from objects of nearer interest;—it would, on the contrary, open our eyes to see, and expand our hearts to undertake various other works of justice and mercy which are at present overlooked. Christian charity is an in-

exhaustible mine, whose treasures accumulate in proportion as they are drawn forth. It is not like gold, of which, if we are lavish in one quarter, we must be proportionably parsimonious in another. This wealth, on the contrary, the more it is used, the more it increases.

But we have said enough, it may be, much more than enough, to prove, that it is an imperative christian duty to employ, to the uttermost, every means in our power for the speedy and complete extinction of West Indian slavery. To the most efficacious of those means we have already adverted. In themselves, they are simple and obvious, but to bring them into effective operation, is acknowledged to be a work of labour and difficulty.

These pages will probably fall into the hands of some who have already renounced the use of West Indian produce, for the sake of christian consistency,—to preserve a conscience void of offence,—an exemption from all participation or encouragement of crime; though they have no hope that their example will in the slightest degree, weaken the interests of slavery, which, they are well aware, are too firmly rooted to be shaken by a few such scattered instances of conscientiousness. But, being morally certain, that the whole system, root and branch, must of necessity be destroyed by the *general extension of such an example*, they feel impelled to *do their part*. But

what is that part? Surely it is the *christian's* part, his privilege, as well as duty, to do all, in such a cause, which he has the power to do. Let him reflect—that he is at present literally *doing nothing* to lighten the burdens of slavery;—that his own example, and that of his conscientious coadjutors, will produce no sensible effect on the condition of a single slave,—will be utterly useless—a mere waste of principle as far as he is the object. To effect any important charge in his condition;—to prove that slavery is abhorrent to the Nation;—to give weight and efficacy to our petitions against it, the example *must become general*—and how can it become general without exertion and labour?—and from what quarter is the requisite exertion and labour to be expected—but from *real christians?*—from such as have time and talents to devote to the cause?

The consideration of the utter helplessness of these objects of our sympathy,—that they cannot plead for themselves;—that they have none in the land of their captivity to plead for them,—that their tears are unobserved,—that their sighs and groans reach us by no audible sounds,—that their lacerated, disfigured and mutilated bodies are unexposed to our view,—that they stretch out to us no imploring hands—utter no piercing cries for deliverance,—that all is *silent*, *enduring*, *uncomplaining suffering*—should, on feeling, generous minds, operate as the most eloquent and urgent of all

claims to sympathy and assistance. To whom must we look for availing help,—for the *substantial* compassion of the good Samaritan? From whence can it be most reasonably expected, but from real christians of the more influential classes, whose elevated station gives them a persuasive influence over the sentiments and practice of those around them? From whence can it be most reasonably expected, but from those to whom it is given richly to enjoy the life that now is, as well as the glorious hope of that which is to come; —from those, to whom much has been given, and of whom much will be therefore required? From whom, but from those who must be often inquiring, what they are rendering to the Lord for all His goodness? How they are occupying the talents with which He has entrusted them? What account they will have to render of their Stewardship? We want words to express our own conviction of the extent and importance of the benefits which you have the ability to confer upon the most oppressed and abused of the human family. You admit that abstinence from West Indian produce *must become general* in order to accomplish its object—And to You we must look *to make it general—to bring it into fashion.* Who else, but those who have time and talents at their own disposal, rather, at the disposal of the great Giver, can be expected to devote them to a cause to which there is no attraction

of ambition or interest, and for the most laborious and successful exertions in which, no reward is to be hoped for, but from Him who seeth in secret?

To be exempt from the crime of encouraging and perpetuating slavery, and to make atonement for past negligence, we must not only abstain ourselves from all farther consumption of its produce, but determine, to the utmost of our power, to engage others in a similar resolution. We must make it a business, by every means of argument and persuasion, to engage the cooperation of all around us, high and low, rich and poor,—not regarding opposition and ridicule, but making the best of our talents and influence, whatever they be, to extend the resolution far and wide, until it pervades the whole kingdom,—until the use of slave produce shall become a mark of reproach, and those who have not renounced it upon principle, shall be constrained to do it for their credit's sake. A resolution and zeal short of this, will effect nothing; we shall only trifle with the subject,—trifle with our christian obligations, and do nothing effectual towards discharging the heavy debt we owe to our enslaved brother.

Christian charity, implies in its very nature, the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial. What costs us little, is, in general, of little worth. But what sacrifice (it may be asked) or self-denial, deserving the name, is implied in the rejection of slave pro-

duce where the same articles may be obtained by free labour? Certainly there is no sacrifice in the individual substitution, but such a substitution can never be expected to become general without exertions which involve considerable sacrifices. West Indian slavery has been so often discussed, has become so trite and hackneyed a subject that it seems by tacit agreement to be excluded from common conversation, and it requires no little courage to encounter the evident coldness or disgust with which it is generally received. There is a great deal of prejudice and hostility among a large proportion of the higher and middle ranks, against the measure in question, occasioned by the extensive ramifications of West Indian influence, and a prevailing notion, among such as pride themselves on their loyalty, that it is an officious interference with the business of Government.

It is highly desirable that the friends of emancipation, should, as much as possible, for the sake of consistency, abstain from the consumption of *all* slave cultivated produce. But as the cultivation of *sugar* is the most lucrative, and by far the most oppressive of West Indian slave labours;—as the Planter derives his chief emolument from the sale of this article, and his monopoly of the British market;—it is *against this article especially, that we must endeavour to close that market.* But before entering upon the consideration of the best

means of securing that object, we will briefly advert to the objections most frequently urged against it.

The zealous advocates for the substitution of East for West Indian sugar, are on all sides admonished, that their attempts to dissuade the British public from the consumption of the latter until the former becomes the preferable article, are altogether Utopian and visionary.

They are also assured, that were the British Public to adopt such a resolution it would be utterly futile as it regards its object; since the sugar rejected by us would be exported to the continent.

It is also confidently asserted, that a general disuse of West Indian sugar would be alike injurious to the slave and his master, inasmuch as it would occasion a fall of price, which by impoverishing the latter would oblige him to diminish the support and comforts of the former; and also, that it would be highly injurious to the commercial interests of this country.

In reply to the first objection, we beg to propose the following questions:—

Have the British public any just pretensions to the character of humanity and benevolence? Have they any true sense of moral justice? Does any thing but the empty name belong to the great bulk of christian professors? Do any higher principles than that of the most sordid selfish-

ness and cruel indifference to other's sufferings influence their actions? If these questions can be answered affirmatively, then, certainly, after an acquaintance with the shocking process of West India *sugar* cultivation, there is nothing Utopian or visionary in expecting that every individual possessed of common humanity, to say nothing of religion, should abstain from its consumption, were East India double the price, or even if there were no other sugar to be substituted.[n] The attention of those who are not thoroughly acquainted with that process, is particularly requested to the following compressed description of "*the driving system*," which, in the West Indies, is chiefly confined to sugar cultivation.

"In holeing a cane-piece, or turning up the ground into parallel trenches, for the reception of the cane-plants, the slaves of both sexes, are

[n] Some persons object to the substitution of East for West Indian sugar, under the notion that the former is dearer than the latter. The objection, though a very sordid one, ought to be noticed. A correspondent, well acquainted with the fact, says—"There is, in London, no difference whatever in the price of East and West India raw sugar, consequently, there ought to be none in the Country. The East India *refined* sugar was considerably dearer, when first offered to the public, on account of the difficulty and expense attending the commencement of the refining process; but now, the difference of price between East and West India *lump* sugar is not more than one penny or three-half-pence per pound."

drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in the hand; and close, in the rear, are stationed the drivers, in number duly proportioned to that of the gang. Each of these drivers, has a long, thick, and strongly plaited whip, the report of which is as loud, and the lash as severe as those of the whips in common use with our waggoners, and which he has authority to apply the instant, he perceives occasion, without previous warning. Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues without interruption for a certain number of hours, during which, at the peril of the driver, an adequate portion of the land must be holed. As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advance together, it is necessary that every section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; if any were allowed to throw in the hoe with less rapidity or energy than their companions, the trench would be imperfectly formed; it is therefore the business of the drivers not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work, as nearly as possible, in equal time and with equal effect; the tardy stroke must be quickened, and the languid invigorated; and the whole line made to dress, in the military phrase, as it advances; no breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of langour to be repaid by brisker action, can be allowed to individuals

(however exhausted): all must work or repose together."[o] The labourers, having no motive for exertion but the fear of punishment, are impelled to their daily task in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, on a burning glebe, beneath a vertical sun, by the stimulant of the whip, which Dr. Collins, an experienced planter, and able apologist for slavery, admits, "is usually left to the discretion of the driver, and is of course administered neither with impartiality or judgment; but is generally bestowed *with rigour on the weakest of the gang*, and those who are so unfortunate as not to be in favour with the subdespot, on any part of the naked body or head, by which means *the weaker Negroes are over-wrought and compelled to resort to the sick-house*"[p] Let it be remembered also, that in addition to this severe and exhausting day-process, in the cultivation of the sugar cane, there is the aggravated oppression of alternate *night* labour, during nearly half the year in grinding at the sugar-mills, &c.

Surely there is nothing Utopian or visionary in expecting that every person of common humanity, not immediately interested in the support of slavery, will desist from the consumption of

[o] See "Slavery of the West Indies delineated" by James Stephen, Esq. vol. 1. p. 46.

[p] See "Practical rules, &c. for the treatment of slaves in the sugar colonies." p. 201, 201. 267.

a luxury cultivated under such a system as this;—a system so exhausting and destructive of human life in those Islands where it is most cultivated, as would, were the same mortality generally to prevail,—"unpeople the earth in half a century"!!![q] Surely there is nothing Utopian or visionary in expecting that all who retain any sense of moral justice, will renounce the consumption of sugar thus cultivated, were there no other substitute to be obtained for it; more especially when acquainted with the fact (which all may be by referring to the last-mentioned Anti-slavery Report) that this horrid system will be mitigated or aggravated in exact proportion as the demand for this luxury increases or diminishes.

To the second objection, that the substitution of East, for West India sugar would be utterly futile as it regards the destruction of West Indian slavery; since the sugar rejected by us would be exported to the continent; we imagine the West Indians themselves have furnished a complete confutation. For to what do their violent protestations against the equalization of the duties on East and West Indian sugar,—their virulent invectives against those who attempt to promote the substitution of the former for the latter, amount?—but to so many proofs that they regard

[q] See the "second report of the committee of the Anti-Slavery society."

these measures as attacks upon the very vitals of their system. One of their ablest champions, having asserted in so many words, that—"the continent can be, and is supplied with sugar at a cheaper rate than it can be grown by the British Planter."[r]—And in a small tract recently issued by the West Indian party, addressed "*to the consumers of sugar*," the public are admonished not to be the "dupes of the humbug of interested people, who would persuade them to substitute East for West India sugar, and by that means involve the colonies in utter ruin." They are warned against the "selfish designs of interested cunning persons, who, regardless of the sacred obligations of truth, would, if they could, sacrifice the West Indian colonies to their own narrow interests, which, whilst they assume the gloss of humanity to the negroes, would disable their masters from feeding, clothing, *protecting*, and *imparting religious instruction to them*; and condemn to ruin an integral part of the British empire."

It is evident that the measure in question is regarded by the colonists with the utmost alarm

[r] See a masterly pamphlet entitled "East and West Indian sugar, or a refutation of the claims of the West Indian colonists to a protecting duty &c." (page 3) to which also we refer our readers for a complete exposure of the fallacy of the objection that the commercial interests of the country would be injured by the substitution of East for West India sugar.

and dismay, consequently, it cannot be of that nugatory, insignificant nature which the objector would represent. But the production adverted to, insignificant and contemptible as it may appear, must not pass without farther comment. It is, an important document, full of "pith and argument,"—exhibiting, in narrow compass, the wretched shifts and miserable extremities to which the upholders of slavery are driven. It revives and puts into popular, wholesale circulation the often confuted falshood of the assertion that East India sugar is *not* the production of free labour, but of a system of slavery *more severe* than that of the West Indies—many respectable authorities being brought forward to prove that such slavery exists in the *Lower Carnatic*. The author of this precious document miscalculated in supposing that it would meet the eye of none but casual unreflecting readers, who were too ignorant or too thoughtless to consider that the Lower Carnatic is a thousand miles distant from the Province of Bengal, where the sugar brought from the East Indies into this country is cultivated. We refer the reader to a very sensible reply to the insinuation that East India sugar is not the production of free labour, in a small tract, bearing the same title,—"*To the consumers of sugar*," by the eloquent author of "the Rights of man in the West Indies"—But as this writer has entirely passed over the objections of the West Indian

declaimer against the substitution of East for West Indian sugar, on account of the cruel effect it would have upon the *slave*, as well as his Master, (thinking it, no doubt, too contemptible to deserve a reply, its fallacy having been so often exposed)—yet, being aware that many are still under this delusion, we quote the following brief passages from the "second report of the committee of the Anti-slavery society," as a complete answer to the last mentioned objection.

"The West Indians assert that if prices (of sugar) should fall, *the slaves must starve;* but in what way are low prices to produce this effect? The food of the field slaves in Jamaica is raised entirely by their own hands, on the portion of ground allotted to them for that purpose, and cultivated during that fragment of their time specifically assigned them by law. Is it then by depriving the slaves of the land which has been set apart for their subsistence, and which the owner himself has now less temptation than ever to occupy, that starvation is to ensue? Or is it by depriving them, without any assignable object for so doing, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows them for cultivating their allotments? If not, how is it possible for them to starve"?

"The tendency of a low price of sugar is obviously to direct a larger share both of land and labour to the growth of provisions, or of some other article of exportable produce than sugar;—*and*,

whatever article may be substituted for it, the change must operate as a relief to the slaves; the culture of sugar being by far the most oppressive branch of colonial husbandry." "The Bahamas grow no sugar. *There, the increase of the population is very considerably greater than in any other colony.* The only other colony of Great Britain, in which there is any increase of the slaves, is Barbadoes; and that is the colony (with one exception) which makes the smallest quantity of sugar in proportion to its numbers." "IN ST. VINCENT, GRENADA, TOBAGO, AND DEMERARA, WHERE THE PROPORTION OF SUGAR IS THE LARGEST,—THERE THE DECREASE PROCEEDS AT A RAPID RATE; AT A RATE, IN SOME OF THEM, WHICH WOULD UNPEOPLE THE EARTH IN HALF A CENTURY"!!!

These, let it be remembered, are not vague unsupported assertions;—they are grounded on authentic documents, on accurate calculation, on notorious facts, which no ingenuity can evade or confute. From these documents are we not fully warranted in urging all who have heads to think and hearts to feel, to the conscious rejection of West India sugar and rum?—For should such a resolution fail to become sufficiently general to accomplish its ultimate object, yet, it is evident that it would essentially mitigate the sufferings of the slave, sugar cultivation being the most dreadfully oppressive and destructive of all his labours.

But we have not quite done with this West India sugar tract. If the British public substitute East for West India sugar—then, "their masters (we are told) will be *disabled from imparting religious instruction to their Negroes.*" Here is a "*humbug,*" to which there is surely no parallel! In this wretched effort of imposture, we know not whether audacity or imbecility are most conspicuous. Can the writer possibly imagine after the notorious opposition made by the great body of Planters to the religious instruction of the Negroes;—after the dreadful tragedies so recently acted in Barbadoes and Demerara, that the people of England can be deluded by such miserable cant as this?

It were endless to enumerate all the objections which may be urged against the measure in question. We trust enough has been said to prove that it is neither a Utopian, a useless, or pernicious project to endeavour to dissuade the British Public (all, at least, who have any real sense of religion, of humanity, or moral justice) from the consumption of slave cultivated sugar, when once acquainted with the object and tendency of its rejection. We should shudder at the idea of being ourselves the immediate agents of the horrid system of oppression above described,—but voluntarily to sanction and encourage that oppression in others, is, in effect, equally criminal.

This remark will be said to imply a sweeping

condemnation of all who entertain different opinions from those here expressed of the measure in question, and who are consequently not disposed to adopt it. We certainly do consider the consumption of West India sugar, under the present system of cultivation, as absolutely interdicted by the laws of religion, humanity and justice. That many highly respectable, humane, and truly religious persons persist in the use of it, we are quite aware; but that circumstance does not in the least alter the moral character of the practice. They who do persist in it after being acquainted with its tendency, do so at the expense of their principles. That the practice is attended with no feeling of compunction, is no proof of its innocence. It is possible, let us never forget, for the very worst crimes to be perpetrated without any consciousness of their guilt. It is well, disposed as we all are to self complacent indulgence in any habit to which prejudice custom, or interest incite us, that we are not left to the uncertain, capricious guidance of individual opinion, but that we have an explicit, intelligible, immutable rule, A DIVINE COMMAND, applicable to every variety of circumstance and character, to restrain and direct our conduct, (viz)—TO DO UNTO ALL MEN, WHATSOEVER WE WOULD THAT THEY SHOULD DO UNTO US.

LETTER IV.

On the most efficient means of deepening and extending the public interest in the speedy extinction of West Indian Slavery.

In enumerating the various means by which an increased interest in the speedy extinction of West Indian slavery can be most speedily and widely extended, is it possible to overlook the christian Pulpit? To Whom but the professed Ambassadors of Him who came to "undo the heavy burdens—to bind up the broken hearted—to preach deliverance to the captives"—to break every yoke but that of his own mild and benignant sway;—to whom but to those who are regarded as the delegated shepherds of the flock, who profess to watch for souls as they that must give an account";—to whom but to conscientious christian Ministers, of all denominations, can we so reasonably look for deepening and widening the public interest in the speedy extinction of this Anti-christian institution?—by making it a subject of pulpit admonition.

Should any object, that it would be a lowering

of the dignity, a desecration of the sacredness of the christian pulpit to employ it in the discussion of secular or political questions;—we would ask, whether the present wretchedly degraded and oppressed condition of 800,000 immortal beings,—the brutish ignorance and heathen darkness consequent upon and necessarily connected with their cruel bondage;—whether an enquiry into the best means whereby the restoration of those natural rights which they have never forfeited, and the enjoyment of those civil and religious privileges to which they have an equal claim with ourselves, may be best secured to them,—can be regarded as mere secular or political considerations? If they can, then are a large portion of the instructions of our Great Lord and Master of the same secular and political character. For on what themes did he chiefly discourse with the Scribes and Pharisees and with his own disciples, in his divine sermon on the Mount, but on those of justice and mercy —of compassion and kindness?—and what were the objects of his severest maledictions but injustice, oppression and cruelty—above all, hypocrisy —the combination of high religious profession with the violation of its righteous precepts;—long prayers and sanctimonious observances with the "devouring of widows houses"—extortion and oppression? What was the chief aim of his instructive parables, of Dives and Lazarus,—of the good Samaritan,—of the relentless fellow ser-

vant,—and of his awful illustrations of the day of Judgment, but to inculcate lessons of compassion and sympathy—to incite to works of justice and mercy?

But we need not labour to obviate objections which have no real existence. The Pulpit *is* every where employed in pressing themes of an exactly similar nature, though of less urgent necessity than that in question;—in recommending the establishment and support of infirmaries and hospitals for the relief of temporal want and the mitigation of bodily suffering.

We would not merely contend that the best ways and means of abolishing slavery *may* with the strictest propriety and accordance with established precedent be pointed out and recommended from the Pulpit; but that such an employment of it would be peculiarly appropriate. If righteousness, justice and mercy be essential parts of the christian character;—if "all the law and the prophets be comprehended in the two commandments of loving God with all the heart soul and strength, and our Neighbour as ourselves;—if Christ himself hath said, that this *second* is like unto the first and great commandment"—in its comprehensive nature and extensive requirements;—then, it is both expedient and necessary to dilate and expatiate upon this also;—to extend and apply it to existing circumstances;—to bring the habits and conduct of

professors to this unvarying standard and touchstone of christian rectitude.

"I say unto you, for every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of Judgment,"—is one of those deeply significant and comprehensive sentences in which is revealed the awful nature and extent of our accountability. In this concise declaration is condensed, information of immense importance, connected with consequences the most momentous. Every word in this emphatic sentence has a deep and weighty signification. "I say unto you,"—What simple majesty, what solemn import in the introduction! The Saviour and final Judge of the world is the speaker,—he who is himself THE TRUTH,—who hath said "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away"—the Son of God makes the awful declaration, that "for every idle word men shall give account in the day of judgment." The all-pervading presence of the invisible Judge—the all-controling nature of his religion—the imperishable book of remembrance preserved by him of the whole tenor, the minutiæ, of the conduct of his intelligent creatures—and their certain and strict accountability to him, are all directly implied in this concise communication. If then, for every idle (thoughtless) word we shall give an account in the day of judgment, is it not a necessary inference that for every *injurious action*

we shall be equally accountable? What infatuated self-deceivers we are! With what foolish, mad presumption we say to our souls, "Peace, when there is no peace!" We lose the recollection of the daily tenor of our own thoughts, words and actions,—even of the most guilty we retain but vague and transient remembrance;—we soon forgive and forget our own transgressions —and presumptuously and impiously imagine, even respecting those which are unrepented of—unannealed, that they are also forgiven and forgotten by our Omniscient Judge;—though he hath with solemn emphasis declared that "for every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." How much more of their deliberate actions! These, will not only be remembered, but a far different estimate to our own, will be made of them. In assigning their respective places in the book of Divine remembrance, "righteousness will be laid to the line and judgment to the plummet," actions, many of which we regard as indifferent or innocent, will be ranged in the column of crimes, when their motives and consequences are taken into account. And will the encouragement given to human slavery (that most frightful complication of crime and misery) be overlooked? Will the part we have taken respecting the poor Negro be left out of the estimate? Will those be held guiltless who from

thoughtlessness or carelessness, continue to consume the produce of his slavery with their eyes wide open to the nature of that slavery which such consumption tends to perpetuate? Can any thing be more in character with a christian Minister than to warn his hearers against such a delusion? —more especially, because the practice is so general and is therefore regarded as innocent. Christians are enjoined to be "holy and harmless,—separate from sinners;"—to "keep themselves pure;"—to "have no fellowship with works of darkness;"—not to be "partakers of other men's sins." But by the consumption of slave produce all these injunctions are violated.

"Ye are the salt of the earth;"—"Ye are the light of the world," said our Lord to the first preachers of the Gospel. "Ye are the salt of the earth;"—to keep it from corruption, from becoming a mass of moral putrefaction;—to preserve the purity of christian doctrine, the righteousness of christian practice. "Ye are the light of the world,"—to illuminate its dark corners—to detect and reprove all unrighteousness.

Had such continued to be the character of preachers of the Gospel, could human slavery, that horrid compound of all injustice, cruelty, and impiety, still support and exalt itself in this land of high christian profession, this age of pre-eminent benevolence and refinement? Could it be possible, that a system comprising every cala-

mity and outrage which man has power to inflict upon his fellow man, should exist in a country where Christianity is not only tolerated, but established;—where temples for christian worship are profusely scattered over the empire;—where its ministers have free access to all ranks of the community;—where religion "lifts her mitred head in Courts and Parliaments;"—is suffered to raise her voice in the Palace as well as the Church;—to admonish the Legislature and the Monarch as well as the People?

Why the deepest crime and foulest national disgrace should, with a few noble exceptions, have hitherto escaped the reprobation, and been imagined to lie out of the sphere of the christian pulpit—it were useless to inquire. We rejoice in the hope that the illusion is rapidly dissipating, and that the time is at hand when the righteous cause of Negro emancipation will be advocated in the right place,—with the boldness and fidelity becoming christian ministers. We remember that a wild fanatic, Peter the Hermit, by his single preaching, lighted up the flames of war all over Europe, and we doubt not that equal fervency and extent of zeal may be kindled by conscientious ministers of the true religion, in a war against oppression and impiety which have no parallel in the civilized world;—in a war rightly denominated a *holy* one, in which every indivi-

dual, possessing any just pretensions to the christian name, ought to engage with all his might.

Some of the most distinguished dissenting ministers have already set the example, and we are anxiously desiring that those of the establishment may follow the noble precedent; — not merely by giving their respective hearers a single sermon on the subject of slavery and then dismissing it;—not merely by describing the horrors of the system and exciting the sympathy of their hearers for its unhappy victims; but by pointing out and pressing the adoption of the most effectual means of putting a speedy end to it;—by shewing that every individual, however obscure his station, or humble his talents, may render important assistance, may do much by his own example and influence towards its final destruction.

We entreat all who are conscious of being but partially informed of the *present* character of West Indian Slavery, and are consequently deficient in arguments and facts wherewith to repel the artful misrepresentations and gross falsehoods by which it is attempted, but too successfully, to delude the British public into a persuasion that the present actual condition of colonial bondage is not only as little oppressive, but is, in fact, more comfortable than that of the Irish, or even British peasantry;—we entreat all such to acquaint themselves without delay, with one of the most im-

portant documents (just published) which has yet appeared upon the subject, viz. the abridged substance of some highly interesting papers recently laid before Parliament, entitled "The slave colonies of Great Britain; or a picture of Negro slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves;" with the very appropriate motto, "*out of thine own mouth will I judge thee.*"

"The picture which it exhibits of slavery is so fearful and revolting, that we might hesitate to credit the existence of the reality, were it not that the statements are official, and emanate from the colonial authorities themselves. This is not a narrative of past and long forgotten atrocities, furbished up anew to excite the feelings of the British public, but a delineation of *the actual state of our own slave colonies, at the present moment;* a narrative which tells us *of stripes yet unhealed; of groans which still echo around our plantations; of tyranny to this moment unchecked in its deeds of cruelty and crime;* of injustice, oppression and inhumanity both private and *legislative*, bearing date not in dark ages or Pagan lands, but in *British* colonies, and with the ink scarcely dry upon the record. The first impression which its perusal is calculated to produce, is a feeling of surprise and horror at the extraordinary state of society which it developes. In this analysis, the colonists are made to describe their own system; the proofs of its iniquity being drawn from the

colonial laws, from other colonial records of unquestionable authority, or from the evidence of colonial proprietors. In the *ameliorated* slave-codes here brought before them, the public will find the proof, the irrefragable proof, of the determined pertinacity with which the colonists still cleave to the worst, the most revolting deformities of their system; and the utter worthlessness of all the pretended improvements adopted by the colonial assemblies."*

In the postscript to these official documents, an analysis is given of the report of the constituted *guardians* and *protectors* of the slaves, by which we are admitted into the interior, the very penetralia of the slave system," from whence, among other horrific disclosures, it will be seen what are its brutalizing effects on the female character—what refined barbarities it can train and habituate "*Ladies*" to exercise upon their slaves.

In these documents the public will see that "demoralizing and murderous system" accurately portrayed for the maintenance of which they are burdened with imposts to the amount of annual millions; for the maintenance of which the lives of two thousand British soldiers are annually sacrificed;—for the maintenance of which British commerce is fettered by impolitic and injurious restrictions;—the population of Ireland kept in

*See "the Christian Observer, Oct. 1825"—pages 655—657.

idleness and beggary;—the interests of one hundred million of British subjects in India surrendered to those of about two thousand West Indian Planters and Merchants!!![1]

But to return to the christian pulpit. The preacher, having once thoroughly acquainted himself with the subject of West Indian slavery, having convinced himself of the unexceptionable nature and authority of the evidence on which the horrid enormities of the system are asserted, will find it no theme of barren speculation or casual invective, but one of deep and wide interest, fruitful of instruction and bearing with important weight on the grand fundamental truths and essential duties of christianity. He will perceive, in the modern history of slavery, in the British dominions,—in its effects especially upon the white colonists—the free-born sons and *daughters* also, of British christendom, the most appalling illustrations of human depravity;—he will perceive the hardened callosity to which the human heart may arrive under the petrifying influence of unrestrained avarice;—the profound depths of wickedness into which man may plunge when invested with unlimited power;—the tremendous extent of suffering which he has the will to

[1] See the luminous expositions of the impolitic and baneful effects of slavery, in the public speeches of the enlightened and philanthropic James Cropper, of Liverpool, as reported in various provincial papers.

inflict on his fellow man;—the extremes of corporeal and mental anguish to which he can remorselessly consign his Brother;—the monster of cruelty and oppression, the abhorred instrument of pure mischief which he may become, when abandoned to himself,—emancipated from the restraints of religion,—unawed by fear, unsoftened by love of the righteous Governor of the universe. In the conduct of these White tyrants, he will see terrific illustration of the natural tendency of human interests and human passions;—he will see awful demonstration that man, in his natural state, is indeed "a child of wrath"—a fit object of the vengeance of a holy God—even, of a God of love—and will consequently obtain clearer perceptions of the necessity and infinite value of a Redeemer and a Saviour;—of a new birth and complete renovation of nature. He will see that "every good and perfect gift cometh from above;"—that all the virtues and all the graces which have ever adorned and beautified the human character, are implanted by the Divine spirit alone;—that every fruit of righteousness which has ever appeared in this degenerate soil; from its earliest blossom to maturity, has been the production alone of the Sun of Righteousness.

We earnestly hope that conscientious Ministers of the Gospel, of every denomination, will no longer withhold their earnest attention from this momentous subject, from an apprehension that it

lies beyond the sphere of their influence. We are fully persuaded that they may, in a very short space of time, become the honoured instruments of ridding their country of its foulest abomination, by instigating the people of all ranks, through the most quiet and unexceptionable means, to throw down the altars of the bloody Moloc of slavery, to expel from British ground every vestige of its impious worship. We cannot, therefore, but earnestly hope they will lose no more time in exerting the great influence they possess over the people; —that they will suspend, for a season, their accustomed course of instruction;—deviate a little from the beaten track,—call the attention of their hearers for a time, from the principles, the groundwork of religion, to the contemplation of its beautiful superstructure,— that just, and righteous and benificent *practice* to which those principles incite. Let them remind their hearers that He whom they preach, "gave himself for them that he might purify to himself a peculiar people *zealous of good works*;"—that christians are commanded *not to* "*touch the unclean thing*;"—and that if Gentile converts were expressly enjoined by Apostolic authority, under divine direction, to "abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood," it can be no strained unnatural inference to conclude that the spirit of this prohibition must *necessarily* extend to an absolute interdiction of the voluntary consumption of the produce of slavery. When

christian Ministers have once entered on the subject, they will find it no barren and circumscribed theme;—it will afford ample illustration of christian duty, strong and varied appeals to the hearts and consciences of their hearers, especially to those of the higher and more influential classes, to whom a wide field of interesting labour may be presented, in endeavouring to spread and to keep alive a general interest and sympathy, for the most deeply injured of the human race, among their friends and neighbours,—and in shewing by what means, relief may be most effectually administered. Thus would a fresh and powerful impulse be imparted to benevolence and the warm glow of christian charity circulated from bosom to bosom. Thus would the rich, according to apostolic injunction, be admonished to "do good, —to be rich in good works;"—new sources of pure satisfaction would be opened to them, in exciting fellow feeling and brotherly kindness in all around them, in tasting the luxury of beneficence,—in proving that the pleasures of sympathy far surpass those of selfish enjoyment;—that their own happiness is augmented in proportion as they are earnestly engaged in promoting the welfare of others; not that of their own neighbourhood and country alone, but that of the stranger, the poor captive in a distant land, of him who seems to have no human helper—and thus, inheriting "the blessing of those who are ready to perish"—and

the richer blessing of Him who hath declared that a cup of cold water alone, imparted in christian charity, shall not lose its reward.

The preacher, by directing the moral perceptions and religious principles of his hearers to the subject of West Indian slavery, will shew them a great work of righteousness, of justice and mercy in which all may engage, from the highest to the lowest and thereby afford substantial proof that there is life and power in the religion they profess; that it is an active vigorous principle, a faith that works by love, which may be mighty, even in feeble hands, to the pulling down this strong hold of Satan, and setting at liberty eight hundred thousand immortal beings, the wretched victims of a two-fold bondage, bondage of soul as well as body, withheld alike (as by far the greater proportion of them are) from moral and spiritual as well as corporeal freedom; kept back from the sound of the liberty of the Gospel, lest they should become more deeply sensible of their cruel wrongs, lest the iron yoke of oppression, the chains of ignorance and mental darkness, should become still more intolerable.

We are aware that great offence may be taken at such an employment of the christian pulpit; at such an exposure, in such a place, of a system in which many persons of the first consequence and allowed respectability, "men of education and

liberal attainments," are concerned. But that can be no solid ground of objection to those who consider the great offence excited by the preaching of their Lord and Master on a similar occasion; in detecting, exposing and reprobating "wickedness in high places,"—the injustice, extortion and cruelty of scribes and pharisees, persons, in their day of great eminence and distinction. It will be no solid ground of objection to those who remember that the disciples were forewarned that the servant was not greater than his Lord, that those who had persecuted him would persecute them also; that if they were of the world, the world would love its own, but because they were not of the world, therefore the world would hate them. The offence therefore which may be taken by men of the world against such a proceeding, is rather a confirmation of its consistency and propriety.

Under existing circumstances, we can imagine no subject which can more worthily engage the constituted guardians of the public virtue, its morals and religion, than the denouncing of that anti-christian, execrable tyranny, which obliterates all sense of natural justice, every feeling of humanity, every principle of religion; which hardens the hearts and sears the consciences of its active agents and abettors, and subjects them to a more dreadful and hopeless bondage than that of its

poor victims, in as much as there is reason to dread its extension beyond the period of their present existence.

We can imagine nothing more truly in character with ministers of that religion which lays the axe to the root of every corrupt tree, than to protest, to make open war against, and to resist with all their might, this bold and malignant "enemy of all righteousness;" since it is apparent that the Gospel can have no "free course," can be glorified by none of those "mighty works,"—those great extensive moral transformations which it is destined to accomplish, in any nation where this Anti-christ is suffered to reign.

What says the very temperate and candid Author of "Negro Slavery," in his *fairest* example of West Indian society (that of Jamiaca)? "No virtuous man ought to trust his own character, or that of his children, to the demoralizing effects produced by slave keeping. The state of morals and religion, is as bad as can be imagined. It is well known that the morals of nineteen out of twenty white men are ruined before they have been a month on the Island, and every idea of religion vanishes."[u] And what says a respectable Clergyman, nearly five years resident on the same Island? "I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the first time, in Kingston, August, 1819: it

[u] See "Negro Slavery," p. 27.

was on a Sunday and I had to pass the Negro Market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and colours, chiefly Negroes, instead of worshiping their Maker on his holy day, were busily employed in all kinds of traffic in the open streets. The different noises and barbarous tongues recalled the confusion of Babel, but the drunkenness of some, with the imprecations and licentiousness of others, put me in mind rather of a pandemonium, or residence of devils. I have resided nearly five years in Jamaica, and have preached two or three sermons almost every Sunday; many other clergymen have also exerted themselves, but to very little purpose, as these horrid legalized scenes are just the same, and most of the churches in the Island are nearly empty. I am aware there is a law in the Island, imposing a fine on proprietors or overseers, for compelling the Negroes to do certain kinds of labour on the Sabbath; but it is notorious that this law is altogether a dead letter, and in Jamaica, the largest West Indian colony of highly favoured Christian Britain, the Sabbath is worse kept than by Turks themselves. It is not enough that the poor Negroes are compelled, on that day, to cultivate their own provision grounds to preserve life, (not having sufficient time otherwise allowed them) but to add to the abomination, a Sunday market must also be kept, which is the only market they have, to which they trudge, like mules, with

heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles. In other colonies, where the abundant fatness of the soil has augmented the cupidity of the planters, the hardships of the poor Negroes are even greater than in Jamaica, they are very much overworked; especially the jobbing gangs (out of whose labour fortunes have been made in a short time.) These gangs have been compared, very aptly, to *over driven horses*: the poor slaves composing them, may certainly, without exaggeration, be compared to the *London hacks*. A double price is paid for them, and they are worked so very much, that they do not last long. It is *gold versus life.*"

"Were the colonists inclined to make any material beneficial changes in the slave code, neither the British Government nor British people would think of interfering; but experience teaches that their professions with respect to their slaves, are unmeaning and empty, and that even the few concessions that have been wrung from them are not bona fide fulfilled. Witness *their not allowing them time to attend places of worship on Sundays.* Witness the non-redress of their just complaints, for severity and cruelty of punishment. Witness *the preventing those of the curates who wished to attend on some of the estates, to preach and to catechise, from doing so, and thereby shutting the door of instruction on the poor slaves altogether.*"

"It must indeed be plain to every impartial person, that the colonists do not intend to lighten

the hardships of their slaves. Their principal object is *to keep them in total ignorance, and to compel them to raise the greatest possible quantity of produce;* for they calculate thus—*if we do away with the Sunday market, there must be more time given to the slaves, and our own crops will fall short; if we allow them to be instructed, it will take a little more time, and the Negroes will also know too much to be content!* They *therefore do, and will, oppose all interference by the British Parliament because they wish, and intend, at all hazards, to keep the slaves and their descendants in perpetual bondage.*"[x]

This writer farther observes, that "many colonial clergymen are anxious to advance the knowledge of religion, but are prevented through the general profanation of the Sabbath, and the labouring and marketing of the Negroes on that day. Some who have attempted to introduce reforms have been stigmatised as Methodists; and it is scarcely *safe* for them to venture to preach against gross immorality, Sabbath breaking," &c.

Let it be remembered that this is the report of an impartial resident eye witness of the existing state of things in the Island of Jamaica. The striking illustrations given by this conscious writer (in addition to the ferocious transactions at Barbadoes and Demerara) of the determined and malignant hostility which the slave system bears

[x] See The West Indies as they are." by the Rev. R. Bickell. pages 64, 67, 68, 71, 137, 138.

to religion, is a loud call upon its conscientious ministers to interpose their influence, to use their utmost exertions to purify the British atmosphere from this moral pestilence, which sheds a blight and a mildew upon every opening blossom of virtue, and forces into rapid and monstrous growth every poisonous shoot of vice. So active and insinuating is the demoralizing contagion engendered by slavery, that it seems to operate by a kind of magic;—virtue becomes vice;—even piety herself becomes impious on breathing the tainted atmosphere; or, if she be firm and hardy enough to resist the malignant contagion, she then becomes the object of *persecution unto death*. How has the Christian standard been lowered and degraded which has from time to time been raised in the land of slavery! How have evil communications corrupted good manners in certain Methodist missionaries, who, through the tamperings of interest or the blandishments of flattery, have been disinherited of their reason, shorn of their strength,—have suffered their shield, the awful ægis of christian truth, to be basely cast away, and instead of denouncing woes against the worshippers, instead of "crying out against the altars" of this most impious of all the idol gods of satanic devotion, have dared to arraign and condemn the veteran band of abolitionists, have traduced and blasphemed the sacred cause they engaged to advocate, by asserting that christianity has no

hostility to slavery; have themselves, joined the Priests of this Baal,—have become the apologists and defenders of the execrable system of West Indian tyranny,—and have impiously dared to assert its compatibility with the divine will. How deep then, must be the poison of that moral infection which can transform *christian missionaries into priests of Baal?*—the "salt of the earth", into the means of its corruption? For the honour of the Methodist body, it is to be hoped that these accommodating, time serving missionaries have been expelled from its membership. But we cannot withhold from our readers the following short extract from a sermon recently addressed by a Missionary (said to be in that connexion) to a slave audience, *in presence, no doubt, of their taskmasters*, with which the advocates of West Indian slavery have presented the public,[y] illustrative of the blessings of slavery.

"It ought to be remembered that the situation of life in which Providence has placed you, is not without its comforts; for when you have performed your appointed work, you are happily delivered from all anxiety and tormenting care, and can return to your humble cabins with confidence, being assured that no creditor will be there claiming the little property you possess;—no sick wife or child will be there, without the aid

[y] See the small tract before adverted to, addressed "To the Consumers of sugar."

of medicine, and if required, of a nurse;—neither will your children meet you at your doors with looks expressive of starvation, and pierce your hearts with cries of hunger. No, such scenes of misery are not to be found in *your* dwellings, "*for your bread is given you, and your water is sure.*"[z]

Was there ever a more shocking profanation of the sacred text, than thus to employ it in confirmation of a *lie?* For can there be a lie more palpable than the inference which is made to follow this exordium, that the comforts and blessings of slavery are greater than those of the free-born British peasantry? Of what kind is *the bread that is given,* and *the waters that are sure,* to the West Indian slave? Is it not bread of affliction and water of affliction? Are not their lives embittered with hard bondage? Are not their bodies lacerated with whips and galling chains? disfigured with brand-marks? Are they not bought and sold like cattle? Are they not considered and treated in all respects like beasts of burden? And what are the comforts of their "humble cabins"? What is the care they experience in sickness? What food is provided them in health? The Author of "The West Indies as they are," has informed us, "of the great care taken of the slaves in sickness, and of the boasted frequent attendance of medical men on the different properties. I have (says he) never seen

[z] Isaiah xxxiii. 16.

any very flattering specimens, though I have been on a great many plantations, and have seen plenty of doctors. Their hospitals, or *hot-houses* (as they are very aptly styled) are, generally speaking, filthy receptacles. On most estates the hospital consists of a confined room with an earthen floor; on which is a platform of boards, upon which the sick lie down in their clothes. The hot-house is often the place where the Negroes are also *confined in the stocks;* so that it is both hospital and gaol. They have not the comfortable cottage of the English peasant, which no one dares to enter without permission. No, in his mud built hut, without a window or a chimney, on two or three boards, or on the floor itself, the Negro slave lies down on his mat, very often uncovered; and if he wants a little fire, as in the mountains he sometimes will, he must light his few sticks in the open air, and sit upon his heels shivering by them. As to food, the quantity in most cases is sufficient, (were it otherwise, they would be unable to perform the labour required of them) but in the quality, none but a bigotted low minded planter, or some interested professional resident, would compare the coarse yams and cocoas, and stringy indigestible plantains, with a few bad or rotten herrings, to the wholesome bread, potatoes, and other fine vegetables which the English cottager enjoys. I have seen a good deal of the English poor and can conscientiously say, that I never saw any

one *even a pauper*, who lived in the mean hoggish way that the slaves in the West Indies do; and moreover, that if such course food as the negroes generally eat, were offered them, they would reject it as unfit for human beings; English stomachs could not well digest it."

Such are the *bodily* "comforts" of slavery; what are its spiritual blessings we have before enquired. But we return to the peculiar hostility which the system bears to christianity. We are told, that in spite of all the great obstacles with which it is surrounded in the West Indies, it is now making rapid progress, and English liberality is appealed to, in various directions, to enable the *Moravians* to extend their settlements on several estates to which the proprietors have invited them. It is a matter of heart-felt rejoicing that the preaching of the Gospel in the land where "Satan's sect (preeminently) is," should not be unaccompanied with its renovating power. — We have listened with delight to the unvarnished histories of its transforming efficacy upon the hearts and lives of the despised Negro, but we consider such particular instances of its success as no argument against the general hostility which the system of slavery bears to christianity.

Even the Moravians, who stand so deservedly high in the devoted bands of christian Missionaries, whose patient, judicious, self-denying labours are more tolerated, more encouraged by the Plan-

ters, than those of any other persuasion,—"*because of advantage,*"—because of the evident benefit which the slave owner thereby derives in the increased value of his slave property; because his vassals thereby become more profitable, more patient of toil, more trust worthy;—because they have thereby learnt the divine art of returning good for evil;—even these devoted messengers of the Gospel escape not unhurt by the infectious atmotphere of slavery. They imagine themselves under the sad necessity of exhibiting the glorious luminary of the Gospel, as "the sun, shorn of his beams,—seen through a horizontal gloomy mist;"—they imagine themselves under the sad necessity—though not of "handling the word of life deceitfully"—yet of administering it *partially;* inculcating upon the oppressed slave, its gentleness, meekness and long-suffering, but witholding from his *oppressor* the terrible woes which it denounces against injustice and oppression.

The first messengers of the Gospel who bore its glad tidings to a benighted enslaved world, were forewarned that they should be brought before rulers. Their commission was to preach repentance *to all;*—to declare the *whole* counsel of God;—to lay the axe to the root of every corrupt tree; to "pull down wickedness in high (as well as low) places." The incestuous Herod was boldly reproved by the Baptist;—Peter and John, when forbidden by the Jewish priests and rulers to

preach the *new* doctrine, replied with holy magnanimity—"whether it be right in the sight of God to *hearken* unto you more than unto God judge ye;" and they waxed bolder and bolder from the opposition they encountered. But though the same courage and zeal have directed many devoted Missionaries to our West Indian shores, the air is so tainted, so heavily surcharged with moral poison, that the nerves even of christian courage relax;—the truth, instead of being preached to all, without respect of persons, must, in this land of civilized barbarians, (more fiercely hostile to christianity than Pagan savages)—be preached to the poor Negro alone, and that by stealth, or connivance. To preach the pure doctrines of the Gospel to *slave-holders*—to speak to *them* even of the rights of common justice and humanity, would seem to be rushing into the very jaws of destruction. Yet, had these Missionaries relied less on human prudence and more upon "the God of Daniel," who shut the lion's mouths;—who, in former ages (and His power is ever the same) caused his devoted servants, "out of weakness to be made strong," to "wax valiant in fight"—and, though few in number "to turn to flight the armies of the aliens;" —who disarmed the flames of their power to burn;—who caused His servants to walk unhurt in the midst of the burning fiery furnace, "heated seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated": —peradventure, the horrid Moloc of slavery had

long since been abandoned—its bloody altars thrown down—and a decree, passed under the force of irresistible conviction, had gone forth from the colonial legislators themselves, announcing the year of jubilee,—proclaiming christian, instead of martial law,—the reign of justice, of righteousness and peace. But "the fear of man bringeth a snare"—a dangerous, a fatal snare. Our modern Missionaries, with the timidity as well as harmlessness of the dove;—restrict themselves by certain laws and prudential resolutions, not to be found in the scriptural directory, not to meddle with the established order of things;—not at all to interfere between the master and the slave;—to confine themselves wholly to the spiritual concerns of the latter:—never attempting to arrest the arm of lawless power, or to restrain its merciless inflictions;—to say to the cruel tyrant—"it is not lawful for thee" thus to degrade, to oppress, to torture thy fellow creature,—thy brother:—never reminding the lordly usurper that it is not lawful for him to make merchandize of human beings,—to treat immortal intelligences as brute animals;—never warning him that it is at his own peril that he scourges and chains his over laboured defenceless victims;—that he is thereby "heaping to himself wrath against the day of wrath;" —that "he shall have judgment without mercy who hath shewn no mercy;"—that "the same measure" which he is now meting to the slave,

will certainly be "meted to him again." No, the Missionary says nothing of all this to the slave-holder. "No, it would be imprudent, it would be madness to do so;—it would utterly defeat the object of his mission and involve himself in certain ruin." But is not this "reasoning with flesh and blood"? Is not this "the fear of man (which) bringeth a snare"? A snare indeed it hath brought;—"Israel flees before his enemies;"—"the ark is taken;"—"the Philistines triumph." In one British colony, a christian temple is rased to the ground—its Minister made to fly for his life and proclamation issued to forbid his return on pain of instant destruction;—in another, an exemplary Missionary is arraigned for treason, tried by court Martial, condemned—and left to perish in prison!!—Persecution more fierce or cruel than this, could hardly have been anticipated had the Gospel been preached to the *slave-holder*, as well as the slave.

What an imperfect mutilated picture of christianity is exhibited, when its obligations are inforced upon the poor slave alone! The commission of its Divine author was, to "preach the Gospel *to every creature.*"—That Gospel preaches to the afflicted and the oppressed, patience and submission;—it imparts blessings to the poor, the meek and the persecuted;—but its preaching is also "to humble the pride, to abase the haughtiness of man";—to disarm the tyrant of his power;—to

break the rod of oppression;—"to bring down the mountains and to exalt the vallies;"—to establish justice, righteousness and mercy in the earth.

But the unmutilated Gospel, in *this* highly privileged portion of the British dominions may still be preached without hazard to the highest as well as lowest of the community, none daring to make the boldest asserters of its uncompromising requirements afraid. *Here* slavery, the most daring and impious of all contemnors of the laws both of God and man, may be safely attacked from the christian pulpit—from thence also it may be *successfully* attacked and have its death blow speedily administered.

"*Thirty-six years* have elasped since the rights of the slave have occupied the anxious attention of the people of England;—*twenty years since* the British Legislature distinctly warned the slave owners that it was resolved to better their condition;—*seventeen years since* the Law lifted up its voice to *command* that right and justice be done them."

"NOT ONE STEP, however, has yet been made towards a compliance with these warnings, or an obedience to this command. How much longer then are we to wait in the expectation of these infatuated men listening to us, and rousing themselves from that implicit reliance upon our carelessness, or timidity, or INSINCERITY, which it

must be owned our conduct has been too well calculated to engender?"[a]

Is it not high time to resort to other more decisive and effective measures? Is it not high time that christians, (those to whom the name truly belongs) should combine all their efforts—should concentrate all the force of their moral and christian principles in the strenuous use of every means whereby themselves and their country may be soonest purged of this deep pollution? Is it not, most especially high time for "the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord," to interpose, that this moral plague, may be stayed, before this highly favoured land be smitten with a curse, with a worse than Egyptian blindness and obduracy? of which indeed there are already alarming symptoms.

Let the worshippers of Mammon, propose a league with this "enemy of all righteousness"—try to modify and restrain and accommodate its operations to political interests and state expediency, —but let christian Ministers give it no quarter, but like Samuel, of old, hew this impious Agag in pieces, which, exults as he did, in the confidence that "the bitterness of death is over."

[a] See the Edinburgh Review, for March 1825, p. 214.

LETTER V.

On the importance of Associations for the purpose of obtaining the cooperation of the humbler classes.

We proceed to the recommendation of an expedient for exciting a deeper and more general interest in the extinction of slavery, which is of no doubtful or mere imaginary utility. We have positive proof that it is no romantic fruitless attempt to persuade people to substitute East for West India sugar *before* the equalization of the duties upon both articles shall have rendered the former the cheaper of the two.

It must be distinctly stated, that the experiment has been already made, to a sufficient extent to justify, and as far as it has been tried, to exceed the expectations of its most sanguine advocates.

In one large manufacturing town, a very few individuals, in the course of a few weeks, by the employment of only a few hours in the day in personal visits among their neighbours, obtained the willing promises of about two thousand families entirely to abstain, from that time forward,

from all farther consumption of West Indian sugar so long as West Indian slavery continued to exist. Similar visits have been made with similar success in other towns and villages, but the zeal of the visitors has been not a little damped by the consideration, that unless such a plan of operation becomes general,—they may devote every hour of every day of their lives to this occupation, and yet, the labour, with regard to its ultimate object, prove altogether vain; since the subtraction of a few thousands from fourteen million consumers of British plantation sugar in the united Kingdom, would produce no perceptible change in the condition of its wretched cultivators. It seems however sufficiently evident, from the above experiment, that the extension of these personal visits, especially among the humbler classes, for the purpose of conveying information on the subject of West Indian slavery and on the support it derives from our consumption of its produce, would effect an important change in the condition of the cultivators—and prove also, that there is yet among us a large portion of moral principle, right feeling, and christian charity. But, for the prompt exercise of that moral principle, right feeling, and christian charity, with regard to the great object in question, truth obliges us to confess that they will be sought for most successfully among the poor and labouring classes. Their superiors in station and

intelligence should blush to hear, that whilst they themselves are unfeelingly or thoughtlessly gratifying their appetite with slave produce,—objecting, as many of the more *opulent* do, to the substitution of East for West India sugar, because they consider it a *little more expensive*,—that not one in ten of their poor neighbours, who has been informed upon the subject, hesitates to declare the resolution to take no more slave cultivated sugar, though the sacrifice of a penny is much more to them than that of a pound to the rich economist;—to hear moreover that *many of them express an entire willingness to abstain from sugar altogether*, should the supply of East India ever fall short of the demand, rather than contribute in ever so small a degree to the encouragement of slavery. To this class of consumers, whose bill of fare is so scanty, it should be remembered that the relinquishment of sugar would be no inconsiderable privation, and the paying only a *penny* per pound more for East India, than they have been accustomed to pay for West India sugar (though of an inferior quality) is no contemptible sacrifice to principle on their part. Of the value of a *penny* to thousands and tens of thousands, in this land of opulence, many of the higher and middle ranks have little idea. It may appear both cruel and absurd to engage the poor in this confederacy against West India sugar, especially as their individual consumption is comparatively so trifling;

but the apathy which so generally prevails among the higher and middle ranks has forced the determined advocates for a speedy extinction of slavery upon this expedient, quite satisfied that there is nothing in it either cruel or absurd, since it is to them perfectly clear, from the common principles of justice, that we have none of us any *right* to retain our gratifications, our comforts, or even our health, at the expense of the comfort, the health, the liberty and the lives of our unoffending fellow-creatures.

Nothing but personal observation can fully demonstrate the efficacy of these personal appeals to the humanity of the humbler classes in the cause of Negro emancipation. It would be too much implicitly to rely on *all* the engagements made in this quarter, for ever to renounce the use of slave-cultivated sugar, though they were perfectly voluntary; but on the greater proportion, the visitors cannot hesitate to depend, they were made with such evident sincerity and earnestness. Those who have heartily engaged in this work, find no draw-back from the great satisfaction with which it is attended, but that arising from the want of general cooperation, and the coldness and opposition they have to encounter where encouragement and support might most reasonably have been expected. But coldness and opposition in one quarter, should incite to greater zeal and perseverance in another.

It seems evident to demonstration, to those who have made this experiment, that a general extension of these simple missionary labours among the humbler classes, would do much to expedite the great work of emancipation. By this means, the consumption of slave-cultivated sugar might be greatly diminished, and the resistance of self-interest to the extinction of slavery would necessarily diminish in exact proportion to the diminution of its profits;—by this means the people might be more generally incited to more earnest petitions for a speedy emancipation; and should the *present* Parliament fail to accomplish the work, the exertions in question would do much to prepare the way, at the next general Election, for the choice of a Parliament more unanimous and devoted to the cause;—they would do much towards deciding the great body of electors to withhold their suffrages from every candidate who refused to *pledge* himself to vote for a prompt and complete extinction of British colonial slavery. How then can those who attach such important consequences to the extension of these simple exertions, refrain from inviting those who are themselves surrounded with all the bounties of a kind Providence,—blessed with hearts to sympathize with the oppressed and miserable,—with leisure and ability to plead their cause;—how can they refrain from soliciting such, earnestly to engage in this pro-

fitable and delightful employment?—profitable and delightful they will certainly find it. Those who enter heartily into it, will find it attended by an abundant reward,—will feel the force of that divine benediction—"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

To a few individuals, the labour of visiting every family in a large town, for the purpose of communicating information on the subject of slavery, (whether by the dissemination of tracts or by verbal intelligence), may appear insurmountable; but the most difficult work is rendered easy by methodical arrangement, and a proper division of labour. Were large towns divided into districts, on the plan of the Auxiliary Bible Societies, the field for individual exertion might be circumscribed within easy limits, and were proper means employed by such as are most interested in the cause in their own respective neighbourhoods, a sufficient number of willing agents would doubtless present themselves. There is no novelty to object to in this mode of proceeding. When people are in earnest—when the business is urgent, *canvassing* is commonly resorted to. And what business, to a christian philanthropist, can be imagined more urgent than that of putting a speedy end to the crimes and miseries of West-Indian slavery—of rescuing eight hundred thousand fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects from the lowest abyss of moral and physical degradation

and wretchedness? This great deliverance, it is evident, *may* be accelerated by simple means, were they brought into general operation. It does not appear to be the Divine will that this work should be accomplished without human agency. Human agency *strenuously resists* this righteous undertaking, and human agency must *strenuously counteract that resistance.* Instead, therefore, of entering into nice calculations to ascertain what exact proportion of diminished consumption of West India sugar, would effect its object, let us rather strive to secure such a general rejection of it, as shall at once carry full conviction to the slave-holder, that there is no longer a market, on British ground, for that luxury, the consumption of which constitutes the main prop of his execrable tyranny, against which, British feeling and British virtue are at length up in arms, determined to give it no quarter.

Information to the humbler classes, on the subject in question, is not lost labour, like too much of that bestowed on their superiors in knowledge and station. They do not admit the strong claims of justice, the clear rights of humanity, without making any rational exertions to enforce them;—they do not listen to powerful arguments, eloquent appeals in behalf of the poor Negro, without putting forth a finger to lighten his heavy burdens. No, the simple story of his aggravated wrongs is sufficient to excite their sympathy,—

the simple information of the means whereby those wrongs may be redressed, is sufficient, with them, to determine their prompt and earnest adoption.

On this rough but impressible ground, every touch of the moral artist will tell;—a very few skilful strokes will produce an effect more striking and durable than those which with greater labour and ingenuity are impressed upon a smoother and more polished surface.

Besides the evident tendency of the work we so earnestly recommend, to promote its immediate object, it is profitable on other accounts. It dispels misapprehension and prejudice from the minds of the visitors, opens them to conviction, reveals the true character of the humbler ranks of the community, of which so unworthy and false an estimate is often drawn by those who keep aloof from their habitations, and too often condemn a whole class for the misconduct of a few individuals. It enables the visitors to estimate more justly their own characters,—to weigh their own great advantages against the great disadvantages of their poor neighbours—and to blush at the comparison, when they see, as they often will, that the one talent entrusted to the poor, is often turned to better account than the five or the ten committed to their superiors in station and education. These visits are, of course, sometimes painfully as well as pleasurably interesting. The

varied pictures they present of humble life have their dark as well as light shades. They reveal scenes of privation and suffering little suspected by the prosperous to exist in this favoured country; sometimes, doubtless, the consequence of vice, or improvidence,—often, of inevitable misfortune, borne with edifying patience and resignation. These visits, have also this great recommendation, that they excite a kindly feeling of sympathy and mutual good-will, which ought to subsist between all the gradations of a christian community from the highest to the lowest. They improve the moral perceptions, enlarge the field of christian benevolence, expand the breast of christian charity, open fresh channels of usefulness, and shew how much more may be done in this portion of the vineyard than many imagine. They tend moreover to abate that pride and self-complacency so common and so natural to those who are raised ever so little above the common level. They are a practical conformity to the apostolic injunction, not to mind high things, but to condescend to men of low estate. Those who are incredulous respecting the efficacy of these visits, have only to make the experiment themselves, in order to be convinced that this is no exaggerated statement of their utility.

Let those among the higher and middle ranks who persist in the use of West India sugar, reflect for a moment, how much their resistance obstructs

the motion of that simple yet powerful machinery which humanity has constructed for accelerating her great object. Those wheels which seem to drag and move so heavily, would run with easy and rapid motion towards the accomplishment of their design, were this clog of opposition withdrawn. Until it is withdrawn, the machinery will have to encounter much wear and tear, and a double portion of energy will be requisite in its main-springs and chief movers; in order to counteract this resistance.

The arduous, though interesting and profitable employment of canvassing, on this important business, from house to house, which it is to be hoped will soon become general throughout the kingdom,—may be encountered with many a sneer of contempt or ridicule by such as can be patient, laborious and persevering in nothing but their own interest or pleasure;—but the true Christian, though he may not himself have time, or opportunity to join this little band of humble pedestrians, will be careful to throw no discouragement in their way. He will remember how many great effects have resulted from apparently slight causes. He will remember that it is "not by might or by power" but often by very humble instruments, that the great work of righteousness is promoted. He knows that the "still small voice" of compassion and fellow feeling which is scarcely audible to the ambitious and

the mercenary, is distinctly heard by many who are of *little* account either in their own or in others estimation. He knows that "foolish things,—*things* that are not,—are (sometimes) chosen to confound the wise, and to bring to nought things that are."

The cause of emancipation, has been pleaded in the Senate by the wise, the eloquent, the noble. Now, it is pleaded in the workshop and the cottage, by women and children.[b] And if it please the Great Controller of all things,—who accomplishes His purposes "by many or by few," —by weak as well as by mighty instruments;— if it please Him to accompany these feeble efforts, these apparently inadequate and trifling exertions with His blessing,—doubtless, they will prosper.

Here is a frightful monster, of enormous magnitude and strength to be destroyed, which has for ages desolated some of the fairest portions of the earth; *blasted with malignant breath the virtue and the happiness of millions of human beings:*

[b] In the course of these missionary visits, *children* have been observed to pay particular attention to the unvarnished story of West Indian oppression, and in some instances, to encourage their parents not to use the produce of that oppression. A correspondent says, "The little son of a Clergyman (warmly interested in the cause,) collected subscriptions for the "Female Negro Society;" —his sister, only seven years of age, would go, if permitted by her Parents, to every Cottage in the neighbourhood to persuade the people to leave off slave sugar."

—hitherto, like the great Leviathan, it has scorned and derided all the attacks of its adversaries. "Its heart is hard as the nether mill-stone;"—darts are counted as stubble; it laugheth at the shaking of a spear;"—it marketh derision of the strong shafts of truth, the arrows of conscience. "It esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood;"—the force of reason, the claims of justice, the authority of revelation, it setteth utterly at naught. But the monster does not live upon air;—though he keeps in his strong holds, he cannot subsist without nourishment,—and of that the weakest of his adversaries may help to deprive him. Though he is invulnerable to direct attack, scorns alike the declamation of the orator, the argument of the moralist, and the authority of religion,—he may yet be subdued and vanquished *by fasting;* by this means the most savage and destructive monsters have been rendered tame and innoxious;—and thus, the most savage and destructive of all monsters, brute or human, if vanquished by no other means, may be *starved to death.*

The People have combined to nourish and to pamper this pest of civilized society; this impious contemnor of the laws both of God and man;—and the People must combine in its destruction.

Hitherto, it has subsisted upon the unremunerated toil, the tears, the groans, and the blood of millions of human beings. The chief production

and support of all that oppression and suffering (the sweet juice of the sugar cane) has hitherto been thoughtlessly consumed by a People calling themselves christians,—boasting of their refinement, their humanity,—proud of their own liberty. But they can thoughtlessly consume it no longer; the faithful delineation of the horrid system of slave cultivation precludes for ever the *thoughtless* consumption of its produce;—and those who persist in its consumption prove their pretensions to superior refinement and humanity, to be vain boasting,—their vaunted love of freedom, to be mere selfish exultation in the possession of their own rights, and cruel indifference to the rights of others.

But though the majority of the higher and middle ranks of society should continue to discourage the exertions which it is the object of these pages to recommend;—it is evident, from the experiment adverted to, that there is a wide field in which they may nevertheless be successfully made.

The result of personal visits, among the poor and labouring classes especially, has been, that more than nine out of ten families have cheerfully adopted the resolution, entirely to abstain from the consumption of West India sugar.

We rejoice in the intelligence that associations for carrying this object into more extensive execution are rapidly spreading in various parts of the Kingdom. In Birmingham and its neigh-

bourhood, in Worcester, in Sheffield, in Colchester, Wednesbury, Calne, &c. and we cannot more effectually promote their extension than by presenting the public with the following copy of the resolutions passed at the last mentioned Town, originating with the wife of a highly respectable Clergyman, which express a tenderness of feeling, fervour of zeal and enlightened philanthropy, which *should*, in such a cause, animate every christian bosom.

"At a Meeting of Ladies, held in Calne, the 11th of August, 1825, the following resolutions were proposed and approved.

1st.—That we form ourselves into a society for aiding the cause of Negro emancipation, and for procuring the protection of the British law for all of the African race who are living under the British dominion, and who in 1825 are permitted, by ENLIGHTENED CHRISTIAN BRITAIN to taste of whatever is most painful and dishonouring in the bitterness of slavery.

2nd.—That all persons subscribing from 5s. to 12s. and upwards yearly, or two guineas at one time, be members of this association, and be entitled to receive one copy of the Anti-slavery Reporter.

3rd.—That the business of this society be conducted by a Treasurer, two Secretaries and a Committee of eight district collectors, who shall have power to add to their number; and three of whom shall be competent to act: and that the Treasurer and Secretaries be members of the Committee in virtue of their office.

4th.—That the Committee shall meet once a quarter on a day to be fixed by themselves; and that there be an annual meeting of this society, when the accounts shall be presented, the proceedings of the last year reported, and the Treasurer, Secretaries, Committee and assistant Visitors be chosen for the ensuing year.

5th.—That the Members of this society will encourage by their example, as well as by their influence, the use of the produce of free labour in preference to that of slave labour; and that the collectors, and visitors, be requested to recommend to the inhabitants of the several districts into which this Town and Neighbourhood shall be divided, to adopt the same measure.

6th.—That it be the special business of the Committee to disseminate throughout this place and neighbourhood, and wherever their influence shall extend, authentic information respecting the nature and baneful effects of the present system of slavery, particularly in our own West India Colonies; and that they are authorized (subject to the approval of a general meeting) to adopt such farther measures as shall appear to them to be calculated to forward the objects of this society.

7th.—That every Member of this society be furnished with the Supplement and Postscript to the Royal Jamaica Gazette of the 21st of June, 1823, and with Mr. Clarkson's Arguments founded on the same, and from time to time with such other documents as may serve to shew the evils of slavery, and the guilt of England in continuing a system, the parent of so many crimes.

8th.—That deeply impressed with the extremity of wretchedness endured by the deserted Negro Slaves who are worn out with labour or incurable disease, this association will apply some portion of its funds to the alleviation of

their distress through the medium, in the first instance of the association for the relief of distressed Negroes in Antigua.

9th.—That this society will continue its exertions in aid of the cause of Negro Emancipation, till the time may come when the unhappy children of Africa, shall no longer be treated as beasts, no longer be bought and sold and branded like cattle; and when the torturing and degrading cart whip shall no longer fall on the persons of helpless Negro Slaves: and when the Negro Mother, living under British Government, shall press a free born infant in her arms."

Lest the zealous originator of these admirable resolutions should be mistaken for an advocate of *gradual* emancipation, we will venture to quote her own words on the subject, in a letter to a Friend. "Men may propose only *gradually* to abolish the worst of crimes, and only mitigate the most cruel bondage, but why should *we* countenance such enormities by speaking of them in such acquiescing, unscriptural, heartless terms? — If we hope for the blessing of God on our undertaking, we must not talk of *gradually* abolishing murder, licentiousness, cruelty, tyranny, keeping stolen men, parting husbands and wives, &c, &c. *I trust no Ladies' association will ever be found with such words attached to it.*"

LETTER VI.

To the Friends of Immediate Emancipation.

Finally, we call upon all whose judgments are convinced, whose heads and hearts approve the proposition of immediate emancipation, to be *bold* in advocating it;—to beware of that spurious candour, that pusillanimous courtesy which compromises principle, and betrays weakness or insincerity. A cause so righteous and so urgent should be supported with dignity and firmness, as well as zeal. If the encouragement of slavery by the voluntary consumption of its produce be criminal in you, it is also criminal in others: if they are unconscious of its guilt, it is your duty by every means in your power to awaken the conviction.

When the consequences of this practice are taken into the account, we can imagine few more directly opposed to the sacred rule of doing to others as we would they should do unto us, consequently, few more criminal. Those who contend for its innocence, after being acquainted with the real nature of that iniquitous system which it tends directly to encourage and perpetuate, must

substitute vain imaginations in the place of realities;—must behold the awful characters of Justice and Righteousness in masquerade, their inflexible aspect and unbending attitude exchanged for indiscriminating smiles and unbounded accommodation.

After the broad exposure of the complicated wickedness of slavery, we cannot but regard the consumption of its produce as a wilful aiding and abetting of that complicated wickedness; we cannot but regard the exhibition of that produce for sale, in this enlightened and christian country as a mark of barbarism, a reproach and stigma upon the national character. We have no *moral right* to the productions of slavery; they are, in the very worst sense, *stolen* goods, and the receiver or purchaser, *knowing* them to be stolen, is as guilty as the thief.

This language may be considered as intemperate and offensive, but truth requires it. By a misplaced liberality, an unwillingness to sit in judgment upon others, with regard to the practice in question, the requisitions of humanity and justice are compromised to politeness, to the arbitrary claims of what is falsely called *good manners*. The *best* manners taught in the christian school, are those which on a subject so important, teach every man to "speak the truth to his neighbour." It is cowardice and treachery, in such a cause, to withhold it. It is better to offend than to flatter where

there is no alternative. Those who have seen the consumption of slave produce to be criminal, are bound, by consistency, to protest against it, as such, by every method of temperate reasoning and gentle remonstrance which is best calculated to convince.

The consistent friends of immediate emancipation will not pusillanimously yield to the prevailing disposition to keep the subject in the back ground, but will watch for opportunities of introducing it, "In season, out of season." Those who are *sincere* in this righteous cause will be *earnest*;—their earnestness is the only test of their sincerity. To say to the destitute, "Be ye warmed and be ye clothed," without affording the means of relief, is the language of cant and hypocrisy—and to be professed advocates for immediate emancipation, without making the necessary exertions for its accomplishment, is equally canting and hypocritical.

We have endeavoured to shew that the final extinction of British colonial slavery may be greatly accelerated by very simple means, but to bring those simple means into effectual operation will be an arduous task. The comparative smallness of the numbers at present engaged in it must be supplied by individual energy and determined perseverance.

In one decisive, consistent, *immediate* abolition-

ist there may be the concentrated force of thousands of timid, passive, *gradual* abolitionists. In the evident *right*, the manifest justice of immediate emancipation, there is every thing to inspire hope and confidence, to give heart and soul to the enterprise. The day, we trust, is not far distant when the great leaders of the anti-slavery society will transfer all the weight of their talents and influence from the weak and hopeless cause of *gradual* to that of immediate emancipation. In the mean time, let its present advocates put forth all their strength, make the best of their resources and take every rational means of augmenting their numbers. Above all, let them constantly recur to those divine principles, those solemn christian obligations which can alone sustain those disinterested, energetic and persevering exertions which the cause so urgently demands.

Let it never be forgotten, that the crimes and miseries inseparable from slavery are in no degree diminished because they cease to excite the shuddering horror produced by their first recital. In the cause of the poor Negro, feeling may fluctuate, natural sympathy may decline, but *exertion* need not; *that* may be uniformly sustained by the unvarying principle of christian duty. The Friends of immediate emancipation, know and are *sure* that the object for which they contend is a righteous one, they may therefore

contend for it confidently. They have an invisible but unerring leader, whose word of command,—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," is their sufficient warrant, and they fear no consequences;—they have no painful drawbacks to anticipate from the triumphs of victory;—for theirs, will not only be a bloodless triumph, but will ultimately entail blessings upon the vanquished as well as the victors.

The profession of christianity, having, for a long course of years, been made at a cheap rate, without any of those heroic and painful sacrifices by which in former ages it was inevitably attended, its professors have multiplied till christianity seems to be the *broad* instead of the *narrow* way; but the arduous work now in hand, will divide this promiscuous crowd, and separate the *dooers* from the mere hearers of the word. We trust that the former will prove that there is still nerve and sinew enough in christian arms to pull down the strong holds of slavery,—to shake the pillars of this Dagon-temple—and to raze it to its foundation.

But it should ever be remembered that as this is a contest of right against might,—of humanity and justice against sordid interest and lawless power;—as it is a christian not a political struggle—it must therefore be maintained by christian exertions;—that as the crime of slavery owes its

origin and support to unrestrained selfishness (the most relentless and cruel of all human propensities) it can only be expelled by the opposite virtue of disinterested christian charity.

It has subsisted hitherto upon the connivance and support of the British public—and will (humanly speaking) continue to subsist until that connivance and support are withdrawn—and no longer. No bounties, or protecting duties, or military force can uphold this execrable tyranny when the people refuse its produce. And though its *immediate* extinction can alone be effected by an act of the Legislature, such an Act could not be withheld were the people loud and unanimous in calling for it. Hitherto, there has been no such call;—even for its *gradual* extinction, the voice of the people has hitherto been very partially and feebly raised. It is a remarkable and reproachful fact, that the ample disclosures of the horrid nature of West Indian slavery, have not, hitherto, produced one third of the number of petitions against it which appeared against Lord Sidmouth's bill for fettering the Dissenters. This disgraceful apathy, the immediate abolitionists must labour to dispel;—they must strive to arouse and to keep alive the public interest in the speedy extinction of slavery;—to incite without delay, such general, reiterated and strong petitions upon the subject to both Houses of Parliament as shall convince Government that the petitioners are in

good earnest;—they must employ every means in their power to discourage the consumption of slave produce, *sugar*, more especially;—they must caution the public against the various attempts to practice upon their credulity by the imposition of sugar, cultivated under the worst system of slavery, for that of free labour. [e]

A very able and indefatigable advocate for the extinction of slavery, in a printed Address to the Society of Friends, (alluding to the important benefits which the Anti-slavery cause would derive from the abolition of the restrictive duties on the productions of free labour) says, "*An entire abstinence from the use of slave-grown produce would be equally, or even more effectual.*" If so great be the importance of such abstinence, it is surely an urgent duty earnestly to recommend and promote it. And in order effectually to guard against imposition and to prove that the Abolitionists are at length in good earnest,—strongly principled against all lukewarm, pusillanimous, half measures; we would suggest the expediency of endeavouring, without delay, to prevail on the Grocers in their respective neighbourhoods, to pledge themselves to abandon the sale of slave-cultivated sugar (such pledge, if general, would involve no pecuniary sacrifice)—

[e] That of the MAURITIUS is of this description, and is very generally imposed upon the unwary public as free grown East-India sugar.

and in every town where no such pledge could be obtained of them, to secure, as speedily as possible, some other agent who shall engage to supply the public with *no sugar but what is the genuine produce of free labour.*

The zealous *consistent* advocates of a speedy emancipation will adopt every rational expedient for accelerating its accomplishment. Their abhorrence of slavery will be strongly marked. They will especially discourage, by every means in their power, the consumption of that luxury by which the inhuman system is mainly upheld. They will endeavour to fix a stigma upon its merchandize;—to withdraw, as much as possible, the public countenance and support from those shops where it is exhibited for sale and give every encouragement to those from which it is conscientiously excluded.

Measures so decisive, would probably draw upon their supporters no stinted share of censure and opposition, which, in such a cause, will be cheerfully encountered. Charity, true christian charity, is not a mere passive sentiment of kindness and general good-will;—it is an active, courageous, self-denying principle, and its exertions will be proportioned to the importance and urgency of the claims which are made upon it. It will be difficult to sustain that steady and earnest interest required for the support of these various continued

exertions, in a cause where no personal interest is at stake. It will be difficult, we admit, but not impossible. It will require effort, strenuous effort, to make christian principle supply the place of self-interest and evanescent feeling. But in the consideration of our strict responsibility,—in the spirit-stirring motives of the Gospel,—in the recollection that we are "compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses,"—that the eyes of Angels, and of God Himself, are upon us,—there is enough to stimulate our languishing zeal, to incite us to do violence to that natural indolence and selfishness, without which it is utterly impossible to be his disciples who requires his followers to take their daily cross. And let it ever be remembered, that the most arduous toils of christian duty are not unattended, even in the actual performance, with a sweet recompense of reward. The faithful labourer in his Lord's vineyard, receives "*a hundred fold, now, in the present time.*" In the hardest conflicts in a righteous cause, there is more satisfaction than in inglorious rest. And it is animating to think that the success of the great contest between the supporters and opposers of slavery, depends not on the physical or political strength of the combatants, but that its decision rests with the "God of battle,"—who enables *one*, in a righteous cause, "to chase a thousand."

Had it been the Divine will, (as some who

bear the name of christian ministers have impiously asserted [e]) that the slavery of the unhappy African race should be perpetuated,—would such a general sympathy have been awakened for their sufferings?—would such an ardent zeal have been kindled for their emancipation? — Would the wisest and best men in the nation have been constrained to devote themselves, as they have done, to the Anti-slavery cause?—No, certainly. The great Lord of the household does not call his servants to work, and direct their operations, where their labour shall prove fruitless. If it be not crowned with immediate success, it is to exercise their patience, to stimulate, not to relax their exertions,—assured, as they ought to be, that their labours shall not, ultimately, be in vain. Why was the command to love one another, so often reiterated by Christ to his Disciples? Not that the principle should lie dormant and inactive, that it should exist only as a sentiment or a feeling,—but to urge them to labour, arduous persevering labour for each other's welfare.

The speedy liberation of eight hundred thousand captives from the strong grasp of West Indian slavery, is a different but not impracticable work; the resistance though great is not insurmountable;—it may be permitted to try the sincerity, zeal and constancy of the abolitionists. In

[e] See "The House of Bondage," by B. Baily, A. M.

the mean time, whilst earnestly endeavouring to do their own part, they may cheerfully commit these unresisting victims of the most inhuman oppression to the parental care of Him whose "tender mercies are over all his works;"—who "heareth the sighing of the prisoner;"—who "feedeth the young ravens that cry unto him;" and without whom, "not a sparrow falleth to the ground:"—who *can*, and doubtless *does* afford, by means not subject to human inspection or comprehension, mitigation and support under oppresion and suffering, when all human resources fail.

This great deliverance could, we know, be wrought in a moment, by a single volition of the Sovereign will:—but that Sovereign will has ordained that the great purposes of his moral Government shall be accomplished by moral agents. In the moral as in the natural world, a regular succession of cause and effect are established. For the manifestation of Divine omnipotence, to prove that nothing can resist His will, He sometimes breaks that connexion,—interrupts the general order of His providence,—works alone,—accomplishes his designs by miraculous intervention. But these are rare deviations from the established course of things,—are, not to be expected,—do not, in the least, exonerate us from labour,—from the diligent use of the appointed means;—though

it be God alone that giveth increase,—yet Paul must plant and Apollos water.

The friends, even of *gradual* emancipation, are accused of intemperate zeal, of precipitant haste; but the most zealous and urgent may, with more justice, upon christian principles, be accused of langour and tardiness. A variety of worldly maxims and arbitrary assumptions are suffered to pass current even with them, which chill the warm glow of christian benevolence, and enfeeble its exertions. "Long established abuses do not admit of sudden remedies;"—"Great reformations must be accomplished by slow degrees;"—"Time must be allowed for the change of public opinion;" &c. &c. These maxims are allowed to have a prospective as well as retrospective application:—thus, time and opportunity imperceptibly steal away, and—"All purpose, is poor dilatory man."

The maxims of the Gospel breathe a different language. "Work whilst it is day, for the night cometh in which no man can work."—"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." So far from being justly charged with intemperate zeal and precipitant haste, the conduct of many professed friends of Negro emancipation, more resembles that of persons who have been *dreaming* of such a state of existence as that of West Indian slavery;—who shuddered

with horror at the frightful representation,—but they awoke, "and behold it was a dream." Really to believe and to know, that our fellow-creatures are actually suffering under the iron yoke of so inhuman a bondage—and to rest satisfied with cold prudential plans for the *mitigation* of their sufferings,—for their *gradual* emancipation;—calculating that their enfranchisement will ultimately be wrought out by the slow operation of natural causes,—by the more enlightened speculations of the self-same principle of selfish, sordid interest, which first tore them from their home and country, and has, ever since, held them in bondage!—exclaiming, that it is premature to call upon their neighbours to refuse the luxury produced by the over-strained sinews, the groans and the blood of the poor Negro, until they can obtain an adequate supply of the same luxury on *cheaper* terms by free labour!—is not to act the *christian's part;*—is not to obey the injunctions of their Divine Lawgiver. No it is to trifle with the sublime precepts of his religion,—as well as with the wretched objects of their pretended commiseration.

We cannot but regard with great jealousy and distrust all expedients for the extinction of slavery, which are suffered, in *any degree*, to *supersede* the prompt exertions of christian duty;—to direct the public attention to remote causes for the accomplishment of a change which ought immediately

to be effected. We must solemnly protest against all unnecessary delay;—against all farther procrastinating propositions which would defer a present duty to a future opportunity;—which would overlook the obvious and certain means of its accomplishment, in quest of remote and uncertain ones. The deep crime and broad stigma of BRITISH SLAVERY, (humanly speaking) might long since have been eradicated but for this pleading for time,—for prudence and caution;—this deprecation of precipitancy;—the exclusion of passion and feeling from the anti-slavery councils and the admission of cold calculating policy in their stead. On the atrocious injustice and cruelty of slavery, passion and feeling have a right to be heard; on such a business, they properly belong to the executive department, and are essentially necessary to carry the requisitions of humanity, religion and justice into prompt execution. On such a subject, a christian, how meekly soever duty requires him to bear his own personal injuries, may justify the utmost fervour of zeal; he may "*do well to be angry*"—that the natural, civil, and religious rights of the poor Negro are so long, so cruelly, so reproachfully withheld from him, *after* having been so fully recognized.

We would in no degree discourage such establishments as that of the "Tropical free labour company,"—far otherwise;—they seem admirably adapted, (in subserviency to the operation of

higher principles) to promote the grand design of their enlightened and philanthropic projectors,—that of the extinction of slavery throughout the world. We are only anxious that the friends of Negro emancipation should not build too confidently on their result;—that the sanguine expectation of their final success, should induce no relaxation in the exertion of other means more *directly* appropriate and of quicker operation. We can discern no shadow of reason why the emancipation of our own slaves should be suffered to hang at all in suspense on the success of any such experiments. On the principles of eternal justice, they have a PRESENT RIGHT to emancipation;—by the express commands of our Supreme Lawgiver we are bound to impart it. With that right, and those commands, we have trifled too long;—emancipation has already been too long withheld;—by every principle of religion, humanity and justice, we are bound to withhold it no longer; we are bound to enforce it by the prompt and earnest exertions of christian charity, without waiting till it is wrought out in the common course of events by the gradual operation of natural causes or commercial speculations.

In the course of an animated speech delivered by Lord Calthorpe, at the last Anniversary Meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, he observed, that, "Whoever reflected for a moment upon the vast results which public opinion can produce, could

not doubt that if the People of England did but WILL it to be so, slavery would cease. Whoever reflected upon the vast influence which the middle classes can exercise in this country, could not hesitate in believing that if they were once to say —'THIS MUST NOT BE,' there would, at once, be AN END TO SLAVERY. For, supported as the principle of emancipation is, in and out of Parliament, SLAVERY COULD NOT LAST A YEAR IF THE MIDDLE CLASSES ONCE EXPRESSED A DECIDED OPINION AGAINST IT."

This DECIDED OPINION, by a general *rejection* of the productions of slavery, would be expressed in a DECIDED MANNER; in a manner so decided, that were it simultaneously as well as generally expressed, in conjunctions with petitions and strong remonstrances to the Legislature, there would be an end at once to British slavery.

Its complete extinction, through these simple means, embraces so many and great advantages, obviates so many and insuperable difficulties which obstruct the design of *gradual* emancipation, that the mind is overwhelmed by the amazing disparity between the insignificance of the means and the vast importance of the various benefits combined in the end. In the first place, it will be a *bloodless* triumph over the most barbarous and sanguinary of all despotisms. It will expel the deepest national crime and disgrace, exalt the national honour and glory without any sacrifice

of life or treasure. It will prove that no force can resist the force of public principle when vigorously exerted;—that neither fleets nor armies, nor protecting duties, can uphold oppression, when the PEOPLE have virtue enough to resist it. It will expose the weakness as well as wickedness of cruelty, and prove that humanity and justice are stronger safeguards than arbitrary and licentious power. It will administer to the slave-holders, not *retributive* but *corrective* justice, and compel them to reform themselves.

THOUGHTS

ON COMPENSATION.

THERE is among the higher and middle ranks of society so prevailing a disposition to admit the justice of the claims of the Planters to compensation, in the event of the emancipation of their slaves—and principles of so much importance are involved in the admission, that the subject seems entitled to distinct consideration.

Nothing ever exhibited more conspicuously the force of prejudice and custom,—the power of wealth and station to blind the understanding and pervert the judgment, than the general admission of these claims among those who have no interest whatever in the question; among the enlightened, the disinterested, the conscientious portion of the community.

"Not that the Planters should be required to manumit their slaves, especially on a sudden, *without compensation*. It would be robbery, under

the garb of mercy, to compel one class of individuals to atone for the injustice of a nation,"—says the very liberal and intelligent Adam Hodgson, after describing the horrid injustice and cruelty of slavery in the darkest colours!![5]

Many of the Planters, we are told, are "men of education and liberal attainments"—of humanity,—"anxious as the Abolitionists themselves, for the religious instruction of their slaves." What then? Are the moral qualities of actions changed by the circumstances or acquirements, or even by the virtues of the actors? Do injustice and cruelty lose their turpitude when practiced or sanctioned by men of "education and liberal attainments?" Is robbery a punishable, a capital crime in the poor uneducated vulgar, and is its guilt cancelled when perpetrated by gentlemen? Shall we admit the propriety, the necessity, of guarding our *money* and *household* goods from depredation by the severest penalties — by imprisonments, transportations and sanguinary executions, — and shall MEN STEALERS, PURCHASERS, OR KEEPERS OF STOLEN MEN,—ROBBERS, OR WITHHOLDERS OF THEIR FELLOW-CREATURES' LIBERTY (the dearest treasure they possess)—be not only exempt from punishment, but entitled to COMPENSATION for the relinquishment of their human prey?

[5] See Letters from North America, page 200.

When will *British* justice become in award and execution what she is in representation,—hood-winked, even-handed, impartial justice? When will the enlightened, the benevolent, the christian world, judge and speak and act, without "respect of persons?" When will punishment be equitably proportioned to crime? When will the advantages of rank, fortune and education be regarded (as they ought to be) aggravations, instead of extenuations of rapacity and injustice? When will poverty, ignorance and necessity be admitted to plead in mitigation, rather than aggravation of punishment?

"By emancipation without compensation, one party will be benefited at the expense of the other." Certainly it will, (temporarily at least). And how are the violated rights of justice, in any case, to be restored? How are usurpation and robbery to be effectually restrained but by the suffering of the offending party? Where the parties at issue are the robbed and the robber, how can justice be done to either, without taking from the one and restoring to the other? By emancipation we shall benefit the slave at the expense of the slave-holder,—the injured, at the expense of the injurer. Can the designs either of justice or of mercy be otherwise accomplished? Sin, must be corrected by suffering. The offender becomes penitent by feeling the consequence, the just reward of his offence. The

slave-holder will neither be softened nor reformed whilst he retains his unrighteous possessions. " Can one be pardoned yet retain the offence"? But *compensation* for the relinquishment of the most criminal and injurious of all usurpations is a virtual cancelment of its guilt—a full admission of the right of the usurper.

The Divine Law, required that restitution should be made by the robber *fourfold*;—he was not merely obliged to resign his theft, but made to smart for it in a way best adapted to restrain and to cure his rapacity. Human wisdom will never find a better means of curing every species of injustice and oppression. But emancipation falls most indulgently short of this wholesome rigour;—it does not amount even to *simple restitution*;—(alas! that would require a price which the riches of all the planters would be insufficient to repay: not the wealth of the Indies would suffice to make simple restitution for all the degradation, suffering and anguish involved in slavery)—but emancipation leaves the usurper in undisturbed possession of the unrighteous gain he has hitherto acquired, and only interposes a check to farther acquisitions.

Did the planters' illgotten, illretained property consist of inert matter,—of bags of stolen gold,—of land or houses,—of whole cities or provinces fraudulently obtained;—or did it consist of mere animal live stock, of eight hundred thou-

sand head of cattle, obtained in the first instance by marauding violence:—these gentlemen having gotten possession, by inheritance, or otherwise,—should keep it, for us, in undisturbed repose;—we would not, in such matters, presume to be judges or dividers between them and the rightful claimants. But when, instead of inert matter, or mere animal live stock, the fraudulent possession consists of HUMAN BEINGS,—OF BROTHERS,—OF RATIONAL, INTELLIGENT, IMMORTAL CREATURES, PROBATIONERS FOR ETERNITY;—when the possession, the detention of this property involves every thing that can most degrade, imbitter and afflict one party;—every thing that can most harden and corrupt the other;—when this fraudulent or unjust withholding of a fellow creatures liberty involves in it not the privation merely of all the comforts and blessings of his mortal existence, but also of that moral and religious culture requisite for his eternal well being;—against *such* robbery and usurpation it is the duty of every christian to protest, and to use his utmost exertions most speedily and effectually to arrest. To the vast disparity between this species of usurpation and that which merely withholds from another his rightful possessions in money, lands, houses, &c. no force of language can give adequate expression. All other injuries are slight and venial compared with that of making or of *keeping* a fellow creature, a slave. Why then is

it to be called "*robbery under the garb of mercy*" to compel the slave-holder *without* compensation to relinquish his slave?

This sensitive fellow-feeling with slave-holders of "education and liberal attainments;"—this admission of the right of property vested in human beings, fellow-creatures, as justly entitled to freedom as any of their lordly possessors; is no offspring of *christian* charity;—*she*, extends her sympathy where it is most needed;—to the injured, rather than the injurer,—the oppressed, rather than the oppressor;—but this misdirected liberality, this partial indulgence to wealth and station, tears the bandage from the eyes of human justice; wrests from her hands the impartial sword and equal balance, and makes her a "respecter of persons."

Education, and liberal attainments, instead of being the guarantee of benevolence, disinterestedness and generosity,—are allowed, in these gentlemen, not only to supply the place of these virtues, but to excuse and varnish over the opposite vices of sordid selfishness and cruel oppression. Education and liberal attainments are suffered, in them, not only to exempt their possessors from punishment, who withhold from their fellow man his birthright,—"make his life bitter with hard bondage,"—convert him into a beast of burden—a mere tool or implement of labour, which has no value in the owners' esti-

mation but for the money it will bring;—education and liberal attainments, not only exempt their possessors from punishment who thus deal with their fellow-man, because they have the *power* thus to deal with him,—because their human victim is too weak and helpless to resist;—but are also allowed to confer a right to *compensation* for the relinquishment of those forced unremunerated labours to which the claimants were never, for a moment, justly entitled;—for the restoration of that liberty which they never for a moment had a right to withhold!!

But, "it would be robbery under the garb of mercy to compel one class of individuals to atone *for the injustice of a nation.*" That slave-holding is a *national* as well as individual crime, we fully admit; inasmuch as the nation has suffered, connived at, and encouraged it;—but the individual crime is neither cancelled nor diminished by national sufferance, connivance and encouragement. Those who entertain a contrary opinion are not aware of the dangerous, the impious consequences involved in it. It renders right and wrong, virtue and vice, dependent, not on any inherent principles of moral rectitude, but on the arbitrary, capricious standard of human allowance and opinion. It intimates that actions are innocent or guilty, good or evil, not as they are conformable or opposed to the laws of *immutable righteousness*, but as they are conformable or op-

posed to the ever-varying laws of human policy;—in short, it virtually goes the length of excluding the Great Creator from the legislation of His intelligent creatures;—implies that they are amenable at the bar of human judgment alone, and leads directly to practical Atheism. It goes to establish the conclusion that all practices are allowable and right, which are suffered to pass unpunished by human law, uncensured by public opinion.

The disinterested, benevolent and conscientious portion of the community, by advocating the claims of the Planters to compensation, are acting (unconsciously indeed, but most effectually) the part of the grand deceiver and betrayer of mankind;—standing between the criminal and the convictions of his own conscience, which the expected arrest of his headlong course of ruthless oppression would tend to awaken, and saying to the alarmed and self convicted criminal, just aroused to the sense of the accumulated suffering from the frightful mass of moral and physical wretchedness which his cruel selfishness and sordid avarice have inflicted on his unoffending helpless brother;—stung, it may be to the soul, with remorse and contrition;—terrified with the sight of the flaming sword of Divine Justice, which the spiritual blindness induced by prosperity and impunity, till now prevented his beholding; with the hand writing also of heaven ap-

pearing against him in characters more appalling than those which blanched the cheek of the voluptuous Belshazzar, and caused his knees to "smite one against the other;"—proclaiming retributive justice, in full measure;—recompense, to the eternal world, now opening to his view;—"justice to the oppressed—and judgment to the oppressor."

To hold out COMPENSATION for arresting the gains of the most inhuman tyranny, the most barbarous oppression ever exercised in any age or nation,—is to say, in effect, to the slave-holder, as the grand deceiver said to our first progenitor, "Thou shalt not surely die,"—in other words,—Thou hast committed no crime in exercising thy power to oppress and afflict instead of protecting thy weak and unoffending brother;—thou hast committed no crime—and shalt not only incur no punishment; but shalt receive COMPENSATION for any loss thou mayest sustain from the restoration of thy wretched captives to that liberty and those just rights, which, though withheld by no law of equity but by that power alone:—yet, thy country, having *suffered* thee hitherto to abuse that power, HERS is the guilt, AND SHE SHALL PAY THE PENALTY!!

We assert, therefore in spite of all "the smooth emolients which downy doctors," wise politicians, eloquent orators, and sympathising friends may administer, to allay the pains of conviction and

remorse in the consciences of slave-holders; that to admit their right to COMPENSATION, is, to them, the greatest cruelty, instead of kindness; it is to "lay a flattering unction on their souls,"—to delude them with fallacious ideas of their own innocence; to tempt them to postpone the hour of conviction till repentance may come too late;—till "Truth shall burst in thunder and in flame," and "her keen vibrations" only precede the darkness of despair.

We therefore, entreat the disinterested, the benevolent, the conscientious, to give a wiser and more comprehensive scope to their sympathy with West Indian Planters and slave-holders. Their truest friends will rather promote than repel that salutary humiliation which is the forerunner of repentance; that compunction which may happily incite to acts of penitence, to earnest desires to make all possible atonement for a life of injustice and oppression. They will rather assist conscience, in these infatuated men, to do her office, to become a faithful witness between themselves and their slaves—whose testimony may prove indeed that compensation, LARGE COMPENSATION, larger far than the wealth of both Indies is sufficient to supply—is justly due, but that it belongs not to *themselves*, but to their oppressed, their deeply, irreparably injured SLAVES. All the compensation however, which they have the power to make, their best friends will encourage them to

without delay, to such as are still within reach of human compensation, — who have not yet "shaken off this mortal coil"—and passed into that state "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

Though "ambition mock"—and "grandeur scorn with disdainful smile"—the *privileges* and *enjoyments* of which slavery has deprived the poor Negro; yet let it be remembered that He who "appoints the bounds of our habitation," has ordained that "man shall not live by bread alone;" —that his true enjoyment shall not depend on the possession of rank or fortune;—on the adventitious refinements of artificial society;—but, on conformity to the laws of his Creator written on his heart, which produce in the wild Indian and untutored savage, whilst undebauched by the treacherous corrupting acts of European refinement, fruits of disinterested kindness, generosity and magnanimity, which might shame the professors of a purer faith. *Liberty* and *independence*, therefore, may be as dear—as productive of real enjoyment to the poor Negro, as to his lordly master;—and the crime of withholding them from the one, is as great as that of withholding them from the other. Let not the latter, therefore, by a misdirected sympathy and perverted liberality, be tempted to delude himself with the false imagination, the preposterous conceit, that he is "more sinned against than sinning;"—

that because, through the extreme partiality of human law, he escapes human punishment, that therefore he may hold himself guiltless;—for whether he *stole*, or *purchased*, or *inherited* the property vested in *human beings*;—it always *was*, and always *will be* a CRIMINAL possession, because held in violation of the immutable laws of humanity and justice,—in defiance of the express prohibition of the Supreme Legislator;—and the crime of holding it, if not heartily repented of and sincerely atoned by all possible compensation to the *injured* party—must, if there be a righteous Governor of the Universe, meet a "just recompense of reward,"—in a future, if not in the present world.

The claims of the Planter to compensation, have been justly denominated *audacious* claims, because they rest on no ground of right or reason, of justice or common sense;—because they rest on no ground but that of bold assumption. The admission of these claims by the disinterested, the benevolent and conscientious, is a remarkable proof how far the baneful influence of slavery has extended beyond the slave and his master. It has blinded the understanding, and perverted the judgment of the most enlightened portion of the community; otherwise, whilst retributive justice is administered with so unsparing a hand to comparatively petty offenders, who commit depredations on the mere appendages and appurtenances

of the man, to the amount of a few shillings;—the stealer of the MAN HIMSELF, or the HOLDER of him WHEN STOLEN, in cruel and ignominious bondage,—could not be held guiltless;—could not, before required to relinquish a species of robbery in comparison of the turpitude of which all other robberies are innocent, be suffered to claim COMPENSATION;—the people of England, the enlightened, philanthropic, christian people of England,—the professed advocates of the poor Negro, could not listen to a claim so audacious;—could not admit it,—incorporate it into their petitions for emancipation,[h] and by so doing, virtually admit the justice of man stealing, or of withholding from him his best earthly possession, and subjecting him to the utmost extreme of degradation and wretchedness.

Admit the justice of compensation in this quarter, and you dash to the ground, and trample underfoot those sacred principles of eternal justice for which the abolitionists have been hitherto contending. Admit the *slave-holders* claims to compensation, and you admit the justice of slavery;—you not only compromise, but sacrifice the great fundamental laws of righteousness; you surrender right and reason to bold and insolent pretension,

[h] We have been informed that the petitions preparing in Birmingham and other places, for the approaching Session of Parliament, admit the Planters' claims to compensation.

and open a wide door to all sorts of weak concessions and criminal compliances.

Common robbers and highwaymen, every description of public depredators, may with equal reason and justice claim and receive compensation before they renounce their respective professions —with *more* reason and justice;—since poverty and want may have plunged them into crime, and without it they may be utterly destitute of the means of subsistence. They, like the slaveholder, have, many of them, been initiated by education and circumstances into habits of thinking and acting incompatibly (but not *so* incompatibly as he has) with the principles of moral rectitude—their property also (such as it is) has, like his, been embarked in nefarious speculations, on the stability and success of which *their* subsistence may *wholly* depend. But are these considerations for a moment admitted as excuses, as pleas in bar of judgment, in arrest of punishment, when the peculators are detected?—Are they allowed to entitle the delinquents to *compensation* before they shall be required to abandon their career of depredation? "But the occupation of this class of offenders has been interdicted and proscribed by the laws of the land, and the embarkation of capital in *slavery* has never been so interdicted or proscribed." True, it has not. The laws of the land have sanctioned and encouraged it, consequently they cannot, and they *ought*

not to punish it. But the speculation is not, on that account, at all the less criminal in a moral point of view;—it is not, on that account, at all less opposed to the laws of religion, of humanity, of justice. It is for the paramount obligation of *these* laws,—the immutable laws of our Creator and Divine Legislator, that we are contending. Against any admissions or concessions which tend to weaken or supersede their authority, and to give to *human* legislation the precedency in the public estimation the strongest protest ought to be entered.

But we protest against *compensation* to the slave-holder on civil and political, as well as moral and religious grounds, for it has been proved to demonstration that ultimately he need be no loser, but, on the contrary, a great gainer, by cultivating his grounds with freemen instead of slaves, and stimulating their labour by the just recompense of wages, instead of the impulse of the cart-whip. The emancipation of his slaves will in no other way ruin the planter than as he obstinately rushes upon his own ruin, by madly refusing to conform to a more wise and humane policy.

These free observations are dictated by no hostile feeling towards the slave-holder or his apologists; but there are occasions which require that plain truth should be uttered in plain and in strong language—and this is one. The softening, qualifying language of conciliation and concession has

been tried long enough—a great deal too long. How has it operated? How is it still operating on the parties concerned? It has neither softened nor conciliated, on the contrary, it has irritated and provoked scorn, contempt, insult and defiance. The violent prejudices and ferocious passions which the language of conciliation and concession was intended to subdue, have, by that means been confirmed and exasperated; prejudice has become more malignant—passion more furious; like flames which blaze out higher and hotter on which oil is thrown instead of water.

See how the slave-holding spirit was affected on the receipt of the *very conciliatory and conceding recommendations and orders in council* transmitted to the colonists by Earl Bathurst. See how it exhibited itself in Jamaica, in Demerara, in Barbadoes. In the first, how it bearded, set at nought, and put to defiance, not the Government of England and the King's Ministers alone, but the Monarch himself.[1] In Demerara, see in what torrents of Negro blood it wreaked its dastardly vengeance;—how it glutted itself with massacres, executions and fiend-like lacerations, at the bare idea of which humanity sickens. With what malignant, relentless hate it persecuted unto death the mild minister of the religion of peace and love. In Barbadoes, see how its fury was sublimated to madness,—"breathing out threat-

[1] See the Royal Jamaica Gazette, Nov. 1—8, 1823.

ning and slaughter,"—trampling on all authority, human and divine—boasting, exulting in havoc and destruction;—blaspheming the sacred name, by appealing for Divine confirmation of their hellish resolution to expel christianity, by hunting down its faithful Ministers like beasts of prey;—to persecute, "to exterminate by fire and sword Methodism and all Methodists."[k] See, the use which has been made throughout the British slave-colonies, of these *very conciliatory and conceding recommendations and orders in council*, by the newly enacted Draconian slave-codes, (as in utter contempt and bold defiance of British authority) which exhibit "such perversions of the forms of law to purposes of cruelty and oppression, as can only find their parallel in the execrated proceedings of Judge Jefferies, or in the practical jurisprudence of Constantinople, Morocco, or Algiers."[l]

The conduct of the colonists since the receipt of the meliorating recommendations and orders in council, is a fine comment on the wisdom of temporizing, half measures—of *advising* hardened

[k] See "An Authentic Report of the Debate on Mr. Buxton's Motion relative to the destruction of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes."

[l] See "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a picture of Negro slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves," containing most important documents, recently transmitted from the West Indies.

criminals to reform themselves. The ungovernable and ferocious passions excited by their odious vocation of slave-holding, are only exasperated by gentle advice and mild remonstrance; they can be restrained and subdued by the strong arm of law alone—and in their case it would be the greatest kindness to exert it. Unbridled power has intoxicated, driven them to madness. They are maniacs of the most dangerous and desperate description. Their own interest, their own safety, requires that their phrenzy should be restrained, should be subdued by a *lowering* discipline which nothing but the general rejection of their merchandize or the force of law can administer.

The language and conduct of these colonial bravos have dispelled the delusion long and dearly cherished by certain speculative philanthropists, that crimes of every descriptions are best corrected by gentle means;—the crimes produced by slave holding, are at all events proved to be exceptions. These crimes have, it is abundantly evident, been dreadfully aggravated and multiplied, by gentle conciliatory attempts at correction;—RESTRAINT AND COERCION ARE NOW IMPERIOUSLY CALLED FOR. The slave-holding spirit is not to be softened or moderated by parly and remonstrance; it will not be *reasoned* into humanity and gentleness; it will not be *persuaded* to enact laws to curb its own fury,—or if it be, it is only for the purposes of deception and imposture, to avert the

interposition of the British Parliament. "*Trust not* (said the Right Honourable Secretary, twenty six years ago) *the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so. Let then the British House of Commons do their part* THEMSELVES. *Let them not delegate the trust of doing it to those who* CANNOT *execute it fairly. Let the evil be remedied by an assembly of* FREE MEN,—*by the* GOVERNMENT OF A FREE PEOPLE, *and not by the masters of slaves. There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in* ALL *cases, and, under* ALL *circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.*"[m]

Has the recent history of colonial slavery deducted ought from the soundness and force of these maxims, that the same enlightened statesman who uttered them, *now* issues *recommendations* to the colonial legislatures to reform their own system? "If, (says the very powerful refuter of West Indian pretensions[n]) it is fit that West Indian slavery should remain unmitigated, let the hapless subjects of it perish in their chains, let the

[m] See "The Slave Colonies," &c. p 130, 131.

[n] James Stephen, Esq.

House of Commons at once rescind its resolutions, and leave the poor victims to their fate. But if any thing, however small, is to be done for their relief, I trust that Parliament will cease IMPOTENTLY and MISCHIEVOUSLY to RECOMMEND, and begin at length to ORDAIN."

We must go one step beyond this enlightened and decisive philanthropist, and say, — Let the words MELIORATION, GRADUAL EMANCIPATION, and COMPENSATION be henceforth blotted out of the anti-slavery vocabulary; let the friends of Negro emancipation take advantage of the tenacious, unyielding spirit; the bold attitude of menace and defiance displayed by the colonists —and seeing that concession is useless,—that conciliation is hopeless,—let them make a virtue of necessity, discard all idea of compromise—think no more of temporizing, but collecting all their might; standing in the firm attitude of hoodwinked, impartial, even-handed justice, hold the balance steadily poised in which the rights of the slave and those of his master are suspended. Hitherto, they have gained *nothing* for their poor clients, because they have asked *too little*. The slave-holder saw the weakness, may we without offence say, the pusillanimity, the half-faced character of *gradual* emancipation—and he naturally suspected there was not much sincerity or earnestness in the requisition; he therefore determined not only to resist it—but to traduce, vilify and in-

sult its supporters; describing them as "*interested and designing hypocrites;*" *a vindictive crew;—indulging the abominable desire to cast headlong into the gulph of destruction, or endless misery, all the white inhabitants of the West Indies.*"[a]

Let the friends of the poor Negro see that nothing henceforth be rescinded from his just claims;—that no concessions be made, from this time forward, to sordid interest;—none to artful policy—none to the crafty pretensions or audacious demands of their oppressors. Let them be satisfied with nothing short of his COMPLETE EMANCIPATION. Had the vengeance of the slave-holder fallen in more stinted measure upon the slave, he might still have been left to the protection of his tender mercies. Had the slave-holder manifested any disposition to soften the yoke, or to lighten the heavy burdens of slavery;—to dispense with its galling chains and ignominious scourge;—had he been disposed to regard and to treat his unhappy captives as human beings instead of brute animals;—there had then been some sort of excuse for leaving them in his power. But since he imperiously declines to concede to them any of the rights of humanity;—since he refuses to recognize any marriage tie between them, but such "as finds its only parallel among the beasts of the field;"—since he

[a] See "The Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society."

still boldly avows that "slaves are *chattels* as *much* as any other moveable property,—over whom the master has the entire control;"—since he still contends for "the principle in all its naked wickedness, by which he holds in *fee simple absolute*, the bodies and souls of his fellow-creatures:"—since, in Trinidad, he still insultingly avows—"*We did, and do declare, the* WHIP *to be* ESSENTIAL *to West Indian discipline;*"—*aye, as essential, my Lord Calthorpe, as the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury, to the liberty of the subject, in England, and to be justified on equally legitimate grounds. The comfort, welfare, and happiness of our labouring classes cannot subsist without it. The fact may have been denied by others, but never by us. We have never condescended to equivocate or disguise in this Colony. It may be denied by the West Indian Committee, but it has never been denied by us.*"—Since the Registry-laws in the Mauritius are "a perfect nullity," and the slave trade may there be still carried on "without *limit* or control:"[P]—since the slave-holder exhibits such a determined character of resistance to British humanity, and defiance of British authority;—it is time for that humanity and that authority to take high and commanding ground,—and since the proud citadel of slavery refuses to capitulate,—it is fit and right

[P] See "The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter," No. 3.

—the insulted character and law of Britain require, that it should be taken by storm—and RAZED TO ITS FOUNDATIONS. It is time to cut short the hopeless task of legislating in the different colonies, so as to accommodate the requisitions of humanity and justice to the various tastes of slave-holders: it is time that British law and British justice should extend with impartial sway through all the bounds of the British empire. Seeing the Great Creator "hath made of ONE BLOOD all nations to dwell on the face of the earth," and hath Himself promulgated ONE LAW for men of all complexions; it is time that we, who profess to be guided by that law, should no longer presume to make a difference. The difference we *have* presumed to make, or to tolerate, in the British colonies, has proved an inexhaustible source of crime and misery; it has hardened and corrupted the white population, as much as it has degraded and oppressed the black; —it has raised the one as much above the just standard, as it has depressed the other below it; —it has inflated the slave-owner with insufferable pride and arrogance, as much as it has sunk the slave into grovelling and abject subjection; it has incited dark suspicion and coward vengeance in the oppressor, crouching fear and rankling hate in the oppressed, which will never be extinguished, will burst out in successive insurrections and

massacres, until both parties are subject to the control of ONE AUTHORITATIVE IMPARTIAL LAW.

The Colonists spurn at melioration and gradual emancipation. Slavery is a desperate disease—a swollen and mortified limb, no emollient applications can stop the rapid progress of the gangrene,—the health and safety of the body politic require its SPEEDY AMPUTATION.

Here we had intended to close our animadversions on COMPENSATION, but finding we have not yet done justice to our own views of the subject, we venture to add a few concluding observations.

"Government," it is said, "would be guilty of great injustice, after having not only permitted and sanctioned but *bribed* the Planters by protecting duties, grants and charters to embark their capital in colonial speculations; were they at once to abolish slavery without compensation to the slave-holder, who, but for such permission, sanction and bribes, would have directed his capital into other channels."

There is, it must be admitted, some plausi-

bility and apparent force in this reasoning — but before we suffer ourselves to be carried away with it, let us examine and analize it. We must again refer our readers to the work from which in a preceding letter, we have made such large extracts[q] for incontrovertible arguments proving —"that the West Indians have no title to their slaves on the ground of purchase, nor on the plea of the law of birth, nor on that of any natural right, nor on that of reason or justice."

"It remains only to shew, that they have no title to them on the ground of ORIGINAL GRANTS or PERMISSIONS of GOVERNNENT, or of ACTS of PARLIAMENT or of CHARTERS, or of ENGLISH LAW. History informs us, that neither the African slave-trade nor West Indian slavery would have been allowed, had it not been for the *misrepresentations* and *falsehoods* of those who were first concerned in them. The Governments of those times were made to believe, first, that the poor Africans embarked *voluntarily* on board the ships which took them from their native land; and secondly, that they were conveyed to the colonies principally for *their own benefit*, or out of *christian feeling for them*, that they might be converted to christianity. It was in the reign of Elizabeth that the execrable slave-trade first began

[q] "Thoughts on the necessity of improving the condition of the slaves" &c. pages 12. 13. 14.

in England. This great princess, on its very commencement, seems to have questioned its lawfulness—to have entertained a religious scruple concerning it, and to have revolted at the very thought of it. She seems to have been aware of the evils to which it might lead, and when Captain Hawkins returned from his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, whither he had carried slaves, she sent for him, and expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring 'that it would be detestable and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers'! Captain Hawkins promised to comply with the injunctions of Elizabeth, but did not keep his word; for when he again went to Africa *he seized and carried off many of the inhabitants as slaves.* 'Here (says Hill, the historian) began the horrid practice of forcing the African into slavery, an injustice and barbarity, which, so sure as there is vengeance in Heaven for the worst of crimes, WILL SOMETIME BE THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL WHO ENCOURAGE IT.'

"We have therefore the fact well authenticated, as it relates *to original Grants and permissions,* that they originated IN FRAUD AND FALSHOOD. Neither have the masters of slaves in our own colonies, any title to their slaves on account of any *charters* which they are able to produce, though their charters are the only source of their

power. There is not an individual who holds any of his slaves by a *legal* title; for it is expressed in all these charters, whether in those given to William Penn and others, for the continent of North America, or in those given for the colonies now under consideration, that 'the laws and statutes, to be made there, *are not to be repugnant*, but, as near as may be, *agreeable, to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain.*' But is it consistent with the laws of England, that one man should have the power of forcing another to work for him without wages? Is it consistent with the laws of England, that one man should have the power of flogging, chaining, torturing another at his discretion?"

"Let the West Indians then talk no more of their *charters;* for in consequence of having legislated upon principles, which are at variance with those upon which the laws of England are founded, they have FORFEITED THEM ALL. The mother country has therefore a right to withdraw those charters whenever she pleases, and to substitute such others as she may think proper. The right of the West Indians to make any laws at all for their own Islands being founded upon their charters alone, and the laws respecting the slaves being contrary to what those charters prescribe, the SLAVERY ITSELF IS ILLEGAL, and MAY BE DONE AWAY. If so, ALL OUR WEST INDIAN SLAVES ARE, WITHOUT EXCEPTION,

UNLAWFULLY HELD IN BONDAGE. THERE IS NO MASTER, WHO HAS ANY LEGAL TITLE TO ANY ONE OF THEM."

How then could it be "robbery under the garb of mercy," to deprive the Planters at once, and without compensation, of property to which they have no legal title? But no licence, no encouragement, no rewards which ever have, or ever can be held out either by individuals or governments for the commission of injustice or cruelty, can, in any degree, absolve the perpetrators from the guilt attached to injustice and cruelty. By "the law written on the heart"—by the voice of conscience—by the express word of the Sovereign of the Universe they are forbidden. No violations of duty,—no crimes, great or small, are ever committed without a tempter, an instigator,—without bribes and proffered rewards;—and virtue consists in nothing else but their rejection. "How shall I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" is the uniform voice of conscience, more or less audible in every moral agent, under the light of Divine Revelation, whenever tempted to sin by promised impunity, or instigated by proffered reward;—if that "still small voice" be disregarded, and the sin committed,—true repentance, or adequate punishment, must inevitably follow:—consequently, whatever intervenes to ward off that humiliation, compunction, and remorse, which would lead to repentance, is doing

the greatest injury, instead of benefit, to the offender; since it is an irreversible decree that "*every offence shall receive a just recompense of reward:*"—if it be not truly repented of in time, it will be punished in eternity.

These, it may be said, are general observations, which do not directly bear on the very complex subject in question. We believe, on the contrary, that they bear directly on all subjects, however complex, in which moral principle is involved;—but we hope to prove there is, in fact, no complexity in that before us. Government has sanctioned and instigated the Planters, by bounties, protecting duties, &c. to embark their capital in slave speculations. They have so embarked it—and they have had their reward;—they have profited by these speculations. Government may, therefore, with the strictest justice and propriety, say to the speculators, "Hitherto, we have inconsiderately not only connived at, but, at an enormous national expense, supported and encouraged your inhuman speculations. Our eyes are now opened to its atrocity. We will neither encourage nor connive at it any longer. YOU YOURSELVES HAVE OPENED OUR EYES. Your own language and conduct,—the fruit which yourselves have exhibited of slave speculations, abundantly convince us, had we no other evidence, of the necessity of putting an IMMEDIATE STOP TO THEM. Regard for our own character, for

the national honour, for your interest, were humanity and justice to your victims to be wholly disregarded, imperiously require us to put an immediate stop to your infatuated, blind and infuriated career. You demand COMPENSATION. For what? We purpose to despoil you of none of your illgotten possessions. You purchased or you inherited your slaves;—you have, to the present moment, enjoyed the full benefit of their uncompensated labours, their nightly as well as daily toil under the lacerating scourge. But to these slaves, we now clearly perceive you have no legal claim. By the laws of God,—by the laws of the British constitution, we can neither impart, nor continue, nor *allow* your right to hold them in bondage. Seeing,—and at length admitting, this self evident truth, we are compelled to act accordingly. Our own honour and credit,—the imperious requisitions of humanity, justice and religion,—the importunate demands of the people,—all unite in requiring us to pronounce their IMMEDIATE emancipation. Were we to withhold this decision, we might rightly be charged with the grossest injustice. But for the emancipation of your slaves, you demand of us COMPENSATION—compensation to the amount of SIXTY-FOUR MILLIONS!!! From whence is this compensation to be drawn, but from the People? The People, out of whose pockets, in bounties, and protecting duties, and military esta-

blishments to support your execrable tyranny, we have already drawn annual millions to put into yours. Would that be *doing justice?* Would the people tamely submit to such an impost, to remunerate you for the loss of a property to which you never had any just title, either legal or moral, now that their eyes are wide open to the shameful abuse you have made of it? Would it be prudent? Would it be safe to hazard the experiment of such an impost? We believe it would not. And therefore, Gentlemen Planters, we think it would be prudent and wise in you to forbear to press any such groundless and preposterous claims. We say prudent and wise, if you have any regard to your own credit or interest. Depend upon it, the best resolution you can adopt on this dangerous subject, is to be silent,—to hush up this business of *compensation* as quickly as possible; for the eyes of the people, and our own eyes, being completely opened to this compact of injustice, it is utterly vain for you to attempt to close them again. A flood of light has fallen, by Heavenly direction, upon the whole system of slavery,—its horrid wickedness and miserable impolicy have been fully developed and can never again be hidden. With the mere names and empty profession of humanity, justice, and religion, neither the Government nor the people of this great nation will any longer be satisfied—they will have the *substantial realities.* And

therefore, Gentlemen slave-holders, we are seriously persuaded that if, under these circumstances, you persist in urging your illjudged and most illfounded claims, you will certainly make bad worse;—you will not only lose your labour, but provoke the public indignation to that degree, that if they cannot compel you to make restitution of the criminal gains of oppression and cruelty; they will make those gains a curse to you by attaching to them universal odium and reproach."

But our apologist contends that "*all* holders of slave property are not wilfully, consequently, not *guiltily* such. There are many who have never seen the estates from which they derive their emoluments, or the slaves by whom they are cultivated. There are many widows and orphans who are the unconscious stipendiaries of this wicked system, and are entirely dependant on the income they derive from it. Are these to be cast provisionless and pennyless on the wide world?" No, certainly. We demand justice for the slave at the expense of no injustice in any other quarter. Only *prove* that the parties in question will become provisionless and pennyless by slave emancipation, and the public, as well as the Government will be cheerfully disposed to render them ample compensation. But the supposed consequence is an improbable and impossible one; we have not only the most irrefragable arguments, but the evidence of *experiment* and *fact* to prove that with judicious

management no ultimate loss, but on the contrary, an ultimate gain will be the consequence of the conversion of slaves into free labourers. Emancipation, does not involve the confiscation of the estates from which these widows and orphans derive their subsistence. Emancipation, will not doom those estates to perpetual sterility,—will interpose no insuperable obstacle to their profitable cultivation.

That free labour is on the long run more advantageous to the employer than slave labour, is now so generally admitted by intelligent and unprejudiced persons, as no longer to require reproof. "Mr. Ramsay, who had twenty years experience in the West Indies, observes, 'I am firmly of opinion that a sugar plantation might be cultivated to more advantage, and at much less expense, by labourers who are free men, than by slaves.' Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes, as Secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, Governor of that Island, observes in his work on the Mitigation of Slavery, 'You need 'not be informed, that it has been known for many ages by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, though apparently cheaper, is far dearer in general than that of *free men.*' Speaking of Mr. Steel's experiment, he remarks, 'He has ascertained as a fact, what was before known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox, that the paying of Negroes for their

labour does actually produce a *very great profit to the Planters.* He saw that the Negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests, in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried rewards, instead of punishments, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in regular wages, which the industry he had excited, enabled him to pay. Here was a natural efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented; his mind freed from that perpetual vexation, and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system, and in little better than four years, *the annual nett clearance of his property was more than tripled.*' The same writer remarks, 'I must refer to an excellent pamphlet, entitled Observations on Slavery (published in 1788, by Dr. James Anderson) which shews that the labour of a West Indian slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by free men.' Mr. Botham, (the conductor of sugar-works at Bencoolen) says, 'After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776. Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit, and labourers from force, I can assert that the savings by the former are very considerable. I do suppose our sugar Islands might be better worked than they

now are by two-thirds, or indeed *one half of the present force.* Let it be considered how much labour is lost by overseeing the forced labourer which is saved when he works for his own profit. *I have stated with the strictest veracity, the plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be worke cheaper by free persons than slaves."* [r]

But the evidence drawn from these experiments and observations, is controverted and denied by the West Indians and their abettors. And what evidence is not controverted and denied by them which tends, in any degree, to the detection and exposure of the impolicy and wickedness of their present execrable system? [s] In opposition to all the facts and reasonings brought by their opponents in proof of the superior profitableness of free above compulsory labour, they assert that they ought to be allowed to be the best judges of their own interests;—that were the broad fact such as the abolitionists have stated, the Planters must be idiots or madmen not to act accordingly. But we ask, in the language of the intelligent author above quoted,—"Does man always act with an enlightened view to self interest? Is he uniformly vigilant to observe, and

[r] See "A Letter to M. Jean-Baptist Say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labour." By Adam Hodgson, p. 10—12. 31. and Appendix, p. 7. 8.

[s] See "Review of the Quarterly Review." p. 49—53.

prompt to pursue his real good? Does prejudice or passion never blind or mislead him? Nor habit render him slow to follow the dictates of his better judgment?"

We have alluded to the superior profitableness of free, above slave labour, not in confirmation of the justice, the expediency and necessity of immediate emancipation, (which would be equally just, expedient and necessary were the result of these experiments and observations the very reverse of what has been stated) we allude to the fact for the sole purpose of proving that all claims to *compensation* are groundless and futile on the plea of injury which the Planter would sustain from the manumission of his slaves. He will, of course, thereby lose the power of obtaining the market price in ready money, for his human commodity, and may consequently experience a temporary inconvenience; but it will be the fault of his own mismanagement, if he be not ULTIMATELY a gainer by the conversion of his slaves into free labourers. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that he would ULTIMATELY LOSE by the transition; is it reasonable or just that the most guilty party in this criminal transaction should be remunerated at the expense of the less guilty?—the inconsiderate, and for the most part, unconscious public, which has for generations been pouring annual millions into the Planter's pocket?

We are disposed to resist these claims from no

uncharitable or vindictive feeling towards the slave-holders;—from no anxiety to save the public purse, but from a conviction of the very injurious precedent which their concession would establish; and that the work of emancipation would be thereby defaced and tarnished which otherwise would be one of the most brilliant acts of national justice which the Legislature could perform. We would resist all pretensions to compensation in this quarter, from a conviction that every iota which is conceded to the loud and importunate demands of the slave-holder, is deducted from the silent, yet powerful claims of the slave. Which, however freely admitted in theory, will be practically withheld in exact proportion as those of the former are allowed. To the slave-holder, NOTHING is due;—to the SLAVE, EVERY THING, which the wisdom of the nation can devise and the wealth of the nation can execute for the instruction, the reformation, the protection, the comfort of these patient victims of national as well as individual injustice and rapacity.

FINIS.

Thomas Combe and Son, Printers, Leicester.

ENGLAND ENSLAVED

BY

HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.

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AN ADDRESS

TO

THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE

OF

The United Kingdom.

By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE;

FOR HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND
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1826.

ENGLAND ENSLAVED

BY

HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.

TO

THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE

OF

The United Kingdom.

My Fellow Countrymen,

WHEN it was lately supposed that you would, by an immediate dissolution of Parliament, be called upon to exercise that noble birthright of British subjects the choice of their own lawgivers, I was employing my vacation leisure in the prosecution of a work in which I have been long engaged, the "Delineation of Colonial Slavery as it exists in Practice"; having already given to the public a pretty full and demonstrative account of it as it stands in point of law.

The work, in my own estimate, and in that of most of the friends of the enslaved Negroes, I might say of all among them whose sentiments on the subject I know, is of great importance; because gross misrepresentation of the facts of the case is the main expedient which our opponents have always too successfully employed; and the object of my labours is to wrest that instrument out of their hands, by proving all the positions in my second volume, as I have done in my first, from their own evidence alone. But I was induced to suspend those labours, by an application from some of the most respectable leaders in the cause of colonial reform, who requested me to write an address to the Electors of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of pointing out to them the

critical position of that cause, and the duty of giving it their strenuous support in the use of their elective franchise. I complied; and before the decision of His Majesty's Government on the question of a dissolution this autumn was made public, had made so much progress, that I was unwilling the fruit of that new effort should be lost; and therefore have completed the intended address, with some enlargements, which I submit to you in the following sheets.

The then expected occasion cannot long be postponed; and if I can effectually excite your efforts, they will not perhaps be the less influential and successful, because your present Representatives will have a further opportunity of showing their disposition on this great and interesting subject before they again solicit your suffrages.

The House of Commons will probably not soon be agitated by questions of war or peace, or by domestic controversies of any great importance; one excepted, on which I have no opinion to offer, and from the notice of which I shall cautiously abstain: but it will very soon have to determine whether we shall advance or retrograde in the path of justice, mercy, and expiation towards that most hapless and injured portion of our species, the much-oppressed African race. Early in the approaching Session, Parliament will be called on to decide whether we shall redeem the pledge to God and man given in the Resolutions of May 1823, or, yielding to colonial influence and clamour, basely forfeit that pledge, and leave upwards of eight hundred thousand of wretched fellow-creatures, with their yet unborn progeny, to perish in their chains.

No less than eighteen years have elapsed since Parliament, in voting the Slave-trade to be contrary to justice and humanity, virtually recorded the moral title of those oppressed and degraded human beings to their freedom; for it is plain, that a bondage iniquitously imposed cannot be rightfully prolonged. Necessity alone could justify the delaying for an hour the full restitution that was due to them; and such a necessity was accordingly alleged. It was asserted that a sudden enfranchisement was dangerous, and that therefore progressive means must be employed.

But how did we follow up those views? Sixteen times had the sun run his annual course, and still beheld all these victims of injustice toiling like brutes under the drivers, in all the moral filth of slavery, and all the darkness of pagan ignorance; tortured at discretion with the tremendous lash of the cart-whip, sold like cattle in a market, and condemned at the owner's will to a perpetual exile from their native homes, their wives, their husbands, their parents, and their children. A hundred thousand at least of hapless infants had in the mean time been born of the enslaved females in our colonies; and how had *they* been treated? Exempted from that state which it was held so hard and dangerous to alter? Educated in Christian principles? Prepared for exercising when adults the rights and duties of free men?—No: but left to learn idolatry from their parents, and their duties from the driver's whip; and to hand down the vices and the miseries of slavery, with the alleged difficulties and dangers of correcting them, to other generations.

Thus, up to May 1823, had we fulfilled those obligations which national contrition had recognised, and the plainest principles of justice and humanity imposed.

A new æra then seemed to have commenced with consolatory and cheering prospects. In consequence of numerous petitions from all parts of the country, and of a motion made thereon by Mr. Buxton, Mr. Canning (the leading minister in the House of Commons) came forward with apparent decision to take this pitiable and opprobrious case into the hands of Government, and himself moved resolutions which I need not here state to you at large; for in what part of the British empire have they not been proclaimed by the press, and echoed by the voice of an applauding people? The first of them, which was the basis of the rest, was in these terms:—"Resolved, *That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies.*" They were all voted unanimously. The friends of the Slaves gladly consented to transfer the conduct of their cause to such potent hands, withdrew their own propositions, concurred in those of the Right Honourable Secretary, and gave to him their confidence, as well as their

cordial applause. He had opened to them in his speech specific plans of progressive melioration and gradual enfranchisement, which, as far as they went, were satisfactory; and which gave an earnest that further reformations, in the same spirit and of the same prudent character, would, when maturely considered, meet with the same support.

There was however one great drawback on their hopes, and one which was the most disheartening to those among them who knew the Colonies the best; for Mr. Canning intimated his practical plan to be, not the immediate introduction of any of his proposed measures by authority of Parliament, but the recommendation of them by the Crown to the Assemblies.

The experienced friends of the Slaves must have lost their memories or their understandings, if they had entertained a hope that such a course would produce any good effect. They saw in it, if not frustration and positive mischief, at least certain disappointment and delay. Recommendation to the Assemblies!! Why, the experiment had been tried repeatedly, during a period of twenty-six years, as well before as after the abolition of the Slave-trade; and had uniformly and totally failed. The Crown, the Parliament, and that far more influential body, the West India Committee of this country, with Mr. Ellis at the head of it, had all recommended, supplicated, and even menaced, in vain. Not a single Assembly had deigned to relax one cord of their rigorous bondage; or to adopt a single measure that had been proposed to them for the temporal or spiritual benefit of the Slaves, except in a way manifestly evasive, and plainly intended, as well as proved by experience, to be useless; while some of those inexorable bodies had even met the solicitations of their Sovereign, and the resolutions of the supreme legislature, with express rejection and contempt. Recommendation to the *Assemblies!!!* to the authors of every wrong to be redressed! of every oppression to be mitigated! to Slave-masters, the representatives of Slave-masters, hardened by familiarity with the odious system in which they have been long personally engaged, and surrounded with crowds of indigent and vulgar whites, to whom slavery yields a sordid subsistence, and the

degradation of the blacks is privilege and respect! You might as well recommend toleration to Spanish Inquisitors, or Grecian liberty to the Turkish Divan.

Most reasonable therefore might the friends of the Slaves have regarded this part of the Right Honourable Secretary's plan, as a ground not only of dissatisfaction, but distrust; had he not guarded it by declaring that means should, if necessary, be employed to make the recommendation effectual, and to subdue any contumacy that might be found in the Assemblies, by Parliamentary compulsion.

Still, the well informed advocates of reformation were reasonably alarmed. They did not doubt Mr. Canning's sincerity. The general liberality of his principles is not less unquestionable than his transcendent eloquence; and he had been an early friend to the Abolition. But they saw from this hopeless project that he laboured under a gross delusion as to the true state of the colonial mind; and they knew the formidable influence, both public and private, from which he would have to unfetter himself, before he could oppose himself effectually to that storm that he was about to raise in the Colonies, and make his way to his ulterior purpose.

They knew well from long experience how little reliance was to be placed on that apparent disposition which his West Indian friends, and the proprietors resident here had, in general, manifested in Parliament to support the measures in question. These gentlemen are always on the side of melioration, when it is to be referred to the Assemblies, but never when it is proposed to be effected by the only practicable means; and it is no new thing with them thus to save their own credit in the first instance, and then support with all their collective weight in parliament the opposition of their friends and agents abroad to the very propositions in which they themselves have expressly concurred at home.

Under these circumstances, the friends of the Slaves have been strangely found fault with for still endeavouring to defend their cause and themselves before the British public, and to guide by necessary information that popular voice which is their only sure ally. They well knew, that the best intentioned and most powerful Administration would, without that support, find it difficult or impossible to stem the broad and

deep tide of Colonial influence, and carry into effect any reformation worthy of the name. The abolition of the Slave-trade, after a struggle of thirty years, would have been finally lost, though supported by Mr. Pitt and many of his powerful colleagues, and the nation would have still been undelivered from the shame and guilt of that horrible traffic, if the public voice had not supported the influence of the Crown, though in the hands of such ministers as Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, against the clamours of the Colonies, and the interest of their too powerful party.

Had these views been disputable in May 1823, they would long since have ceased to be so. The experiment has again been tried; and what has been the result? To the *mother country*, disparagement of her dignity, insolent denial of her constitutional authority, aggravation of her Colonial expenses, additional destruction of her brave troops in a sickly and inglorious service:—to the *Slaves*, a procreation of hopes the most interesting that ever cheered the hearts of men in their unhappy situation, only to be cruelly strangled in their birth; to many of them bloodshed and death, and to many more the privation of those religious benefits most scantily enjoyed before, which were their only human comfort.

Yes, my generous and humane countrymen, these have been the fruits, and without the aid of your further united efforts, these, and many more such horrors as those of Demerara and Jamaica, will be the only fruits of your petitions, and of the resolutions of your representatives in parliament, that "effectual and decisive measures should be adopted to meliorate the condition of these our unfortunate fellow-subjects." Two years and seven months have since elapsed; and the condition of many of them, probably several hundreds, has indeed been effectually meliorated,—for they have been sent to a world where injustice, oppression, and cruelty can no longer reach them. The musket and the gibbet have given to them a happy, though painful manumission. Even those to whom the mercy of a West Indian Court assigned only a thousand lashes each by the lacerating whip, have been thus finally liberated, if uncontradicted and most credible report may be trusted; but as to the remainder of the eight hundred thousand hapless fellow-creatures for

whom your pity and remorse vainly interceded, their condition, with a local exception or two of small account, has if possible been altered for the worse. Bitter disappointment has aggravated their former wretchedness; and to the multiplied oppressions of avarice have been added those excited by a crafty and cruel policy, by suspicion, hatred, and revenge. Every insurrectionary movement, however occasioned, and however partial, has been treated as rebellion; every plantation broil, or *strike of work*, as insurrection; every expression of discontent, or even of hope, founded on the benignant intentions of Parliament and the Crown, as full evidence of a seditious plot; and all alike have been sure consignment to a Slave Court;—in other words, to conviction, and banishment or death. Nay the most cautious prudence, combined with the purest innocence, has been no security; for the assertion of a fellow-slave, however profligate, and however improbable his tale, has been taken as sufficient evidence against the Negroes accused. You are told by their oppressors that they are all too low in morals to be heard as witnesses against a white man, even before a West Indian jury of his own order, and when there is no temptation to deceive; and yet their testimony is implicitly trusted and relied on, when their reward for disclosing a pretended plot is pardon, if they avow themselves to have been accomplices, and if not, the irresistible bribe of freedom. If any fair man thinks these statements too strong, let him read the trial of the Missionary Smith, with the examinations that preceded it, and the trials for the late conspiracies in Jamaica, as printed by the House of Commons the last session; and if he does not entirely concur with me, I am content to forfeit his confidence as to every other fact I state.

Now, to what can these evils be ascribed, but to the fatal course that has been taken, in referring, for a twentieth time, to the Colonial authorities, a work to which they are avowedly, violently, and incurably averse? What was it, but to invite the rash and angry opposition we have found? They tell us, and they tell us sincerely, perhaps, however erroneously, that the proposed measures will be ruinous to their property, and dangerous to their lives; and yet we desire them to adopt and

frame those very measures by their own legislative power. They refused to adopt them, or any one of them, even when assured by their own agents and partisans in this country that there was no other way of preserving their then beloved Slave-trade; yet we expect compliance, when refusal can have no worse effect than the enactment of the same measures by the British Legislature. Even that consequence, we have taught them to believe or know, is not to be apprehended. In eight-and-twenty years of obstinate opposition to the sense of Parliament, its active interposition has not once ensued; and in one instance, that of Mr. Wilberforce's Register Bill, it was attempted in vain, though clearly necessary for the purpose of giving effect to the abolition of the Slave-trade.

That precedent was still more fatally instructive. It taught them that a sure way to prevent Parliamentary interposition, was to add to refusal violence, and uproar, mischief, and alarm.

These means, indeed, were then found rather costly to a particular colony. They raved so loudly and so long in the ears of their Slaves, that those poor beings at length thought them in earnest, in affirming that registration was enfranchisement, and that by the will of the mother country they were to be Slaves no longer. The insurrection of Barbadoes was therefore very naturally produced. But this was a lucky, as well as a very partial mischief. All the colonies gained their point by it. The framing Register Acts was left implicitly to themselves; and fences of cobweb, instead of adamant will consequently be found between them and the Slave-trade, whenever the high price of sugar, or the depopulating effects of Slavery, may tempt them to resume it.

After this, who can wonder at the plots in Jamaica, or the insurrection at Demerara, or the dreadful measures of fury and alarm that followed? Even Barbadoes itself, in spite of its experienced evils, saw more of convenient consequence, than present danger, in adding to the renewal of former provocatives, that of driving away the missionaries, pulling down their chapel, and laying the laws prostrate before insurgent violence for successive days under the eyes of the local Government.

Nor can we be surprised that the Assemblies in this case have treated the recommendations of the Crown, and the voice of Parliament, with more than their former disrespect; and refused to adopt any of the very moderate specific reforms proposed to them. Small though those reforms must appear in *our* eyes, in *theirs*, had not their own former pretences been grossly false, they must have been smaller still; and for the most part the mere enactment, by law, of what before was general practice. They were desired, for instance, to secure a Sabbath rest to their Slaves, which they had a hundred times boldly asserted was already possessed by them. They were desired to exempt their females from those cruel and indecent punishments, the usage of which they had as often indignantly denied. They were asked to lay aside the driving whip, which they had so positively asserted to be wholly inactive, and a mere emblem of authority, that Ministers, in the recommendation itself, soothingly gave colour to the ridiculous pretence, desiring that the whip should no longer be carried into the field by the driver, *as an emblem of his power*.

But here lay no small part of the provocation. They were caught in the mesh of their own falsehoods and delusions. The Sabbath is in fact kept only in the cane pieces; while it is a working day in the provision grounds, and in journeys to a distant market. To abolish such profanation, would be to compel the master to find food for his Slaves; or to give them another day that they might be able to raise it for themselves. The proposed immunity of the females, they knew would have been a still greater sacrifice; because they are in fact worked, coerced and disciplined in common, with the males; and, as the Colonists are now driven to assert, equally or more than equally require it. As to the inactive cart-whip, the *emblem* or *symbol*, the *beadle's laced hat*, as some of them before had the effrontery to call it, it is now confessed to be the main spring of the machine; and that to take it from the driver's hand would be ruin to the master, and danger to the State. Though little therefore was asked on their own false premises, it was much, very much, in the case that really exists; and far more than the Planters or their Assemblies ever mean to concede. To repudiate their own former assertions was mortifying; but to adhere to them at the hazard

of their actual system would have been still more unpalatable; and the dilemma was not the less provoking because it was the effect of their own previous deceptions.

But though refusal was to be expected, insult, it may be thought, might have been forborne. The Colonists (wisely perhaps if their ends were wise) were of a different opinion; and the Ministers of the Crown, for acting under the advice of Parliament, were made the objects of coarse invective, as well as contemptuous repulse.

And what has been the consequence? Have Ministers come to Parliament for its assistance to support its own dignity, and give effect to its own resolves? Has that supreme legislature at length effectually interposed, and made good its promises to the unfortunate objects of its compassion and remorse, ordaining by its own authority what has been insolently denied to its mediation? Such was the ulterior course that you were expressly warranted by Government to expect, if the Assemblies proved contumacious; and yet if their conduct has not amounted to contumacy, it is hard to say what more they could have done to satisfy the full meaning of that term. But nothing has been enacted, nothing has been proposed, in Parliament, no communication has been made by Ministers on the subject, except the humiliating despatches of the Colonial governors containing full details of all these opprobrious facts.

It would be unjust to His Majesty's Ministers, not to distinguish here between those colonies which are cursed with representative Assemblies, and those which have escaped that misfortune, and over which the Crown possesses the power of interior legislation. In the latter, Trinidad especially, some advances have been made towards giving effect to the Parliamentary Resolutions. But even in these, the unwise and dangerous course has been taken of referring the work in its form, and practical details at least, to its known and irreconcilable enemies; of submitting, to their advice, the time of its initiation, and its progress, and even the choice of the means and instruments of its execution.*

Of all errors in policy it is the most palpable, to commit the structure and management of difficult and delicate measures to those who avowedly dislike the principles on which

they are founded; and who wish, not for their success, but their failure: nor is there in this respect any difference between Slave-holders elected into a Colonial Assembly, and Slave-holders sitting in a Council, or Court of Policy, under the authority of the Crown. It would not be more irrational to devise a plan for converting the Irish Catholics to the Protestant Church, and then submit its practical means and accomplishment to the deliberations of the College of Maynooth.

To this unhappy course of proceeding we owe the insurrection at Demerara, with all the dangerous discussions, controversies, remonstrances, and delays, which have been opposed to the execution of the Royal Instructions, not only there but in Berbice; in neither of which is the promised work, I believe, yet fairly begun.

It is due to Earl Bathurst to say, that his Lordship appears hitherto not to have been wanting in decision or firmness, in maintaining his ground, as far as the official correspondence goes, against the clamorous and pertinacious opposition he has met with from the local authorities in those Colonies, as well as from the Planters: but still nothing appears yet to be effected; nor will any thing, beyond ostensible and evasive compliance, ever be obtained, until Goverment changes its course, and ends where it should have begun,—by a peremptory Order in Council. The very voluminous correspondence with the Governors laid before Parliament in the last session too clearly justifies these views; and if my readers wish for full satisfaction on the subject, they may find it in an abstract of those papers which has just been presented to the public.*

Frustration of all the hopes of the poor Slaves, and of their compassionate fellow-subjects, will not be the only ill effect of this unfortunate course of proceeding, if it is not speedily reversed. Terrible mischiefs I doubt not will ensue; and the blame of them will as usual be laid on the Friends of Reformation, not on its true authors,—those who stoop to solicit

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* See a pamphlet published by Hatchard and Son, entitled, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain; or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves."

when they ought to ordain; or those who resist the proposed measures in the first instance, and spoil them in the second.

I cannot wholly exempt from these strictures even the particular case of Trinidad, where alone there has been any direct and peremptory exercise of royal legislation; for though there is much practically good, and more that was well intended, in the Order of Council for that island, there is much also that is very objectionable; and the executive means are bad. An adequate discussion of that subject would be far too long for my present purpose; and it might be unjust to His Majesty's Government, and especially to the able and respectable statesman who presides over the Colonial Department, to give my views of it in a partial and cursory way. It is necessary however that I should protest on my own behalf, and that of my fellow-labourers in the cause of the Slaves, against the notion insidiously propagated, that the Order is *our* work, or framed to *our* satisfaction. Whoever may be responsible for it, we are not. For my own part, I never saw it, or knew any thing of its provisions, till after it was printed by Parliament.

Had my advice been asked, I should have held, as I have ever done, that men who, as Slave-masters, have their prejudices, their habits, and their supposed self-interests, and an *esprit de corps* besides, all opposed to the success of such experiments, are not fit to be trusted with their execution; and would have added, that the masters of domestic Slaves are not less unfit to be so trusted than the owners of plantations. I would have added, and if necessary proved, that by the needless permission of domestic Slavery the predial is much embittered, and rendered more difficult to reform; for that men lose their sensibility more by the administration of a harsh servile discipline in proportion as they are more personally and immediately engaged in it; and that they unavoidably are so engaged, more in the family than in the field. I might have further remarked, that a man who has been long in the personal government of such domestics as enslaved Negroes are usually found to be, and in the numbers that commonly belong to a West Indian household, must have an excellent temper, and great self-command, if he does not

sometimes fall into those very excesses which it is the object of the Order to restrain; and that a magistrate or protecting officer is not very likely to do his duty when conscious that the delinquent he ought to punish might recriminate on himself.

I might perhaps have given, if consulted, still wider views of this subject, and told our Ministers that they ought not only to discourage but wholly to terminate domestic Slavery; because it cannot be alleged to be rendered necessary by the climate, and because its abolition, besides being productive of various other advantages on which I will not now enter, would be the most effectual means of increasing the number of the free in proportion to the Slaves, and thereby providing internal means of defence. But most especially should I have recommended that at least the servants and agents of Government should be exempted from that fatal domestic contagion which spoils their feelings, and disposes them to favour or connive at the abuses they ought to restrain; and such, if I am not misinformed, was the Spanish policy in the protection both of Indians and Slaves.

In Trinidad, however, the right course of proceeding, though not by the best measures, has at length been pursued; and I hope that in the other Colonies subject to His Majesty's legislative power, it will not be longer delayed. As a man who has laboured much, and not unsuccessfully, to prevent the Constitutions, preposterously called English, established in the old Slave Colonies being imparted to the new, I am bound to say, that little or no good has been done by adopting that policy, if the Crown, instead of exercising its authority in making laws for the protection of the Slaves, is to delegate that duty to Slave-masters resident on the spot. The former sovereigns of those Colonies, whether Spanish, French, or Dutch, never called on their governors, councils, or courts to deliberate in such cases, but only to obey.

My main business, however, is with that larger class of Sugar Colonies which Parliament only can controul; and these have refused any compliance with its resolutions. Most of them have even boldly set its authority at defiance; and yet Parliament, in respect of them, has hitherto been silent and supine.

I correct myself. Much, very much has been done, but all in the way of aid, encouragement and bounty, instead of coer-

cion, to these refractory Colonists;—bounty, at the expense of our purses and our commerce, as well as of our feelings and our honour; aid and encouragement, by the renunciation of almost every principle and rule on which the value of our Colonies to the Parent State has hitherto been thought to depend. Our Navigation Laws have been abrogated for their benefit; except only in those points in which it was more for their advantage to retain them. They may now reject your manufactures, and take all their supplies from every rival state; and it depends on their own choice whether they will send their sugar to your markets; while you are still compelled by protecting duties, as they are called, amounting to a prohibition of foreign sugar, to buy from them alone. Even the long-supposed palladium of your navy has been relinquished for the benefit of these contumacious votaries of the cart-whip. The carrying-trade of your Colonies is no longer your own, but has been thrown open to every foreign and rival prow.

I stop not to inquire whether the plausible arguments on which this grand revolution in our maritime policy has been defended are not only specious but sound. They have certainly an air of liberality; and I was taught long since by one whose judgment, as well as his virtues, I held in very high estimation, my much-lamented friend Mr. Percival, to regard Mr. Huskisson as one of the most enlightened and judicious of our statesmen. Therefore, although I have been heretofore a feeble advocate for those principles which the wisdom of our ancestors handed down to us, and under an adherence to which, during two centuries, our naval greatness rose, perhaps I was mistaken. If so, I need not be ashamed to read my recantation; for it will be in a crowd of splendid converts, who have now renounced the same erroneous faith.

Let me not be understood, then, as condemning in the abstract these new principles, or the applying them, if impartially done, to our Colonial trade and navigation. But as the change was one which our sugar planters had long and ardently solicited, and as one of its prominent immediate objects was avowed to be *their* accommodation and advantage, it was certainly in that respect very ill-timed, and tended to encourage and confirm their contumacy.

Had this been all, we might have regarded it only as an

unfortunate coincidence. But unhappily this great commercial and maritime revolution had some awkward modifications, some striking departures from its own principles, and exceptions to its own rules; and upon every one of these, West Indian interests, and West Indian views, were so legibly written, that if the West Indian Committee had sat in council with the Board of Trade, and guided its resolutions, the new code could not have been better framed for the gratification of our planters.

The general principle is the favourite maxim of political economists, that trade should be perfectly free. The Colonial monopoly therefore ought clearly to have been abolished on both sides; but it was relaxed only where it was restrictive on the Planter; and continued only where it made for his advantage. He may now sell his sugar where and to whom he pleases; but the English consumers are still bound as before to buy it. Foreigners may bring us what they please, except any thing that West India planters have to sell. As to protective duties, they should no longer have a place in our Custom-house vocabularies: the very name is heretical, by the new faith; for "commerce can be protected only by itself." Aye, but our planters were here a little sceptical; and thought that 36*s.* per cwt. additional duty on sugar, and 84*s* additional duty on coffee, of foreign growth, would be better than theoretical security against rivalship in the British markets; and plain men perhaps will suspect that they were right; for they were humoured in this whim; and we are now paying on an average from 42*s* to 45*s.* per cwt. for sugar which a year or two ago we bought at an average of from 27*s* to 30*s.*

The case of our East Indian possessions, was a little stronger. We and our fellow-subjects there had a mutual and irresistible claim to be placed within the pale of this new-found liberality. The only plausible pretext before for favouring the Slave Colonies of the West, at the expense of our Eastern Empire, by imposing on the Sugar of the latter a duty which, when added to the high expense of the carriage, amounted to a prohibition, was, that we had a monopoly of the supply and navigation of the former, which was burthensome on the West India planter, and demanded therefore in justice a reciprocal pri-

vilege to him. The Assemblies themselves had expressly rested their case on this ground; and had repeatedly admitted that when the restrictions on their trade should be taken off, they would no longer have a claim to any exclusive privilege in our markets. To remove the one therefore, and retain the other, was to favour them beyond the utmost range of their own former expectations and demands.

Whilst the new principles applied to our East Indian trade in a commercial and economical view, with peculiar force, every consideration of justice and policy, entitled our fellow-subjects in the East at this period to all the favour we could justly accord to them. They had become important customers to our manufacturers, who had begun to supplant their own cotton weavers at the foot of their own looms in Bengal; and they wanted only a return article like sugar to enlarge their commercial intercourse with us to an almost boundless extent, and in a way the most advantageous that can be imagined, not only to our national wealth and maritime strength, but to the security of our Indian Empire. But all these potent considerations fell before West Indian influence; and from the benefit of the new principles, as well as the old, our East Indian trade was excluded.

There was indeed one exception. The sugar of the Isle of France was before subjected to the same duties with that produced within the dominions of the East India Company; but it is now privileged like that of our West India Colonies; though for what reason it is thus preferred to the produce of Bengal, except that it is raised by the forced labour of Slaves, it is hard to imagine. This, it may be said, is no benefit to the West India planters. No; but it is a great one to that most influential part of their body in this country, the consignees of tropical produce; and besides, it tends to increase the interest of Slave-holders in general among us; and to consolidate their union as a body for the maintenance of the common system. Of these advantages they well know the value. We should not otherwise have been cursed, not only through their acquiescence, but by their concurrence, and by their secret intrigues, with the acquisition of new Sugar Colonies on the continent of South America; by which, though our islands

were generally prejudiced as agriculturists, their political weight as Slave-holders has been much and fatally increased.

It may seem but a trivial item in this large account, when I add to it the different treatment of two Joint-Stock Companies, who applied cotemporaneously in the last session of Parliament for legislative aid to supply their want of charters, and set their plans in motion; but small features sometimes mark more strongly than large ones the character of a partial system. The object of one of these projects was to obtain loans on sugar estates, by means of a joint stock, upon securities which individual prudence had been too well taught to decline. The object of the other was to promote also by a joint stock, and the co-operation of numbers, the raising and importation of sugar, the produce of free labour. It had an eye to the East, but not to the East alone. Some parts even of the West Indies might have been the theatres of an experiment interesting to every friend of humanity and justice. The former project was among the multitude of Joint-Stock Companies (the madness of the day), one of the most objectionable on the score of imposition on the public. It was manifest to every thinking man of ordinary information, that the sole purpose of the projectors was to pass upon the credulous subscribers securities which those who knew best their nature were unwilling to take or to hold. The plan was also one of sure and great prejudice to the Slaves; not only by subjecting them to fall into the wholesale management of perpetually non-resident owners, but because the superoneration of the estate they belong to naturally enhances their forced labour, and diminishes the means of their support; nor did these objections escape the notice of their friends, but were forcibly submitted to Parliament and the public.

But between the two plans there was this important difference; the one was advantageous to Slave-holders, and supported by their powerful influence at the Board of Trade and in Parliament; but the other had no such recommendation or support. The West India Company in consequence was patronized by ministers, and its bill passed into a law; though the only one of the Joint-Stock Company bills, I believe, that had that good fortune, after the Lord Chancellor entitled

himself to the gratitude of the country by exposing their mischievous effects. The Free Sugar Company, on the contrary, finding that their bill, though not really objectionable on the general grounds, would be encountered by insuperable opposition in the Upper House, was obliged to abandon it after it had made its way through the Commons *.

I will point out only one more instance of this partiality. It is one which cannot be stated adequately in few words; but it was the consummation of a system of measures portentous of infinite mischief to our country, as well as a case in which not only the principle of giving freedom to trade and navigation, but with it other principles of high political importance, have been sacrificed by the same boundless complaisance to the prejudices, and the supposed particular interests, of our West India Colonies.

Here some retrospective remarks are necessary. Our treatment of *Hayti* from the moment of its first Revolution, but more especially from the time of its actual, to the momentous recent period of its recognised independence, has been one continued surrender of national interests to the narrow views and potent influence of the Colonial Party. We paralyzed our belligerent arm in Europe, when the fate of the civilized world apparently depended on its energies, for the sake of engaging in the *bellum servile* between the French Planters of St. Domingo and their Slaves. At least forty thousand, as I believe, of our brave soldiers and seamen, and as much public money as, constituted, by the terms it was borrowed upon, perhaps eighty millions of debt, charged by heavy taxation on the purses of the British People, were the price we paid in that war alone for the sake of our Sugar Colonies, in the attempt to restore the

* It is right to admit that the West India party in the House of Commons did not openly oppose this bill; but I doubt not, the reason was, that their leaders well knew it would be thrown out if carried to the Upper House. I certainly cannot commend the conduct of its promoters in not putting that expectation to the proof: but they thought it right, I understand, to save useless expense, having *official information* that the bill could not possibly pass; and that the exception to the general rule, made in favour of the rival Company, was the result only of a promise given by His Majesty's Ministers, before that rule was adopted.

cart-whip government, lest it should be subverted also in our own islands, though disappointment, and disgrace, and calamity were the only fruits of that attempt.

The triumphs of the heroic TOUSSAINT happily drove us at length from that dreadful field; and his magnanimity gave us the olive-branch, and commercial benefits along with it, which but for our deference to Colonial prejudices might have been much greater than they were. Federal connexions with the island were not perhaps then in our choice, for he was a faithful subject of France. But the next war with Buonaparte made us from necessity associates in arms with Toussaint's brave successors; and we found them in possession of a real and asserted independence. Then was the time, when the just exasperation of the brave Haytians against that detestable tyrant was at the highest, and when we owed to France nothing but resolute defiance; then was the time, when a most happy opportunity offered to make the new people our friends, our allies, and our commercial tributaries for ever. We had but to recognise an independence which it was plain to every thinking man could never be subverted, and that "citadel of the Antilles" never again would have fallen into rival or hostile hands. All its agricultural and commercial, all its political and belligerent, faculties, would have been permanently ours. The opportunity was not unnoticed. Even the labours of this feeble pen plainly, however inadequately, pointed out its value*. But it was neglected, as I foresaw it would; and the effects that I foretold have followed. The pestilent vapours of Creolian prejudice obscured the true interests of our country, or the fatal influence of the Colonists betrayed them.

The gross impolicy of the neglect was no short-lived error; for the opportunity continued open to us for ten or eleven years, from the time of the final expulsion of the French under Rochambeau, till our pacification with France in 1814. No rational doubt could be entertained during that long period of the ability or the determination of the Haytians to maintain

* In a pamphlet called "The Opportunity," published in 1804, as well as other publications.

their independency. Under our protection at least, their ability was as certain as their will. It was as manifest also then as now, to all but Creolian eyes, that Negroes were capable of sustaining, by peaceable and loyal conduct, the social edifice which their intrepidity and love of freedom had erected. Rival leaders indeed had successively started up, and by military conspiracies two of them had perished, like the early Roman Emperors by mutinies of the prætorian bands; but like the Roman populace of that æra, the black people at large had always submitted peaceably and loyally to their existing Governments. Wearied, like that unfortunate people, by the bloody and ferocious scenes through which they had previously passed, they loved their new-found repose; but the remembrance of the driving-whip was a band of union against France, stronger than the glory of the Roman name against Barbarian conquerors. The unanimous sentiment was liberty and independency, or death. For a while the question between Monarchical and Republican Government, or rather between Christophe and Petion, produced a territorial division, and an interior war; but they had the wisdom soon to sheathe the sword; and the fidelity of the people at large to their respective Governments stood the new and severe test of instigation by border enemies within the island. Before, as well as since their re-union under Boyer, it was found in vain to excite any disaffection among them that could favour in the slightest degree their restitution, either as slaves or subjects, to the abhorred dominion of France.

Their successive and their divided chiefs also manifested, in regard to exterior relations, one only and one anxious wish; and that was to cultivate the amity and obtain the alliance of England. They courted us almost to servility; they endured many insults from the Slave-masters of our islands with exemplary patience; they gave us, without any equivalent, commercial privileges of the most decisive kind, exclusive of the Americans and all other neutral nations; and they so carefully avoided every occasion of offence to their contemptuous neighbours of Jamaica, that not even a complaint, true or false, has been heard of, to my knowledge at least, from that jealous and hostile quarter. Our ships of war were received in their

ports with every honour the government could possibly pay; and our officers (Sir Home Popham among others) were astonished at the elegance and splendour with which they were entertained on shore.

But the necessary limits of this Address will not allow me to go further into detail. If it pleases God long to spare my life, and continue my powers of labour, you shall have, in a History of Hayti, sustained by authentic documents, facts of this kind, which will show to your astonishment perhaps how worthy this people were of our confidence and friendship. But all that we condescended to do in return was to connive at our merchants buying their coffee, and selling our manufactures in their ports; abstaining from all diplomatic or other public intercourse as cautiously as if Buonaparte had been our friend, or an enemy whom we were afraid to exasperate. Our whole conduct proclaimed to their intelligent leaders, in a style not to be mistaken, that maritime and commercial England—England, the only power able and entitled by her hostile relations with France to countenance their independence—was irreconcilably averse to it; and they well knew that it was from motives which made us not less averse to their personal freedom.

Does any one of my readers doubt that our servility to West Indian prejudices and West Indian influence dictated such conduct? Then let him suppose for a moment that this important island had been peopled, not with Blacks and Mulattoes, but with Whites, who had in like manner thrown off the yoke of France; or that its Planters had succeeded in putting down the insurgent Slaves, and afterwards proclaimed their independence, and offered us their trade as the price of our recognising and protecting it; and then ask himself whether he thinks our rulers would have acted as they did.

I will not stop here to inquire whether regard to the safety of our Sugar Colonies, and the maintenance of their interior system, might excuse or justify the policy in question. I have heretofore demonstrated the contrary; and shown that, assuming, what the event has since proved, the invincible stability of Haytian freedom, the safety of our own islands, of Jamaica at least, not only admitted, but demanded an opposite course,

though their foolish antipathy and contempt towards the African race strongly and too successfully opposed it*. But at present my object is to show the sacrifices we have actually made, whether wisely or unwisely, to the wishes or the interests of our Sugar Colonists: and it is an undeniable article in the account, that, for their sakes, we have thrown away the exclusive commerce, the amity, and alliance of the Haytian Republic.

We have done still worse: we have at length forced back this truly formidable West Indian power into the arms of France; and this, by persevering in the same obsequious course towards our Sugar Planters, even since they have refused to indulge us with giving a Sabbath to their Slaves, and exempting their females from the whip.

Boyer, menaced with the horrors of a new invasion, though fearless of its ultimate event, has, since our peace with France, persisted in courting our friendship. No stronger instance of it can be desired, than that while the flags of all maritime nations were eagerly frequenting his ports, bringing an overflow of the merchandize of Europe and North America, and taking his produce in return, he exacted from all other foreigners duties of 12 per cent *ad valorem*, and only 5 per cent from the merchants and ships of Great Britain. Nor did he withdraw this important privilege till the month of April last, notwithstanding the repulsive coldness and contempt with which we had received it, and the continued provocations he met with from Jamaica.

We were no longer indeed at liberty, without a shadow of international wrong, to enter into a treaty of alliance with this new power, while yet unrecognised by the former sovereign, with whom we were now at peace. That golden opportunity had been lost beyond recall; yet there was a middle line of conduct, such as we have adopted towards the new South American States, and to which France could not with reason, or without gross inconsistency, have objected. We might have given a national sanction and safeguard to the existing commerce, and secured the continuance of its privilege, by ap-

* See the work last referred to.

pointing resident consuls, and even by sending envoys to the court of Port-au-Prince, as we have done to Buenos Ayres, to Mexico, and Columbia. We might have thus acted, I may add, with greater reason and more apparent justice, towards Hayti, than towards any of the revolted colonies of Spain; because the independency of the Haytian people had been longer, and more firmly and unequivocally established in point of fact, than that of any of their continental neighbours; and no advantage could, in their case, have been alleged to have been taken of the weak and distracted situation of the Parent State. On the contrary, France during several years of peace and internal tranquillity, and when powerful enough to cast her shield over the impotent monarchy of Spain, and to occupy its territories with her armies, had practically acquiesced in the indepen dency of Hayti, as a loss of sovereignty not to be retrieved. What is still stronger, she had herself virtually recognised its government, by repeatedly attempting to treat with it; and latterly it was well known, that the recognition of its independency was only a question of terms; whereas Spain, even in the extremity of her weakness, has not yet condescended to treat with her revolted subjects; and the royal standard is still supported among them by faithful though feeble adherents. If a further argument *à fortiori* were wanted, we were under no self-defensive necessity to secure the amity, or guard against the future enmity of the South American States; whereas a free Negro state, in the centre of the Antilles, unless secured as a friend, was obviously likely to prove to us a most formidable and dangerous enemy. Should France recover her sovereignty there, over a nation of free and military Negroes, or what perhaps was still worse, if she should gain them as independent allies and confederates, it was manifest that our West Indian possessions must hereafter lie at her mercy. But powerful and urgent as these national considerations were (immense commercial advantages on the one side, fearful public dangers on the other), colonial influence still prevailed.

The finishing stroke to our infatuated policy was that last exception, that last inconsistency, in our new system of trade and navigation, which I proposed to notice. In laying open

our colonial trade to all nations we made a special exception in the case of Hayti, highly offensive and injurious to that country, forbidding under extreme penalties all intercourse whatever between it and Jamaica. By the statute 6th Geo. IV. cap. 114, sec. 48, it is provided, first, that no British merchant ship shall sail from any place in Jamaica to any place in St. Domingo, or *vice versâ*, under penalty of *forfeiture of ship and cargo*. Secondly, that no *foreign ship* which shall have come from, or in the course of her voyage have touched at, any place in St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in Jamaica, *under the like penalties*. Thirdly, that if any person shall be landed in Jamaica from on board any ship which shall have come from or touched at St. Domingo (*without restriction to the same voyage even*), the ship and cargo shall be forfeited.

It can be no sufficient excuse to say that an Act or Acts to a like effect had existed before that period. True it is, that the Assembly of Jamaica, having gratified its indignant spite against Negro freedom, by an Act restraining all such intercourse with Hayti, as far as its own power of interior regulation extended, its agents soon found Government complaisant enough to lend its aid, in order to extend the penalties and right of seizure, to ships that might not be found, or cases that might not arise, within the colonial jurisdiction. A *July Bill* for that purpose, was more than once pushed, without noise or notice, through Parliament; and so effectually escaped observation, that though my attention has been pretty much given to such subjects, I must confess my ignorance of any such measure having been adopted, till the recent revolutions in our maritime and colonial code led me to look back with some particularity on the state of the former law.

But when Government so materially altered its system, the measure, though not in a separate consideration new, had in its connexion with those important changes, all the effect of an injurious and offensive innovation. A gentleman who at his country residence should choose to live retired, and receive no guests but his own family, would give no just offence by omitting to invite his nearest neighbour, who had made to him the most courteous advances; but should he reverse his

plan of life, and invite all his neighbours, with the exception of that particular person, the case would be completely altered, and would reasonably be considered as a disparagement or affront; and such has been our conduct towards Hayti. While all foreign bottoms were systematically excluded from our Colonial ports, with a few particular exceptions only, in the Free Port Acts, founded on regard to the convenience or necessities of our West India Islands, as in the supply of North American flour and lumber (articles not furnished by the Haytian people), or for the sake of favouring our valuable commerce with Spanish America, while contraband by its own laws, the interdiction of trade between Jamaica and Hayti placed the latter in a situation not materially different from that of our other foreign neighbours, whether in America or Europe: but when we reversed our ancient maxims, and threw open the doors of our Colonies, which we had before so jealously barred, to every state and every flag but one, the re-enacting of the former interdict against that particular country alone, gave it a new character, and made it a more invidious distinction.

The effect also of such sweeping and extreme penalties, under the new circumstances of the case, was unjustly to subject the commerce, of the Haytian Republic, and of all the nations that trade with them, to new and multiplied disadvantages and dangers, the consequences of which it is easy to foresee, will be highly mischievous, and productive of disputes, not only with Hayti, but, perhaps, with other powers.

To such of my readers as know any thing of West Indian navigation and commerce, this will be obvious enough; especially when they recollect that all the ports in the Mexican Gulf, and of the late Spanish continent to windward of it, as well as those of Jamaica, are now open to every friendly flag. To those who are uninformed on such subjects, it may be proper to remark that both Hayti and Jamaica lie directly across, or very near, the track of ships trading between North America or Europe and a great part of the new states of South America north of Brazil; and that from the effects of the trade-winds this proscription of Hayti is in such respects, though limited in form to its intercourse with Jamaica, not less

restrictive or inconvenient in practice than if it were extended to all our West India Colonies. It is with that British island only that the Haytians could easily or profitably trade; and there only that foreigners trading with them would often be desirous or able to touch, in their outward or homeward voyage.

In consequence of these sweeping prohibitions, Hayti will be debarred from a large part of that commerce which would otherwise be opened to her, through her central and advantageous position, by the revolutions in Mexico and South America at large, as well as by our own change of system; and also from those benefits to which she is justly entitled by that commercial habit of visiting the West Indies in what is called a "trading voyage"; namely, a voyage destined not to a particular port or island only, but to a market, where it can best be found, or where the desired returns can most advantageously be obtained. So important is this practice deemed by the merchants of the United States in particular, that they were disposed to go to war with us for obstructing it in their trade with the Colonies of our enemies, after we had conceded the point of permitting a trade directly with them to and from that neutral country. But now, every North American or European ship bound to the West Indies or South America, on a trading voyage, must make an exception, in her papers, of Hayti or Jamaica, or both; and if Hayti be not excepted, the exception of Jamaica alone will not only be a renunciation of the new privileges that we have opened to them in that our most important island, but will leave them exposed to great hazard of being seized on suspicion, if obliged by bad weather, currents, or other causes to approach near to that island in going to or returning from any market on the South American continent. In this respect the Spanish-American revolutions, and our own more recent commercial revolution, will make the former restrictions operate much more severely and unfairly than they before did against the interests of the Haytian people. It should never be forgotten in framing such prohibitions, that their indirect and undesigned, are not less prejudicial to the interdicted country, than their direct and intended effects. A new commercial crime constitutes of course a new ground of suspicion or false imputation, and a new ground therefore

of maritime seizure and prosecution, with all the vexatious consequences that are sure to attend them in a distant part of the world; consequences peculiarly formidable when the courts that have to decide on them in the first instance are strongly disposed to favour the seizure. A prosecution in Jamaica, for trading with Hayti, is certainly not one in which an injured claimant would have the best prospects of just redress.

When a country is infected with the plague, or when a hostile port is under blockade, the necessity of the case which compels us to impose such restrictions on the commerce of friendly powers, furnishes not only an excuse, but a salvo for their dignity. But here we have the same and greater restrictions in time of peace; and on a new principle, never acted on by any other civilized power, a principle also as offensive in itself, as the practice founded upon it; for what does it plainly imply but that the Haytian Government is disposed to excite insurrections in Jamaica, though no part of its conduct, during above twenty years of actual independence, has furnished the slightest pretext for the suspicion? Where else can lie the justification of condemning both ship and cargo, not only for having touched at infected Hayti *before*, but even *after* touching at Jamaica? In this it exceeds the restrictions of the quarantine laws; and the utmost severity of the law of war in regard to blockaded ports.

It would have been enough for my present purpose that the Government has in fact from complaisance to our Slave-owners departed from its own new and favourite commercial system, by impairing without necessity the general freedom of trade. But my last remarks show that there is, in the tone and temper of the proceedings towards Hayti, enough to mark still more clearly a subserviency to all the bitterness of West Indian prejudices, at the expense not only of trade, but perhaps also of our peace with the Haytian people.

Suppose President Boyer and his Council should choose to retaliate! It seems due to their own independency and dignity to do so; and it would be impossible for us decently to complain if they did. We should then soon find to our cost the importance of these remarks. Not a ship from Jamaica could beat through the windward passage, without exposing herself

to a reasonable suspicion of meaning to violate the counter prohibition, so as to warrant perhaps her being brought into the Cape, or some other Haytian port, for examination or trial.

I repeat that such treatment of a country which was anxiously courting our friendship, and with which France was known to be then negotiating on the basis of acknowledging its independency, was too egregious a blunder in policy to have had its origin in any thing but the enormous influence of the West Indian party. It too well accounts for, and justifies the conduct of President Boyer, in at last indignantly withdrawing from us the favour and privileges we had so ill requited, and casting himself into the arms of France. I admit however that the Haytian people had ground enough, without this last affront, for despairing that creolized England would ever recognise their independence, or cease to be the secret enemy of their freedom; still more that she would ever be induced to enter into any connexion that might be a support to them, in the event of a new invasion, or tend to avert that calamity.

Some writers have been unreasonable enough to condemn the President for agreeing to pay 150 millions of livres (six millions sterling) to France, for the relinquishment of an empty title. But his conduct was made by our bad policy natural and right. Beyond doubt he would gladly have avoided so heavy an incumbrance on his finances; but we had taught him that there was no other way to give to the republic, in its foreign relations, the benefit of its independency, or obtain for it decent respect, even from the country it had most highly favoured. We had taught him also to apprehend, that in the event of a new invasion by France, he would be treated by the only maritime power that durst despise her resentment, and consequently by all the rest, not as a legitimate belligerent, with whom neutrals might lawfully trade, but as an insurgent and a rebel. He did well and wisely therefore, in my opinion, to prevent the evils of such a contest by as large a pecuniary sacrifice as the country could afford.

He has been blamed also for giving to France such commercial privileges as will exclude in its consequences the ships and the merchandize of other countries. This perhaps

was a necessary part of the price; but perhaps also, it was some gratification to reflect, that ungrateful and contemptuous England had rejected the same boon when gratuitously offered, and would lose what France would gain by it. If letters from Port-au-Prince inserted in the newspapers may be trusted, Anti-British feelings have already appeared from measures beyond the terms of the Treaty. "Not only," it is said, "is the duty to be increased on English goods imported, but the valuation of them, by which the amount of the duty is estimated, is capriciously *doubled*. With the French merchants, a contrary course is pursued, and the duty on goods exported has been lowered 50 per cent in their favour, while that paid by the English remains unaltered." It is added, "British goods if imported at all must be imported in French vessels, which will give them a monopoly of the carrying-trade with the island."

We have performed then that seeming miracle, the possibility of which I vainly foretold twenty years ago, as a consequence of our infatuated policy. We have made France popular in Hayti! in betrayed, butchered, massacred, blood-hounded Hayti! Nor will the matter end here. Haytian ambassadors are already arrived at the French Court, and we shall soon probably hear of a perpetual league offensive and defensive, far more formidable to the British West Indies in future wars, than the family compact ever was to Europe. The "citadel of the Antilles" might have been the bulwark of our Islands; but now it will be a place of arms, and an enormous ever-teeming barrack for their enemies. Woe to the British regiments when next we draw the sword! Twice ten thousand inglorious graves await them in Jamaica.

Mean time let us place to the account of our Slave Colonies the loss of a commerce of vast importance to our merchants, our manufacturers, and our ship-owners, and capable of an indefinite increase. For those Colonies, and by their baneful influence, we sunk many millions to reclaim the Haytians into slavery; for them and their gratification, we have cast away the compensation which the folly and crimes of Buonaparte would have given us. France, not England, will have the indemnities for the past. England, not France, will have the

dangers and mischiefs of the future. While we, my countrymen, are paying the interest of a debt probably amounting to eighty millions or more, contracted for the St. Domingo war, the French Proprietors, whose crimes and insanity we abetted, are receiving by our gift many millions of livres per annum. For the sake of Slavery, we sinned and bled and squandered! And for the sake of Slavery, we have rejected that reparation which fortune, in spite of our folly, had placed within our grasp.

These, however, are but a part of those sacrifices which Colonial influence has cost us. Scarcely a year passes in which some West India job is not imposed on Parliament at the expense of the British people; and all for the hopeless purpose of perpetuating Slavery, by sustaining a system, the inherent weakness and wastefulness of which makes it incapable of self-support. It is not enough that you pay an annual subsidy to your Sugar Colonies of a million and a half per annum, in bounties and drawbacks, and in prices which their monopoly enables them to exact; and at least as much more for their military protection, even in this time of profound peace; but whenever their alleged necessities require it, your own healthful faculties must be laid under contribution, to nourish and relieve their morbid and rickety frames, till the new paroxysm is over.

Sometimes you have had to lend them millions at five per cent, which you borrowed and funded at more than six; at other times, they have laid violent hands even upon your agriculture and your manufactures, prohibiting the use of barley in your distilleries, that their sugar might be used in its stead; and the loud remonstrances of your landholders and farmers were opposed to them in vain. Now they have made successfully a still further inroad on your corn-fields. Rum is to be re-distilled into British spirits, that your wheat and oats, as well as barley, may make room for their slave-raised produce. Before even the late grand revolution, your export of flour and oats to them, formerly of no small amount, was effectually precluded; and the same benefit was taken from your North American Colonies, by opening their ports to the cheaper and nearer produce of the United States.

But was not all this, some of my good-natured readers may be here ready to ask, the result of a compassionate regard for the distresses to which the Sugar Colonies have been occasionally subjected by temporary causes, such as might fairly entitle them to relief from the Parent State? This has certainly been the usual pretext: and I am far from meaning to deny that if the pecuniary embarrassments or hopeless insolvency of a large proportion of the planters, constitutes a case entitling them and their brethren to relief at the expense of the empire at large, their claim to it has been fairly made out. I admit, nay I am ready to maintain and prove, that such a case, now and at all times, exists in every one of our West India islands. But I am at a loss to conceive on what ground, except the preponderating weight of their political influence, our sugar planters are entitled, more than any other adventurers in hazardous and losing speculations, to cast the burthen of their distress or ruin on the shoulders of their fellow-subjects in Europe. The adventurers in a state lottery, the jobbers on the Stock Exchange, nay the subscribers to the joint-stock companies of the day, do not play a more desperate game than theirs; and yet what would be said if such speculators, when distressed by the natural consequences of their own imprudence, should petition Parliament for relief at the public expense? Our more sober adventurers, in commercial and manufacturing undertakings, and our agriculturists also, sometimes are plunged into distress, from causes affecting not only individuals, but large classes of people, in a very compassionable way; yet we do not lay the nation at large under contribution to save their credit, or repair their shattered fortunes. But the much-favoured Slave-holders of the West Indies too successfully maintain, that while the benefit of prosperous adventures is to be their own, their losses in adverse times are to be borne or shared by you. Whenever their sugar is not dear enough in your markets to produce, to the more fortunate and influential of their planters, an adequate profit (which, from the nature of their ruinous system, never was or can be long made by the body at large), they come with loud lamentations to the doors of the Privy Council and of Parliament; they add their combined private solicitations

and intrigues; and some costly boon at the expense of the country at large, and sometimes too at the expense of the most important and favourite principles, is sure to be accorded to them. They are at the same time sturdy beggars; for their petitions rarely fail to be garnished with accusation and abuse; especially of those who deprived them of the Slave-trade, and who now would persuade them to improve the condition of their Slaves. They rail even at the 4½ per cent duty; though it was the original price of their lands, in other respects gratuitously granted by the Crown, in the islands in which that duty prevails. They rail at our own import duty on their produce; most absurdly assuming that it is paid by themselves, and not by the British consumers. They find fault in short with every thing, except their own wretched interior system, the true source of all their evils. It is in vain pointed out to them that the exhaustion of their lands is the natural effect of the substitution of human labour for that of cattle, and the consequent want of manure; that the expenses of their culture are enormously enhanced by the same cause, and by the want of such machinery and implements as all other farmers employ; more especially as their multitudinous labourers are bought at high prices, and therefore large interest on the perishable capital so invested must be deducted from the gross returns. If the pretence were true, (would to God it in any degree were so!) that these poor labourers are fairly paid or sustained, the price given for them would manifestly be a dead loss, in comparison with free labour, from the moment of the purchase. We should laugh at the complaints of a farmer, that he could not obtain adequate returns, even from the best lands, raising the richest produce, if, rejecting ploughs and harrows and wains, he employed a hundred labourers on as many acres, maintaining them and their families to boot, and had paid besides for removing them from a distant country at the rate of eighty or a hundred pounds per man. It would not be necessary to his ruin that he had, like many of the sugar planters, bought the land itself at a high price, such as some agricultural speculation of a tempting kind (hop-planting for instance) might have raised it to.

From whatever cause, it is a clear and uncontested truth,

that of a vast majority of those who engage in sugar planting ruin is soon or late the ordinary lot. I have shown it to demonstration in a work already before the public, and am not aware that the proposition has ever been denied; but as it is a fact of great importance, and your feelings are perpetually assailed on the score of West India distresses, as if they were occasional and accidental, not permanent and inherent evils, I will subjoin a few of the many testimonies, in illustration of the ordinary case, that have been furnished by the Colonists themselves*.

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* In one of them, we are told, that in the course of twenty years, which reaches back to 1772, "*one hundred and seventy-seven estates in Jamaica had been sold for payment of debts, and ninety-two more were in the hands of creditors, and that executions had been 'lodged in the Marshal's office for £22,563,786 sterling*.'" In another, that "*every British merchant who holds securities on Jamaica estates is filing bills to foreclose; although when he has obtained a Decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become proprietor of the plantation; of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences:*" that "*all kind of credit is at an end:*" and after other most impressive traits of general ruin, that "*a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature*†."

In a third, that "*the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached an alarming extent, and are now increasing with accelerated rapidity; for the sugar estates lately thrown up, brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the Colony:*" that "*the Assembly anticipates very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar planters*‡."

In a fourth, that "*estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are whole districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single resident proprietor of a sugar plantation*§."

Lest it should be supposed that such long continued, or often reiterated ruin, was peculiar to Jamaica, take another brief extract of high authority from a Speech in Parliament of the late able and eminent Colonial Agent Mr. Marryatt: "*There are few estates in the West Indies that have not*

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* Report of the Jamaica Assembly, Nov. 23, 1792.

† Report of the same Assembly, Nov. 23, 1804.

‡ Report of the same, Nov. 13, 1807.

§ Petition of the same Assembly to the Prince Regent, Dec. 10, 1811.

After such testimonials from the Assemblies of the Sugar Colonies, their agents, and zealous partizans, as I have here referred to, how can it be pretended that their recent distress is the effect of any extraordinary or temporary cause, or that it is a case which any assistance from the Mother Country, however liberal or lavish, can effectually cure? It is manifest that the motive of compassion which has been held out to a good-natured public, as an excuse for all the costly boons so unseasonably bestowed by Parliament, was, if not insincere, at least much misplaced. All attempts to relieve the distresses of the sugar planters by such means, while they persist in their present system, are not less hopeless and irrational than those misdirected charities which the Mendicity Society benevolently labours to restrain,—they aggravate the very evils which the heedless benefactors wish to palliate or remove.

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during the last twenty years (i. e. from 1793 to 1813) *been sold or given up to creditors* *."

There never was a period at which the prices of sugar rose to and long maintained such very high prices, as from the time of the ruin of Saint Domingo as a sugar colony in 1791, to the end of our succeeding war with France. It was the golden age of the British planters, as Reports of Parliamentary Committees, founded on their own evidence, have attested; and yet the reader will observe that Mr. Marryatt's twenty years comprise the whole of that very fortunate period.

But lest a doubt should remain, whether at still earlier times the case was better, I give two further extracts from the works of eminent West India proprietors, the late Mr. Bryan Edwards of Jamaica, and Mr. Tobin, formerly of Nevis and of Bristol; the former writing in 1792, and the latter in 1785, and both professing to give statistical views of the Sugar Colonies in reference to their general and ordinary situation. The former, speaking of the sugar planters in general, says, "Many there are who have competencies that enable them to live with economy in this country; *but the great mass are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope which eternally mocks their grasp of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments* †." And Mr. Tobin, in his cursory remarks on the Rev. Mr. Ramsay's Essay, says, "*For one planter that lives at his ease in Great Britain, there are fifty toiling under a load of debt in the Colonies.*"

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* Debate on the East India Sugar Duties, 1813.

† History of the West Indies, vol. ii. book 6. chap. 5.

But the lavish and ill-timed national favours bestowed on our Sugar Colonies may be ascribed perhaps to other and wiser motives. Though they teem perpetually with individual distress and ruin, they may be supposed to have a commercial, financial, or political value to the Mother Country, such as are worth those sacrifices; and which might have led to them, independently of any bias from Colonial influence on the counsels of the State. Let me therefore entreat the reader's patience while I examine a *little* further what benefit or compensation redounds to this country, from all the sacrifices, and all the sins, by which West Indian Slavery is maintained.

And first, as to the boasted value and importance of the Sugar Colonies, in a view to the employment of our commercial industry and capital.—There are certainly very large pecuniary transactions and commercial dealings between the planters and the West India merchants of Great Britain. Most adversely to our cause, as well as to the general soundness and stability of British commercial credit, the two characters are in many cases united; and the capital invested in the purchase of sugar estates is for the most part lent or procured by our merchants. I do not deny therefore that our trading capital is largely so employed; but that it is profitably employed seems utterly irreconcilable with the facts already stated and proved.

Let any political œconomist explain to me, if he can, how it can be advantageous to a country to employ its commercial capital in a way that is always productive of loss and ruin to a vast majority of all the particular adventurers. National profit must be made up of the profits of individuals; and if the result to these, in a collective view, is not profit but loss, it is paradoxical and absurd to say that the nation is a gainer. It would be so, even if the Sugar Colonies cost us nothing for their government and protection. What then is the case, when it is considered that we maintain them at an enormous annual expense to the National Treasury, even in time of peace; and that in war, the average consumption of public money in their acquisition and defence, has amounted to many millions a year? The nation gains by a lottery, though a great ma-

jority of the adventurers lose by their tickets: but it is because in a lottery the public itself is a trader. It sells at a high price the chances that the adventurers buy, and gains what they collectively lose, deducting only the small charge of the commissioners and wheels. But the public is not the seller of West India estates; and instead of wheels and commissioners, it finds fleets and armies, and governors and judges, and jobs. Even when we have at an enormous expense conquered some new Sugar Colonies, what does the public gain by them? Not the estates; for they are retained by the foreign proprietors. It is a transfer only of the loss attending their future cultivation, from creditors and consignees in Bordeaux and Amsterdam, to creditors and consignees in London and Liverpool. British capital is soon largely employed, in the way of purchase or mortgage, to extricate foreign capital from the same profitless and ruinous investment; and the Treasury of England performs the same kind service for the Treasuries of Holland or France.

Here one difficulty usually presents itself to men who are happily inexperienced in colonial affairs. "How, the case standing thus," it may be asked, "are new adventurers always found to embark their own or borrowed capital in West Indian speculations?"

No better or shorter answer can be found than by referring again to that clear illustration, the closely parallel case of a state lottery. Why do the contractors find purchasers at twenty pounds, of tickets worth only ten?—Because there are most alluring high prizes in the wheel, though the far greater number of the tickets are sure to be blanks. Equalize the returns, by making each ticket a ten-pound prize, and no man of course would buy at a greater price than that. Add a small though certain profit, and the tickets would not easily be sold. The case is the same with sugar plantations. Such, from well-known causes, is the extreme inequality of their returns, that, though the average is at all times loss, there are particular exceptions of splendid gain, and numerous ones, of great and speedy, though commonly short-lived, success. Lottery tickets, besides, are not sold upon credit; but sugar estates almost

always in great measure are. A man who can pay down a small or moderate part of the purchase money, may easily obtain time for the rest on the security of the estate itself.

These temptations operate on the merchant who advances the capital, as well as the planter who borrows it; for when the crops are fortunatelyl arge, the benefits of the consignments and factorage form an enormous bonus on the loan, which is added to interest at five per cent, and that compounded annually, to entice the mercantile lender, with the further benefit of commissions on the shipments outward for the supply of the Estate. He too, like the planter, can game more deeply upon a given capital in this, than almost any other line of business out of the Stock Exchange; for it is usually by his own acceptances of bills of exchange at very long sights, for instalments of two, three, four, and five years, or more, that the sugar estate is to be paid for; the seller always taking care to have the further security of a mortgage on the property sold. The main bait to the merchant commonly is, that if good crops are made, and come to good markets, their proceeds in his own hands may suffice, or nearly so, to meet his acceptances. Mean time, he is thus enabled to trade extensively on the foundation of his own paper; and then, the notoriety of his consignments and shipments, and his purchases from manufacturers, who supply the goods generally on long credit, may contribute greatly to the facility of extending his bill credit in this country; especially if he takes the common course of establishing a firm or firms in the West Indies, which, though composed of his own agents or secret partners, can draw and re-draw from that country, and thereby, even in the performance of his own engagements there, supply him with further means of bill accommodation in England *.

* It may illustrate these general views to state that an eminent West India merchant, who failed some years ago for an immense amount, was liable a short time before his failure for bills, in circulation in this country, amounting together to more than a million sterling; for which the holders had no security but his own, and that of houses in the West Indies that had been set up by himself, in the names of his clerks or dormant partners, with none but his own capital. He actually applied to Government on these grounds to sustain him by a loan of public money, because his stopping was likely to produce calamitous effects injurious to commercial credit. I knew

Here then is, on both sides, the strong temptation of deep gaming, not only in the magnitude of the chances, but the facility of finding the stakes.

Further explanations might be given of the false estimates and delusive expectations in question. The prizes in a state lottery are not over rated. Every man knows the amount of what is actually gained by them, and cannot mistake a blank for a prize: but the success of the sugar planter is often a gross delusion. He comes home for a season, with the proceeds of a lucky crop in the hands of his consignees; and, either from self-indulgence or policy, exhibits the appearances of great prosperity. Like a comet from a distant region, he eclipses the regular planets of our system by his temporary blaze. He mixes with our fashionable aristocracy, and perhaps forms family alliances among them. He obtains the credit of having rapidly acquired a large fortune in the West Indies; and others are fatally excited to embark their capital or credit in the same imaginary gold-mine. When his consignees are overdrawn, and will advance no more, he returns to take for the rest of his life the lot described by Mr. Tobin,—"to toil under a load of debt, like forty-nine out of fifty of his brethren," consigned, according to Mr. Edwards, "to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks his grasp, of happier days and a release from his embarrassments." But the comet is now out of sight; and the seducing effect of his short-lived splendour, is not counteracted by the knowledge of the sad reverse. All who know the West Indies will recognise, in many cases within their own experience, the truth of these characteristics.

It may perhaps be objected that some West India merchants

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these facts from the first authority; and knew previously so much of his history and circumstances, that I can confidently assert he never possessed an actual capital equal to a fiftieth part of that debt.

The vast sums that are lost by failures in this branch of trade, are lost, not by the planters, who are almost always on the safe side of the books, but generally by our manufacturers and private persons in this country, or by merchants who had no share in the profits, and did not mean therefore to take the risks, of West Indian commerce.

at least, have been very successful, and have long maintained their credit and apparent opulence, though largely connected with the planters, and themselves owners of sugar estates. True; and *their* example also is fatally influential in the same way: but point out to me one West India house of this description, raised within the last fifty years, and I will name in return six at least, who during the same period have either become bankrupts, or assigned their effects in trust for their unfortunate creditors. The successful few have been chiefly men who had long resided in the islands they trade with; and who have therefore been able to play the prudent game of selecting the best connexions, advancing money only to those planters who were safe for the time, and turning them over to eager novices in the same line of business as soon as their securities became precarious. Such men are able often to reap the large benefits of Colonial consignments and factorage, without any of those risks which counterpoise them; because the few prosperous planters who stand in no need of loans from their correspondents in England naturally select for their consignees the safest and longest established houses, in a trade of which they well know the perils. They are also not rarely appointed, for the same reason, receivers and testamentary trustees; and in that way profit largely even by the most embarrassed and sinking estates, obtaining all the benefits of their consignments, without risking any part of their capital.

Should any of my readers not be satisfied with these explanations, and with the strong testimonies I have cited as to the general case of the planters, and the loss of commercial capital in their hands; let them read the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the Commercial State of the West India Colonies, printed by order of the House 24th July 1807, and all doubts I am sure will be removed. They will find there, by a mass of concurrent evidence collected from the most authoritative sources, that a return of ten per cent on the capital of sugar planters is necessary to give them a living profit, after defraying their annual expenses, ordinary and extraordinary; and yet that in

a long series of years, taking good and bad times together, they had not averaged one-third of that amount *.

It is, I am aware, a difficult thing to dislodge that prejudice long resident in the public mind, which represents the West Indies as mines of national wealth, instead of what they really are,—gulfs for the perpetual absorption of national treasure and blood, without any adequate returns. Reason and truth in such cases gain but a tardy and doubtful victory over ancient prepossessions. Witness the invincible attachment of Spain to her South American mines, and monopolies, and oppressions, the still fancied sources of her wealth and power, while all but Spanish eyes, have long seen in them the true causes of her decadency, poverty, and ruin.

It seems to be one of the appointed scourges of guilt, with nations as well as individuals, that long indulged immoral habits pervert the judgement, and give such a wrong direction

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* The full and exact statistical and œconomical details of Mr. Bryan Edwards in his History of the West Indies, book 5, chap. 3, may also be referred to. He demonstrates from them that in Jamaica, by far the most fortunate and productive of our old colonies, the clear annual profit averaged by the planter, is but seven per cent on his capital, "without charging a shilling for making good the decrease of the Negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, or for hurricanes, fires, or other losses, which sometimes," he says, "destroy in a few hours the labour of years." He supposes also the comparatively rare advantages of the planter's residing on his estate, and acting with all possible prudence; and what is not more common, on his employing a capital entirely his own, instead of his being in bondage to his consignees, or to other creditors, where the legal interest is six per cent. He speaks of ordinary times; and his data as to prices &c. are taken from the experience of ten years, from 1781 to 1791. Taking his facts, and those of the Committee together, it is manifest that the most prudent Jamaica planters, during a period of near forty years, cannot have made on an average so much as four per cent, instead of the ten which is necessary to save them from loss: and yet they generally use a capital borrowed at six per cent; or if borrowed at five from their consignees, are subjected to disadvantages that make the loan still dearer, and are charged compound interest on all arrears. If such is the average case, what must it be with the less fortunate and less prudent majority? and how can it be doubted, or wondered at, that insolvency and ruin are the ordinary perennial lot of the planters at large?

to self-love, as to make them mistake even temporal evil for good, and cling to their darling offences after the baits held out by temptation have proved to be delusive and worthless.

The miser who began to hoard and to extort, from a too anxious dread perhaps of the evils of poverty, continues to do so when sinking into his grave under loads of wealth that he cannot use, and imposes on himself by extreme penuriousness the very sufferings he feared to incur. The voluptuary persists in his intemperance, when his impaired health and debilitated organs refuse even the dear-bought gratifications he once derived from it, and give him nausea and pain in their stead. Nations, in like manner, have often been excited by ambition or avarice, or the pride of freedom, to trample on the rights of others, and have fancied the bad course advantageous, long after too extensive usurpations, and protracted wars, have exhausted their resources, enfeebled their power, and plunged them in domestic slavery and wretchedness.

An explanation I conceive is to be found in the inveterate association of ideas between the objects of temptation, and the bad means by which they are pursued: as a horse is caught by the sieve, though you have ceased to place in it the corn which was his compensation for the bridle, so men and nations who have been accustomed to find, in violations of the moral law, real or imaginary good, are prone to persist in their course when the supposed advantages have ceased, and the sin has become, to every man's conviction but their own, a clearly gratuitous evil. There arises a strong prejudice in their minds on the immoral side, which experience can hardly correct. Some measures, and systems of measures, would be plainly seen to be weak, if their wickedness did not serve to raise a false presumption of their wisdom.

The conduct of the powers of Europe in the New World presents a strong confirmation of these views. We see it in the past and present Colonial measures of Spain. What has she gained by the cruel depopulation of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru? We see it at the present crisis, when, amidst her last convulsions as a colonizing power, she is fondly cherishing her Slave-trade at Cuba, only to increase there the approaching revolutionary harvest of her revolted subjects.

Portugal and Brazil illustrate in the same way the same sin-born perversion of judgement; though it is not yet quite so conspicuous to a careless observer. Nor is the conduct of France in deluging her Windward Islands with the Slave-trade, while ratifying the independence of St. Domingo, less impressive on every considerate mind. The infatuation of our own West Indian policy, is only not so plain to us, because we view it, under the influence which I have described, with selfish and partial eyes. We have abolished the Slave-trade; yet we still dream that the Slavery of our Sugar Colonies, though guilty and opprobrious, is gainful, while the well-attested experience of more than half a century has proved it directly the reverse.

In what way, let us next inquire, is the public compensated not only for the costly sacrifices I have noticed, but for all the waste of capital that is thus invested, and all the consequent heavy losses that fall upon British creditors, and on the public purse? Not certainly by the finding employment for our industrious poor; and relieving our parishes from the charge of maintaining a surplus population. If the poorer lands in this country are cultivated at a loss to the proprietors, and had therefore better in a national view be thrown out of tillage, as some œconomists contend, there is this answer at least to their arguments,—that many hands are employed on such lands, which would otherwise be idle, and whose subsistence would augment parochial burthens. But in the West Indies, we have no such compensation: *not one hard-handed man from this country finds employment in the culture of the sugar-cane. We send them a few emigrants it is true; but not of the agricultural, or even of the servile class; the employment of both* being superseded by predial and domestic Slavery: but while these Colonies alone, among all our distant possessions, relieve us from none of our paupers, they contribute largely to the increase of that burthensome class. Hundreds and thousands of widows and children are cast upon our parishes by the privation of husbands and fathers who perish in that fatal climate, while serving there in our fleets and armies to make Slave-holders and their families safe.

Is the compensation we are in quest of then to be found in

revenue? If we really derived from the pockets of our planters, as is absurdly pretended, the duties paid here on the importation of their produce, it would I admit amount to some, though a very inadequate compensatory benefit. But that idle pretence is scarcely worth refutation. It is too gross to deceive even the most inconsiderate mind. It would be precisely the same thing in principle to say that we are indebted to China for our duties on tea, or for our duties on tobacco to Virginia. Nay, in the former instance, the absurdity would be less glaring; because, if China did not supply us with tea, I know not where else we could obtain that specific subject of taxation; whereas South America, the East Indies, and even the foreign West India Islands, would supply us amply with sugar. Yet to such preposterous arguments are the Colonial writers driven in defence of their ruinous system, that they never fail to exhibit with exultation accounts of the imports of sugar, and the duties received thereon in this country, assuming them as incontestable items in their estimates of the value of our Colonies, and as benefits too derived from Slavery, which we must lose by its termination. It was by the very same fallacies, and others of a kindred nature, that they deterred us for twenty years from renouncing the execrable Slave-trade.

The great amount of tonnage employed in West Indian voyages, has always been another of their favourite topics. With the loss of this benefit also, the country has been menaced; as if it depended not on our will to buy the tropical produce that we want to import, in the East Indies, or in such other countries only as permit its shipment in British bottoms; or as if an East Indian were less than a West Indian freight, or a given freight would be less beneficial to the ship-owner, because the cargo was not raised by Slave labour under a British Colonial Government. With a like perversion of the plainest commercial principles, they take credit for the whole of our exports to the West Indies (without deducting even that large part of them which, though they passed through their free ports, were destined for Spanish America); and they threaten us with the loss of this branch of our trade also, if we disturb their interior system; as if the costly sovereignty of islands peopled with Slaves, were a necessary mean of obtain-

ing, for the best and cheapest manufactures in the world, a preference from their purchasers and consumers. The flourishing state of our trade with the North American States since they ceased to be British, with the openings now made for our direct trade to every part of the Southern continent, might well suffice to refute such idle alarms if they ever had any foundation.

Perhaps, however, we shall now hear of such alarms no more; because, if they are well founded, Mr. Huskisson must recall the boons he has recently conferred on the Colonies. We have no longer any other security for a preference in their navigation and trade, than the inherent energies of our manufacturing industry and commerce.

Where then, I repeat, is the value of these Colonies to be found? or rather, what is the indemnity for all that we sacrifice, and all that we annually lose by them? One negative benefit, it may perhaps be replied, we certainly have by their defence. A large capital has been invested in them; and this will be lost, it may be said, if we abolish Slavery. But what is the capital worth to us if we *do not?* There is many a stately mansion in the building of which a large capital was spent, which the owner nevertheless finds it his interest to abandon or take down, because no rent can be obtained for it equal to the perpetual expense of its conservation and repairs. A capital so invested as to produce nothing on an average but loss, is in effect already sunk. The property of a Poyais stockholder would not be more completely annihilated, if the stock receipts and books were burnt.

I grant, indeed, that the bubble of sugar-planting by Slave-labour, has not yet lost all its credit; and therefore one individual who holds a plantation, or a mortgage on it, may still find another individual willing to purchase. So might the subscribers to a gaming-house perhaps. As between the private buyer and seller, the thing, I admit, is worth what it will sell for. But the question here is of a public, not of an individual interest; and consequently of a real, not an imaginary value; for the public has no interest in the price of the transfer from one subject to another, but only in the fructification to the national benefit of the property itself, by whatever British sub-

jects it may be held. When the Colonists put it as an argument of public policy, that a large capital is at stake in our islands, they speak, if the argument has any relevancy, of a national, not a private interest, in its conservation; and this interest I have shown to be a negative quantity. If my premises, derived from their own testimony, are sound, they might as well contend that it is for the public benefit to maintain the establishment at Crockfords; nay much better; for though that establishment produces no national wealth, it is not maintained, as those colonial gaming-tables are, at a vast expense to the country.

And now let us examine more particularly the other side of this account. How much does the conservation of this profitless capital cost to the Parent State?

I regret much that there are no authoritative public documents to show the true amount of the public expenditure in West India services from the year 1792 to the present period; or even to exhibit a fair and full account of it for any portion of that time. I am aware, at least, of no such document; and it is a desideratum which I hope some parliamentary friend of the Slaves will endeavour soon to supply, by moving for the necessary returns.

In the Preface to my Delineation of Slavery I noticed the defect of information on this important subject, which obliged me there to offer a conjectural estimate, that our Sugar Colonies had cost us, during the last thirty years, a hundred and fifty millions of national debt. A zealous champion of those Colonies, whose services they have publicly extolled, and richly rewarded, finds fault with this conjecture of mine as a great exaggeration, and says, "it ought to be divided by five," an estimate which, like my own, being unsupported by any data, stands consequently like that, solely on the credit which his readers may give to the guesses of its author; but surely the people of England ought to have better means of judging whether a hundred-and-fifty millions, or thirty millions only, is the nearest approach to the amount of debt charged upon them for the maintenance of West India Slavery.

Till that is obtained, I shall adhere to my own estimate in opposition to Mr. Macqueen's; and for this reason among

others, that my own is at least a sincere one, while it is impossible for me to read that strange work of his, or any five consecutive pages of it, without perceiving that the only standard of truth or probability with him, is the interest of his employers. Even when the fullest and clearest parliamentary returns on the subject shall be obtained, his pen will be as loose as ever; for if he dislikes, but cannot hope to invalidate such evidence, he will not scruple to get rid of it by dislocation and mutilation of the text. Nay, he will rail in good set terms against any opponent who presumes to cite it fairly*.

I have not myself had an opportunity of examining with care the printed Parliamentary documents, which contain ac-

* To justify such a stricture on this author, whose extraordinary work has been adopted and accredited to the public by plausive resolutions of some of the Assemblies, and munificent rewards to boot, I will for once make an exception to my rule of leaving unnoticed all the personalities and effusions of controversial spite to which my labours in this cause might subject me, except they should be such as I may be bound to put into the hands of my attorney: for it may serve as a useful caution to uninformed readers of publications in defence of Slavery; and lead them to pause and inquire carefully, not only on what these Colonial champions assert, but what they affect, and appear perhaps, to prove. Mr. Macqueen, in the few paragraphs which he is pleased to bestow on my View of Slavery, ventures thus to attack its general character and credit.—"*It exhibits a distortion of facts, and* MUTILATION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, *such as the public have again and again seen, and again and again condemned and reprobated, in the publications put forth from the same quarter, and for the same object. Upon opening the volume at page* 212, *the following extract upon the subject of religious establishments in the Colonies first caught my eye*: viz. '*The Governor of Trinidad expresses his concern that there is no Church, or Church establishment in that Island.*' *Parliamentary Papers of* 1818, *p.* 212. *Astonishment,*" he adds, "*and indignation filled my mind, I had in my possession at the moment a communication from Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor of Trinidad, to Earl Bathurst upon the same subject, and extracted from the same Parliamentary Papers,* 212 *and* 214: *and let the extracts speak for themselves.*"—(Macqueen, page 398.)

And how does Mr. Macqueen let this Parliamentary evidence speak for itself, or rather for himself? Surely the "*astonishment and indignation*" which he professes to have felt will be no factitious feeling in the minds of my readers, when I show them that it is by resorting to the very fraud which he injuriously imputes, that of "*mutilating official documents*;" by suppressing those parts of Sir Ralph Woodford's letter which clearly support

counts of the public expenditure in our Slave Colonies upon the present peace establishment; but I am assured by a friend, who has taken pains to explore and throw together such information on this subject as can be found in those documents, that the annual expense, civil and military, on the present peace establishment, (including with the bills drawn on the Treasury expressly for this branch of service, the value of the naval, military, and ordnance stores sent from Europe, the expenses of the transport service, and the pay of the navy and army employed there), considerably exceeds one million five hundred thousand pounds; which in the thirty years in-

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my proposition, and dexterously putting together distant paragraphs in it relative to different subjects, in order by a false context to mislead his readers as to the sense of the proposition itself.

Sir Ralph Woodford in the letter referred to, being an answer to a circular letter from Earl Bathurst to the Colonial Governors, with inquiries respecting the state of the *Established Church* in each island, in respect of clergymen, tithes, or stipends, writes thus:

"I communicated to the protestant minister such parts of your Lordship's letter as related to him more particularly, and herewith inclose a copy of Mr. Clapham's reply.

"'*In complying with the remaining instructions of your Lordship's signification of His Royal Highness's commands, it is my painful duty to observe that there are no establishments for the Clergy in this island.*'"

Here the reader sees my quotation fully justified; not in substance merely, but in terms. How then, he may exclaim, does Mr. Macqueen contrive to cite this very document in support of his "astonishment, his indignation," and his foul imputation of fraud? *I answer, by the very simple and honest expedient of LEAVING OUT THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, WHICH I HAVE PRINTED WITH ITALICS, ALTOGETHER!!!*

But my *virtuously indignant* antagonist did not think even this quite enough. He wished to represent me as having quoted Sir R. Woodford not only for what he had not said, but for the very reverse of what he had actually said in that letter; and to this end a more elaborate contrivance was wanted.

Sir Ralph, after this return to that which *was* the subject of inquiry in the circular of Earl Bathurst, viz. the state of *our Church establishment* in that government, proceeded in subsequent paragraphs to notice what was *not* the subject of it, and still less of my proposition, the state of the *Spanish Roman Catholic Clergy*, who had remained there from the time of the conquest.

Immediately after the paragraph so boldly suppressed, he writes thus;

"*When the Cedula of 1783 was issued, the King of Spain declared his in-*

cluded in my estimate, would amount to forty-five millions sterling, supposing them even all years of peace; whereas twenty-one of them, with the exception of the brief peace of Amiens, were times of war; and during several of them, our operations in the West Indies were of a very extensive and costly nature; and the expenditure was aggravated by frauds and peculations, afterwards discovered, to a vast amount. If we assign to those years of war, taking them together,

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tention of giving a fit salary to the Priests, and exempted his new subjects from tythe, which until now has never been paid; and the Priests have continued on the same salary of 400 dollars, which sum will not enable any person to live decently in this country: it is the wages of the poorest Negro mechanic," &c.

"Having found the Rev. Don Joaquim de Aristimano at the head of the Catholic Church, I have only to bear testimony to his labours and to his disinterestedness, as to those of the friar José de Ricla," &c. "I have personally," he adds, "taken every opportunity in my power to countenance and support their laudable endeavours, but the erection of churches and chapels is as indispensable as the better payment of the Clergy."

How could these paragraphs be made to consist, the reader may demand, with the imputations of falsehood and calumny, even if the want of a Catholic priesthood had been alleged; for if the priests have neither churches nor chapels, nor tithes, nor stipends, beyond the wages of the poorest Negro workman, their would have been, if not perfect accuracy, at least nothing slanderous, in saying that there were no establishments even for the Catholic Church! But Mr. Macqueen's way of making "*his extracts speak for themselves*" is a cure for every difficulty. *He has actually left out these passages also!! All the words that I have printed in italics are suppressed by him; while he gives the subsequent encomium on the Spanish Clergy, as if the subject had there commenced!!!*

He could not resist the temptation of extracting from the inclosed letter of the Rev. Mr. Clapham much that is said by that gentleman against the Methodist Missionaries; though there were passages in it which, like the suppressed paragraphs in the Governor's letter, went clearly to confirm my statement; for Mr. Clapham complains of the want of *any church* in the Island since 1808, when the single one it possessed was burnt down, and ascribes to that defect his want of success among the Slaves. "*For some little time after the calamity of the fire,*" he says, "*I had no place for public worship; and the service of the church has since been removed to six different rooms, none of which could be rendered sufficiently commodious for the purpose.*" But this "indignant imputer of mutilations" suppresses these passages also!!

Having thus honestly made his "extracts speak for themselves," he proceeds thus to triumph in the fancied success of his imposture.

"*Mr. Stephen may call his conduct in this instance* DEALING FAIRLY

only twice the amount of the present peace establishment, we shall have the further sum of thirty-one millions and a half, making, with the forty-five, seventy-six and a half millions of sterling money. But the reader will recollect that the estimate I made was a hundred and fifty millions of *public debt*, and that a large part of the money expended during the most expensive period of the war in the West Indies was borrowed when our funds were at the lowest points of depression.

There are also many very serious subjects of expense,

WITH THE PUBLIC: to me it appears to be conduct such as was never before pursued by any one, to injure one country, or to mislead another. When the reader is informed that the volume in question is made up of similar MUTILATIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS, he will probably think he has heard enough of it." And so he dismisses my work.

As the extremity of this assurance may inspire a doubt whether my exposition of it is quite correct, I hope any of my readers who are in possession of my antagonist's work and mine, and of the parliamentary document we both refer to, will take the trouble of collating them; viz. my Delineation of Slavery, p. 212, Macqueen's West India Colonies, 397 to 399, and the papers on Slavery printed by order of the House of Commons of the 10th June 1818, p. 211; and if I am found to do this writer any injustice let me be condemned as unworthy of any future confidence or credit.

After all, what is the gist of the imputation? Why, that I had untruely and calumniously represented the Colonies as neglectful of religious establishments. Now in the very part and page of my work that is the subject of the charge, I had stated as strongly in the same brief way the want of them in other Colonies acquired at or since the peace of 1763; and yet this champion of them all passes their cases unnoticed, selecting for the sole subject of his *candid* refutation, the single case of Trinidad, *i.e.* of a Colony where the Crown has retained the whole *legislative* power, and consequently is alone chargeable with the neglect. In fact, my purpose, as the reader who refers to the work will see, was to arraign, not the Assemblies, but rather the Ministry of the mother country in modern times, for having been less attentive to the interests of religion in the establishments of the new Colonies, than their predecessors had been in the old.

I ought however to have done them the justice to say that in this case of Trinidad, they had obtained many years ago a very large grant from Parliament for building a church or churches in that island. I think it was no less than 50,000*l.*; but the application of it was left to the Colonial authorities; and it appears from the mutilated letter of the Rev. Mr. Chapman that not a single church had been built. I hope when Mr. Macqueen next writes he will explain this awkward fact.

which, though fairly chargeable in this account with the Colonies, are not to be distinguished as Colonial expenditure in the public accounts my friend has examined.

Among them is that lamentable item, the great expense of restoring to our army and navy the multitudes of well-disciplined troops, and able seamen and marines, which perish in that fatal climate.

To treat this indeed as a mere economical consideration would be to wrong the feelings of my readers. It forms a pre-eminent substantive objection to that odious and impolitic system from which the necessity of sacrificing ingloriously and cruelly so many brave men, in peace as well as war, arises.

Here we have another desideratum that ought to be supplied by parliamentary investigation, viz. the number of British soldiers and seamen that have fallen victims to disease in West Indian service within the same period of thirty years; a true account of which would be impressive and appalling. If I mistake not, such an account as to the army was once moved for, and refused on the plea that it would dishearten the troops ordered on that dreadful service.

In the same paragraph of my late work, in which I gave as a conjectural estimate that the Sugar Colonies had cost us during the last thirty years at least a hundred and fifty millions in national debt incurred, I added, "and *fifty thousand lives*;" and Mr. Macqueen, I observe, while he represents the former as excessive by four fifths, finds no fault with the latter; but contents himself with saying, "that we may thank for the loss of lives in the Colonies my great predecessors in Negro emancipation, the Goddess of reason, liberty, and equality;" meaning, I presume, that French revolutionary principles produced the insurrection in St. Domingo; and that our vain attempt to suppress it and restore the cart-whip by British armies, was a proper and necessary consequence. He tacitly admits, then, my estimate of this dreadful loss; and admits also that it was incurred in the cause of Negro Slavery; a fact too notorious indeed to be disputed.

Now the far greater part of this shocking mortality fell upon troops raised during our first arduous war with the French republic, when it was a current and I believe mode-

rate computation that every effective soldier landed in the West Indies had cost the country in recruiting and bounty-money, training, and transport charges, and other incidental expenses, at least a hundred pounds sterling. Here then is an expense of five millions sterling, borrowed chiefly at times when our Stocks had sunk to their lowest depression; exclusive of all the charges after the arrival of the troops in that fatal field till they perished in loathsome hospitals.

Let this be added to the seventy-six and a half millions, and the amount will be eighty-one millions and a half in money, which, having regard to the terms it was raised upon, will go far, I apprehend, to support my general estimate, independently of the loss of seamen and marines, and all other subjects of unaccounted and incidental charge. The reader at least will find no difficulty in judging whether my proposition or that of my antagonist has the best title to his confidence.

My estimate of the numbers lost, however (avowedly, like the other, a mere guess, in the regretted absence of authentic information), was, I now believe, much too low; and it was therefore, no doubt, that my opponent left it unquestioned. It amounts only to about 1660 per annum, which is probably less than the average loss in the Sugar Colonies collectively, even on a peace establishment; and when the enormous destruction by disease of the large military and naval forces employed under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jarvis, at the Windward Islands in 1793, and under General Abercromby and other commanders in succeeding years (all periods of a frightful mortality), are taken into the account, with the far greater and long continued waste of life in St. Domingo, it will appear not unlikely that my estimate for thirty years, including the two last wars, was less by many thousands than the truth. What the whole number of troops embarked for West Indian service in Great Britain and Ireland was from the time of the first rupture with the French Republic to the end of the last war, and how many of them returned, are facts of which the public ought to be officially informed.

The greatest embarkations by far were during the first three years of that period, from 1793 to 1796 both included; and I am not aware of any authority to which I can refer for their amount.

From that time to the Peace of Amiens, we had very few military operations in the West Indies; our contests with the French at the Windward Islands having ceased, and our ardour for conquest and counter-revolution in St. Domingo having been so well cooled by failure, calamity, and death, that we no longer aimed at more than the defence of the few positions there which we had fatally taken and retained. The official account of British troops actually mustered in the West Indies from April 1796 to 1802, which I shall presently cite, and of the mortality by disease among them, will, in respect of actual loss, show but a small amount when we shall be enabled to compare it with that of the three preceding years. The proportion, however, to the number of troops actually employed, will enable us in some measure to guess at that of the former period. The account I refer to is given by the late Sir William Young in his "West India Common Place Book," p. 218, being a collection of papers officially presented to Parliament while he sat in the House of Commons; and the document, I presume, was furnished by Government, to justify or recommend the employment of Black troops, to which during that period it had in some degree resorted; for the object of the paper was to show the comparative mortality among them, and the British soldiers respectively, in each of the seven years comprised in it.

The general result of this official account is, that the average loss by death in our European corps, exclusive of losses in action, during less than seven years, was no less than *twenty-one and a half per cent per annum*, while in the Black corps it was only five and three-quarters per cent. But this average, frightful though it is, appears by the same paper to give a very inadequate idea of the destruction made by disease among troops newly arrived from Europe, and the consequent mortality of preceding years, when our grand expeditions took place; for in the first year (1796), computing from April, when we mustered in the West Indies 19,676 European soldiers, we lost by sickness no less than 6484, *being forty and a half per cent*, calculated on the medium of the monthly returns, in twelve months, while the Black troops lost only three per cent; and by a more particular examination of the account itself, which I will print in an appendix, it will be found that the annual

loss was always in the greatest ratio when the numbers mustered were increased from those of the preceding year, which of course must have been by new arrivals from Europe.

I find little difficulty, therefore, in giving credit to the following statement of a cotemporary historian:—"From the month of October 1793, when they (the British troops) first landed in St. Domingo, to the month of *March following*, the loss in the several engagements, or rather skirmishes, did not exceed 100; but the victims of disease were upwards of 6000, including *130* officers."* Or even this still more appalling statement on the same authority:—"The annual mortality was at least equal to the annual importation; in other words, the deaths were always equal to the arrivals."†

If we adopt the statement of a loss of 6000 in five months, and suppose it a fair proportion of the mortality during that fatal period of our war in St. Domingo which is not included in the parliamentary account, we shall have a loss in that island alone of no less than thirty-six thousand lives; and, if we add 17,173, the subsequent loss in West India service, comprised in that account to 1802, the total would be no less than *53,173* by disease alone, without including any part of the loss in Jamaica, and the Windward Islands, prior to April 1796, the amount of which was notoriously very great indeed; not less, I am persuaded, than 8000 men. To the whole is to be added the loss from 1802 to the present period or to 1823, to which my former estimate extended; and if we reduce the annual loss in those twenty-one years to 990 per annum, the last annual loss comprised in the parliamentary return, we shall have a further amount of *20,790*, making in all *81,963*. Should this estimate of the unaccounted loss in St. Domingo be thought excessive, let it be observed, on the other hand, that the returns I have cited contain only the loss by disease in our regular infantry regiments. The artillery, ordnance, and other descriptions of forces are not included, nor any part of the heavy losses among our seamen and marines, nor losses in action in either branch of service.

* New Annual Register for 1796. † Ibid.

These dreadful effects of the climate were by no means peculiar to those wars of ours, which may justly be called wars against Negro freedom. West India service was always terribly destructive to our army and navy, though that pre-eminently fatal disease, the yellow fever, began to scourge us when we first fought against the liberty of the Negroes, and was an ally to their cause critically and decisively important. Nor have our devoted soldiers and seamen ceased to feel the scourge of that baneful climate since they ceased to have any other employment in it than that of guarding the masters in our Colonies in time of peace from the apprehended insurrections of their slaves. In 1819 two regiments (I think one of them was the 15th) went to Jamaica, said to contain together nearly or quite 1600 men. In two months after their arrival they had lost 600. My informant was a major in the army, a friend on whose veracity I could quite rely, and who had just received the account in a letter from his brother in that island, which brought down the sad progress of mortality to the month of September or October. I afterwards had a general confirmation of it from other channels, with the addition that the loss had been extended to about 800 within the same year.

I could quote much information to the like effect from other islands, and at various periods; but unless our periodical prints could be supposed to conspire together to invent facts of this kind, and forge letters from the West Indies to confirm them, no reader of the London newspapers can well doubt the general truth that I wish here to establish.*

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*I will subjoin a few extracts from many of the same tendency in newspapers that I have preserved.

NEW TIMES, July 19, 1820.

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, July 17.

"This morning arrived the Iphygenia of 66 guns from Jamaica. Since her absence from England she has lost 85 men, including the master, lieutenant of marines, and six midshipmen."

MORNING CHRONICLE, November 10, 1820.

Extract of a letter from Tobago.

"After mentioning an alarm from an apprehended insurrection, the writer

This most lamentable of all the evils entailed on us by our Sugar Colonies (the guilt and shame of maintaining their interior system excepted) is pre-eminently, I repeat, chargeable on that system, and on their bigoted adherence to it; because it is their consequent imbecility, together with their aversion to Black corps, the only troops fit for the climate, that alone make it necessary to maintain European garrisons for their defence; though that new scourge from Heaven, the yellow fever, most remarkably and universally spares the African race, while British soldiers and seamen are its chosen victims. The destroying angel made not a more entire and accurate distinction between the enslaved Israelites and their Egyptian masters.

It might have been hoped and expected that the Colonists, before whose eyes this striking peculiarity of the new disease and its dreadful ravages among their brave defenders had been

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says, 'From the great loss of troops by the late fever our garrison was reduced from nearly 200 to 30 men.'"

NEW TIMES, January 19, 1822.

"Letters and papers have been received from the island of Dominica dated November 9. They contain the melancholy tidings of a dreadful fever, that in a few days cut off three officers, one sergeant, two corporals, and fifty-six privates, of His Majesty's 5th regiment of foot, out of 137 who landed there the month preceding. Only Colonel Emes, Captain Thysh, Ensign Wyatt, and eleven privates were free from the attack, all the rest being either dead or in the hospital."

TIMES, November 7, 1825.

"We have received letters from Jamaica, which we regret to state describe the visitation of that destructive disease the fever of that country, as being more fatal among the troops, and the crews of the ships, than it was in several preceding seasons. The following are extracts. 'The squadron has suffered much, particularly the Lively and Pylades; and the troops in consequence of their losses, particularly in Spanish Town, are to change their quarters. During the last eight months one regiment out of five (in numbers) have fallen victims to this destructive malady. The officers have fallen, out of all proportion: the 77th regiment on being embarked from Stoney Hill barracks for the north side of the island, had only one officer able to accompany them. Colonel Thornton, governor of Fort Charles, Port Royal, died on the 2nd instant, making the third victim who held that appointment in nineteen months. He had been only five weeks and three days on the island.'"

long exhibited, would from pity, if not from policy, have been disposed to relax their proud and jealous prejudices, so far as to favour the experiment of substituting in some degree Blacks for European soldiers. But in this, as in all other cases, their antipathy and contempt towards the African race were proof against the loudest pleadings of humanity. I might add, against the plainest suggestions of prudence also; if they had not been taught by experience to believe that there was no sacrifice, however dreadful and however needless, that they might not extort from the Mother Country, in compliance with their darling maxims, when stoutly maintained. They therefore persisted in opposing the resort to a soldiery exempt from that direful plague, till Government, impelled by the extremity of the case, overruled their opposition, and found, as it would do by firmness in the present controversy, that there is no difficulty and no danger in Colonial improvements, except when it drops the reins, and makes impotency contumacious, by proposing and entreating, where it ought to act and to command.

At a time when, from the dreadful ravages of the yellow fever, a British soldier's life among them was not worth six months' purchase, the Colonists inexorably objected to the expedient of raising corps of Black troops, by purchase in the different islands, to assist our sickly regiments in the more laborious duties of their defence. On an application by General Abercromby to the Assembly of Barbadoes, to which he first addressed himself for its concurrence in that plan, it gave him a positive refusal, and passed a resolution, moved in a committee of the whole House by its Speaker, declaring "that the measure would be more likely to prove destructive than advantageous to the defence of the island." If I mistake not, a like repulse was given by every Assembly to which the proposition was then made. Happily their aid, or their consent, was not necessary; for there was no law to prevent His Majesty from recruiting his army in that way if he pleased. Individual masters, therefore, were tempted by high prices to sell their slaves; and though those whom they commonly chose to part with were of course not the best and most orderly of their class, yet the Black corps thus raised (evasively

and unfairly called "the West India Regiments,") acted in both the wars in a way that did them honour as soldiers; and their services in "fatigue parties," as they were termed, saved perhaps more than ten times the number of our European troops. In no respect did their conduct afford any countenance to the fears, or rather the contemptuous prejudices, of the privileged class. Every plausible ground of objection, therefore, to this wise and happy expedient was removed. Nevertheless, Colonial influence finally prevailed so far as to obtain the reduction of these invaluable corps at the peace, and the cruel transportation of many, or most of them, to distant parts of the world. The dreadful waste to which the British army is subjected, to maintain the wretched interior system of the Sugar Colonies, is thus needlessly and wantonly enhanced, by our complaisance for the vain terrors and stubborn prejudices to which that system gives rise in the breasts of its administrators.

Whatever the feelings of the White Colonists may be on this painful subject, you, my countrymen, I am sure, will agree with me that such a perpetual drain of our bravest blood is a great public calamity; and one that strongly reinforces our other obligations to correct the grand moral evil of Slavery, from which alone it proceeds. Should we soon be called upon for great military exertions nearer home (and who that looks to the state of Ireland can deny the possibility of such an event?) during the present vastly increased extent of our distant possessions, we shall perhaps regret too late the waste of West India service. That waste indeed is not the only evil. The cruel hardships imposed on the officers and soldiers and their families, must tend in no small degree to check the honourable zeal by which our army is recruited or enlarged. To be sent on a forlorn hope or storming party, is a destination not so dangerous; and the danger is compensated by glory: but the brave men who are sent in times of peace to the West Indies, have no laurels to gain, or booty to expect. They have to use their arms, if at all, against a crowd of poor unarmed wretches, in an odious cause; and though almost sure, with few exceptions, to perish, it is not in the arms of victory, or on the turf of a well-fought field, but on the pallet

of enervating disease, or amidst the horrors of an hospital or a pest-house. For my part, who have intimately known their hapless lot, I never hear of regiments embarking for the West Indies, without sensations of sympathy as powerful as if I were sure the brave unfortunates would all perish by shipwreck on the voyage.

And here, my countrymen, let me press my appeal to those humane feelings by which you are most distinguished. The Colonists, by delusive representations and partial views, attempt to disarm them; or even to enlist them in their own bad cause. They invoke your compassion for their distress as planters, and for the total ruin with which they assert themselves to be menaced; though no thinking man among you who impartially weighs the admitted facts I have cited, can doubt that the reformation, not the support, of their pernicious system, alone can effectually help or save them. But were it otherwise, what benevolent mind could be reconciled to the support of that system, at such a terrible expense of the lives of our brave soldiers and seamen, as that by which alone, as we have seen, it is or can be maintained? They reason, in respect of the poor unpitied Africans, as if property were all, and the bodily sufferings and premature deaths of the irmuch-oppressed Black labourers of no account. But could you adopt the same partial views, and eject from the pale of your humanity all who are not of your own complexion and lineage, still how can they hope to reconcile you to the cruel destruction of such multitudes of your European fellow-subjects as are annually doomed to perish in their hospitals, merely to save them from the dreaded consequences of extreme injustice and oppression? They alarm your feelings with affected apprehensions of danger to their own lives, and those of their wives and children, from the effects of parliamentary interposition on behalf of the Slaves; as if misery and despair were less likely to urge men into insurrection, than a mitigation of bondage, and a hope of future freedom. It is in vain that experience has universally attested the contrary, by showing that enfranchisement, when introduced by the arm of the law, has every where been safe, and disastrous only when obtained by insurgent violence. You are nevertheless desired to believe that

all the White inhabitants of our Sugar Colonies will be exterminated by the Blacks if you, remove or relax their chains. But were we to meet them even on these extravagant premises, humanity would still have a larger interest on the side of justice than against it. From the facts that I have stated, it may be shown that our apprehensions for the safety of Jamaica probably cost us more British lives in a few years, during our late wars, than the entire amount of its whole White population, which its historian, Mr. Edwards, stated to be no more than 30,000; and it may with equal or great probability be affirmed, that during the last thirty-two years, one British soldier or seamen at the least, in the prime of life, has fallen a victim to the deathful service of the West Indies, for every White man, woman, and child that all our Sugar Colonies collectively contain. Their entire number, including the Colonies recently acquired, is but 67,055 by the last official returns, and the estimates of their advocates*; and I have given reasons for believing that if like evidence could be procured of all the losses in our army and navy from West India service, the total amount since 1792 would be found at least equally, if not more than equally, large.

If it be said, in extenuation, that during this period our islands were exposed to unprecedented dangers, in consequence of the revolution in St. Domingo, and therefore required more than ordinary efforts, as well offensive as defensive, for their protection; I reply, let any reflecting reader consider the present attitude of Negro freedom in Hayti, and on the South American continent, with the known situation of Cuba; and then hope, if he can, that the next term of two-and-thirty years, compared with the last, will demand from us less numerous sacrifices of our brave troops and seamen for the security of our Slave-peopled Colonies. In one of the late manifestoes of the Assemblies, we are told that if we reform their Slavery as proposed by Government, it will require a hundred thousand British troops to defend our West India possessions; but the proposition might have been more justly reversed. It would cost us perhaps a hundred thousand men to with-

* Mr. Macqueen makes it 75,133; but 8078 is his estimate for the Mauritius, which is not included in any of these remarks.

hold that reformation; and the end, after all, would not be attained. Parliament would probably indeed be spared the trouble of abolishing Slavery; for after the most lavish waste of life and treasure that the country could afford to prevent it, the Slaves, aided probably by their enfranchised foreign brethren, would be their own deliverers.

Let the Colonists palliate these alarming views; and let it even be supposed if they will, that after all the late extension of our Sugar Colonies, and the portentous revolutions in their vicinage, we may possibly still sustain their wretched system in its present rigour by such garrisons as we now maintain there; and further, that no war will occur to augment the difficulty for a period of twenty years to come:—yet, unless they can change the physical effects of their climate, at least from thirty to forty thousand of their unfortunate defenders would be consigned within that period to untimely and inglorious graves. And when are such cruel sacrifices to end? On *their* views and principles, twenty, fifty, or even a hundred years, would leave the case, at best, as it now stands; for they do not disguise their claim of right to make Slavery perpetual. They exclaim loudly against the idea of providing for the freedom of infants yet unborn; and all their protests against the invasion of what they call a right of property (a property not only in existing but future generations) will remain to the full as valid at any given period, however distant, as they can be supposed to be at the present moment. Nor can any state of the world be imagined in which the work of melioration and progressive enfranchisement can be more safely attempted than now. Let them then deal frankly with us; and plainly declare, that whereas we have already in the present generation redeemed them from wilful, if not chimerical, dangers, by paying to save their property more than it would fairly sell for, and for their persons at least life for life, they expect us in every succeeding generation to renew that fearful price.

I have now examined both sides of the account between the Mother Country and the Sugar Colonies. I have shown that every supposable consideration of benefits received from them, that may be thought to justify or explain the extreme forbearance of Parliament at the expense of national dignity

and national duty, and the lavish sacrifices with which their contumacy has been rewarded, is unfounded in reason and truth. I have shown, on the other hand, that they are enormous insatiable drains on the treasure and the blood of the Mother Country; and what is far the worst of all, their present conduct and pretensions, if acquiesced in, must place us under the most ignominious and intolerable yoke that ever was imposed on the neck of any nation; by obliging us to be the abettors and sanguinary instruments of a system, the injustice and cruelty of which we have recognised, and which they deny our right to control. The *imperium in imperio*, for which they contend is to cast upon this great country all that is burthensome, all that is harsh and odious in sovereignty, with an incapacity for all its moral duties, and a privation of all its beneficent rights. It is in effect to reduce us to the condition of their own drivers, except that we are implicitly to enforce their despotic behests, not with the cart-whip, but the sword. In other words, we are to be reduced to the situation defined by the title to this work—we are to be the SLAVES OF OUR OWN SLAVE-COLONIES.

From this degrading yoke, and from all the guilt attached to it, as well as the grievous public evils which we have been considering, it is my object to redeem you, by the only possible means; the calling forth, not in opposition to, but in aid of, the Government, your own zealous, determined, and persevering exertions.

At a late meeting in the county of Norfolk, convened for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on this great subject, the unanimity that ultimately prevailed, was for a while suspended; by the opposition of an honourable member, who, though he is a sincere and intelligent friend of the cause, entertained an apprehension that the proposed measure would be a virtual censure of the Government, and imply a suspicion of the sincerity of Ministers in the pledge they had given to us by the Resolutions of May 1823.

Though I have not the honour of any private acquaintance with that gentleman, I doubt not he will give me credit for the assertion, that in desiring to promote such meetings and a strong expression of the popular voice throughout the coun-

try, I am not actuated by any spirit hostile to the Administration: but the present is a case in which, to my firm conviction, the solicitations, and even the importunity, of the people at large, is necessary to enable Ministers to act up to their own professions and desires. This is no question, let us always remember, between Government and Opposition; nor could I be reasonably suspected of partiality to the latter if it were. I scruple not, indeed, to confess that our cause is, in my eyes, of such paramount importance, not only in a moral and religious, but in a political view, that if the party to which from personal predilections, as well as general political opinions, I was attached while in public life, were found more wanting in its duty in what related to Colonial Slavery than the party generally opposed to it, I should probably become an oppositionist, and a warm one.* But though I certainly did see much to lament and condemn in the conduct of Ministers, in refusing their support to the bill for the registration of Slaves, and therefore felt it a painful duty to put an end to my parliamentary connexion with them, I have found nothing in the conduct of the Opposition, *as a body*, either in that instance, or during any stage of the subsequent controversies on these subjects, that entitles it to greater attachment or confidence from the friends of Colonial reform, than the party still in power. Nay, I must in justice go further, and avow that I think the Opposition in this respect more culpable than the Ministry; because if its conduct had not, from complaisance to some of its leading members connected with the Colonies, been very different from what might have been expected from Whigs, and friends of Mr. Fox, amounting, at best, to a chilling neutrality, the Government would have been better able to withstand and control that third party, powerful in its numbers and union, by which all effectual measures of Colonial reformation are sure to be perseveringly opposed.

Whether those are right who hold that a systematic opposition in Parliament on a principle of party attachment, is productive of more good than evil, I will not here inquire. But of this I am certain, that when powerful particular interests are opposed to public duty and public good, the neutrality of one of the two great contending parties, like the para-

lysis of an antagonist muscle, prevents a natural and healthful action on the opposite side; and that the distortion therefore may appear on the right hand, when the morbid cause is on the left.

In such cases however, difficult though they are, there is one possible remedy; and it is that of which, as a friend, not an enemy of the Government, and to strengthen, not to weaken its hands, I would earnestly recommend the adoption.

My countrymen, our Constitution is a most happy one, for which we all owe much gratitude to Heaven; and I am not one of those who think it can be safely and beneficially altered. But a most essential part of it is the influence of the popular voice; and never is that influence more proper or necessary than when potent particular interests are banded in Parliament, and on both sides of the two Houses, against the rights, the interests, and the duties of the public at large. The present I maintain is a case of that kind; and as urgent a one as ever called for popular interposition.

Few, I believe, but those who sit in Parliament, or who have anxiously watched over the interests of the oppressed African race, are fully aware of the formidable extent of that influence with which we have to contend. In a Jamaica newspaper, published since the present controversy commenced, much surprise and discontent was expressed at the inaction of the Colonial interest in the House of Commons; where it was asserted confidently, and I doubt not from good information, that the Sugar Colonies had "two hundred sure votes." Whether the computation was accurate I do not pretend to determine; but well-informed members of the House have assured me that there are at least ninety-six, whom they know to be either proprietors of those Colonies, or so intimately connected with them, commercially and otherwise, that their votes cannot, without private sacrifices which few men have the resolution to make, be severed from the cause of the planters. If so, it is highly probable that the Jamaica computation is not beyond the truth; for what with the personal influence that so many members must naturally have with other gentlemen sitting in the same assembly, and the widespread connexions of Colonial proprietors with the land-

holders and merchants of this country, by means of which many members may of course be influenced, it may be reasonably computed that at least twice the number of those who are known to be bound to the West Indian cause, are directly or indirectly, by particular interests, or personal feelings, attached to it.

The agent of Barbadoes, himself a respectable English landholder, boasted not long since at a public meeting of the West India planters and merchants, that they were extensively connected as individuals with the landed property of England; and it was an assertion too well founded in truth. He might have added that they comprised in their own body, many members of the Upper House of Parliament, several proprietors of boroughs, some men high in office, and others possessing the confidence and attachment of the most powerful men in the state.

It is not however by numbers only that the power of a party is to be estimated. The degree of zeal and of steadfastness with which the different members are attached to the common union, is of far greater importance than their numerical force. And it is here that the Colonial party in Parliament is truly formidable. It is a phalanx, which by its close and impenetrable union, its ardour, and its discipline, might bid defiance to a far more numerous host.

Men of experience in Parliament well know how to estimate the vast advantage of these qualities. It is a maxim among them, that a small part of the general representation, acting with determined concert and perseverance, would be capable of soon or late giving law to the House; except on questions to carry which the Government was obliged, in support of its own existence, to put forth all its force steadily against them. Where the two great conflicting parties are in contest, the case of course is different: full houses are convened, and effort on the one side is counterpoised by equal effort on the other. But when neither Government nor Opposition takes an active part as such, a particular party, firmly united by the private interest of its members, is sure, soon or late, to triumph; though if the entire representation were to be polled, it would be left, perhaps, in a small minority.

This is especially the case, I lament to say, in open questions, as they are called, of a moral kind, where there are particular interests on the one side, and a sense of conscientious obligation only on the other. Witness the twenty years of fruitless effort to abolish the now universally reprobated Slave-trade. That gross national iniquity might have been adhered to till this hour, if Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, when they came into power, had not substituted, for the shameful neutrality of the Government, its determined support of the abolition. The present controversy turns on the same principles, and between the same parties. It is in a moral view nearly the same question; and the Government has strong temptations to act the same part with Lord Grenville's and Mr. Fox's predecessors, if not even actively to oppose the only effectual means of reform, parliamentary legislation.

Never was a particular faction more united, more zealous, and indefatigable than the Colonial party on this occasion. They concurred it is true, and with tacit unanimity, in Mr. Canning's resolutions; but so they did in Mr. Ellis's of 1797. They have no objection to refer any thing to the Assemblies. Even the Slave registration, though they stoutly and too effectually opposed Mr. Wilberforce's bill for it, they readily agreed should be recommended to those bodies, who first violently exclaimed against the plan, and afterwards took care effectually to defeat it by its ostensible but evasive adoption. But whenever any motion has been brought forward tending to induce Parliament to take the work of reformation into its own hands, the West Indian phalanx has always been fully arrayed and drawn into action, not merely to oppose the proposition, but to clamour down discussion.

Let me not be understood as imputing generally to these gentlemen a disinclination to all the beneficent measures which they apparently acquiesced in, and which some of them expressly approved. I believe that there are among them many who would be glad if they could induce the Assemblies to adopt effectually the principles and the practical means recommended by His Majesty's government; but in opposing the exercise of parliamentary authority, they are nearly una-

nimous; and, the sincerity of their intentions can be of no avail to the unfortunate Slaves, while they resist pertinaciously the only means by which any thing really beneficial to them can possibly be accomplished.

There are indeed a few, a *very few* gentlemen, connected with the West Indies, who act a better part. I am far from overlooking the honourable distinction that is due to them, though to mention their names here might be inconvenient, or not grateful to themselves. But they do not belong to the banded party which the West India Committee directs; and therefore are not properly within the scope of these remarks.

I know well, my countrymen, that very many of you have expressed surprise and discontent, that after the intractable and contumacious spirit which the Assemblies had indulged during two years, no coercive measures were brought forward in the last sessions by the members who are still faithful to our cause in the House of Commons; and that no discussions even, except on incidental subjects, took place. We are continually assailed with inquiries and complaints from our friends on that account. They say, and truly say, that defeat is better than inaction; and that parliamentary discussions, at least, should frequently take place, as the best means of awakening, or keeping alive, the public attention to the irresistible merits of our cause. I hope and believe that our Parliamentary friends will act hereafter on that principle; and I congratulate you that one of the most faithful and the most powerful of them, Mr. BROUGHAM, has pledged himself to bring in a Bill for carrying the Resolutions of May 1823 into effect, at the opening of the next session.

But let me, in justice to our friends, show you the extraordinary difficulties and discouragements under which they labour, and from which the loud expression of your voice can alone relieve them. It does not suit the views of our opponents that their case should be discussed at all. They are conscious that neither the situation of the Slaves, nor the conduct of the Assemblies, will bear examination. They therefore gravely pretend that it is very dangerous to discuss in Parliament topics so interesting to the Slaves, lest they should

hear from our newspapers forsooth, what every Gazette of every Colony tells them freely, and in the most inflammatory manner, every week. The remote echo it seems is tremendous, though the direct voice may be heard through a speaking-trumpet without alarm. Noise and violence are their weapons in that country; but here *Hush* is their watchword; and every gentleman who presumes to stir these subjects in the House of Commons is usually treated, by crowded West India benches, with rude clamours, such as make it very difficult for him to be heard, and more difficult still for a man of sensibility to maintain the course of his arguments, and do justice to his subject; while his antagonists, on the other hand, though speaking avowedly for what they deem their own particular interests, are cheered loudly, and heard patiently through the longest speech.

You regret, I know, Mr. Wilberforce's retirement; and some of you perhaps may blame it. For my part, I confess that I was one of the friends who advised the measure; but I would not have done so, notwithstanding the alarming decline of his health and strength, if his voice, on the only subjects worth the pain and hazard of its exertion, could have been fairly heard. Even against *him*, amiable and venerable as he is, these Colonial tactics were sometimes employed so effectually, that, enfeebled as his once sonorous and still musical voice has long been by age and infirmities, he might almost as well have uttered it *in vacuo* as in the House of Commons. Some West India members have been noticed making disorderly noises at the bar, purposely to drown and perplex him, such as the Speaker's interposition could not easily or effectually suppress.

If such a man, so pre-eminently entitled to a patient hearing on these subjects, and to the general respect of a Senate which his virtues and talents had adorned for more than forty years, could not obtain attention, our remaining friends there, you will believe, must have a very unpleasant and difficult duty to perform. The great misfortune here, and the great calamity of our cause in general, is that our enemies are numerous enough and powerful enough, on both sides of the house, to prevent our having favour or protection from either.

Such, my countrymen, is our position among your Representatives in Parliament. Yet I wish it were only there that Colonial influence prevails. It is felt even in the Cabinet; it is potent in every department of the state; and no inconsiderable part of the aristocracy of the country is, by property or family connexion, placed under its guidance or control. As to the commercial body, a great part of it, in the principal seats of foreign commerce, London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, is, directly or indirectly, chained by private interest to the Colonial cause. Thousands who are not themselves engaged in West India trade, are much connected in business with those who are; and derive from them profitable employment, which might be lost if they were to give offence by openly acting with us, or even by refusing to lend themselves, on certain occasions, to extend the ranks of our opponents. In other political controversies, gentlemen are commonly shy of interfering privately with the conduct or opinions of others; especially when they have the known bias of self-interest to direct their own; but the Colonists, and their connexions among us, rarely in the present case show any such scruples. They are as active and assiduous to make proselytes, as any zealot for a particular creed, and as intolerant also of opposition to their tenets; and instead of disguising, they generally bring forward as a persuasive topic, their own private interests in the question. "I shall be ruined or impoverished by these measures if adopted," is a common argument among them; and it naturally tends, if not to convince, at least to silence, those who are not enough attached to our cause to expose themselves to enmity or ill-will by supporting it. With public men especially, these and other means of influence are unsparingly employed. The case, in short, is the same in England, that it was in France in relation to St. Domingo, and that it still is there in regard to the Slave-trade: the Colonists are too powerful in the Mother Country, and too active by their solicitations and intrigues in private, as well as by their public clamours, to let the claims of justice and humanity, or the interests of the empire at large, have their fair and natural weight.

Under such circumstances, you ought not to be surprised

that we have not a more numerous party of active friends among our statesmen and legislators. You might deem it strange rather that there are yet a few generous men in both Houses of Parliament, who dare to make an open stand for national duty and honour, in defiance, not only of the frowns and clamours with which they are publicly assailed, but of the private reproaches and resentments of their West Indian connexions and friends. Much praise be to them for it! and the far richer reward of a self-approving conscience.

There is a more convenient course for them to take. A great majority of those who, in their hearts, wish well to our cause, either absent themselves from their seats when these "*delicate questions*," as they are insidiously called, are to be brought forward; or maintain a prudent silence, and steal out before the division.

I need not claim your gratitude for those who act a better part. Their names are well known, and dear to us. But I hope Dr. LUSHINGTON will forgive me for pointing out an honourable pre-eminence to which he is well entitled. Though linked to West Indian Proprietors by the nearest private connexions, and though the prosperity of his respectable family is involved in that of the Sugar Colonies, we have not a more steady, zealous, or active friend; and he is ever ready to sacrifice time precious to him as a very eminent professional man, when by so doing he sees any probability of rendering service to our cause.

Can I say this, and not be reminded of HENRY BROUGHAM? or can I abstain from hazarding *his* censure also, by a public tribute to *his* merits? I am the rather prompted to do so, because he and I, till I took leave of parliamentary life, and of all public controversy but this, were warm political opponents, who agreed on scarcely any other subjects than Slavery and the Slave-trade? He too, I know, must have large personal sacrifices to make in maintaining his generous and manly course. The Colonists would do any thing to gain him; or even to suppress a voice which, from his transcendent talents, and commanding influence with a powerful party, cannot be easily put down. He too has professional sacrifices to make;

and which nothing short of his almost preternatural industry and energy of mind could enable him possibly to make, in the time that he liberally devotes to us. But there is one peculiar, and still more honourable sacrifice, for which I have long esteemed him, and which has hitherto, I think, not been publicly acknowledged by the friends of the Slaves, though his and their antagonists have often, with their usual personalities, made the occasion of it a subject of reproach to him. It is not, I admit, untrue, that Mr. Brougham when a very young man, and as yet known to the public only by the earliest labours of his masterly pen, had imbibed some of those erroneous views of the Colonial system, and the necessity of maintaining it, which thousands of specious but self-interested tongues and pens have long too successfully propagated in the parent state. In his able and profound work on Colonial Policy, he distinguished too strongly between the Slave-trade (of which he was ever a most determined enemy) and the Slavery that it had established in the Colonies; not certainly in the way of justifying the latter, but so as to extenuate its oppressive character, and to prejudice in some degree the efforts of those who attempted its parliamentary correction. He had never been in the West Indies; and had then had no communication with those who knew that Country, except perhaps with such men as, from regard to their own credit and interest, were sure to mislead and deceive him. Is it then strange, that he, like a large part of the most intelligent of European politicians, should have adopted erroneous views of the facts on which he reasoned?

While the Colonists object to him this short-lived error, let me derive from it an argument that should warn the impartial and uninformed against similar delusions. Gross and dangerous indeed to ordinary judgements must be those mists of falsehood and imposture which such a luminary could not, even with his rising beams, at once penetrate and disperse. But it was impossible that the pervading mind of Mr. *Brougham* should not, in the progress of its investigations, discover its own mistakes, and the truths from which it had diverged. Much more likely was it, from ordinary human infirmity, that opinions once given to the public should not, when changed, be willingly and

openly renounced. But here he has added to the fame of his talents far higher than intellectual honour. He has not only combated the false views with which he was once impressed, but it was from his own lips in the House of Commons that I first heard the public notice of what our enemies perhaps had then forgot. He gratuitously alluded in a speech, now several years old, to his early error, and confessed, with manly candour, that the truths he was then powerfully maintaining were contrary, in some points, to the opinions he had once entertained. When our opponents again think fit to quote Mr. Brougham's early, against his mature opinions, let them not withhold from him the honour, or from our cause the benefit, of this free and dignified avowal.

To return from this digression.—Let me intreat my readers to weigh well that disheartening condition in which the cause of the poor Slaves at present stands in Parliament; and to inquire fairly what means their associated friends can trust to for its future success, other than the powerful influence of the popular voice. As to the good intentions of our Government, I suspect them not; and if I did, would not prematurely deny or question them. *That* would not advance our hopes; and I am bound in justice to say that there seems no good reason for doubting that our Ministers in general, more especially the noble Earl at the head of the Colonial Department, and Mr. Secretary Canning, would be heartily glad if they could carry into effect the Resolutions of May 1823, to their full extent, by any means that may appear to themselves admissible. To the former I may be naturally partial; for in addition to a sense of his Lordship's claims on the respect and confidence of all who know his manly and amiable character, I feel for him the gratitude due from a father to the kind patron and generous protector of a deserving son: but as an advocate of this sacred cause, I know neither friend nor foe in what its interests demand from me. While therefore I sincerely admit the favourable disposition of both those Ministers, I will not scruple to add an opinion, equally sincere, that they, with most of their colleagues, have been led to entertain views of Colonial Slavery greatly inadequate to its actual guilt, and to the miseries and mischiefs which it involves; and that they hav

been led, on the other hand, to magnify, in their imaginations, the difficulties and inconveniences of parliamentary measures of reform, as well as to apprehend dangers from them which have no existence.

Nor are these errors wholly imputable to the distance of the circumstances that they have to deal with, and with which they have no personal acquaintance. The search for truth, when impartially pursued, is rarely unsuccessful; but what we wish, we too readily believe; and if the views that I have here given of the formidable extent of Colonial influence in and out of Parliament be at all correct, Ministers must be too desirous to avoid a collision with it, not to receive with willing credulity all such information as may lessen, and with chilling distrust all such evidence as may enhance, the conscientious duty of risking such a conflict. That they in fact listen with too much confidence to the representations of their West Indian friends and partisans, and are more ready to repel than invite information on behalf of the poor Slaves, who have no voice of their own, I have great reason to believe and lament. Yet it must be manifest to every reflecting mind, and more especially to Ministers themselves, that upon every ordinary rule by which human testimony is estimated, the credit due to evidence on the anti-slavery side of this controversy is much greater than can be reasonably claimed on the other. On that of the Planters, self-interest is notorious and avowed:—on ours, it has no existence, except in the wilful mis-statements or distempered imaginations of our opponents.

The Colonists indeed loudly but falsely assert that Government patronage is our excitement and our prize. "No one individual of ordinary talent," says a late Address from the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent to the Governor, "who has fairly inlisted himself during the last twenty years against the West Indies, *has failed of acquiring either rank or honours, places of wealth and profit under Government, or mercantile advantages of immense amount.*"*

* Address of the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent's to Governor Brisbane, September 6th, 1823, published here by the West Indian party.

These men are ever at the antipodes of truth. Let them point out a single instance to support this bold assertion—let them name one individual who owes rank, place, wealth, or profit of any kind to his labours in our cause—and I will make a very liberal concession indeed; I will admit that there is one page in that extravagant document that contains some portion of fact. On the other hand, let them name one writer who has ventured to expose, from his own knowledge, their odious system of Slavery, that has not suffered for it in his private character, his interest, or his peace, by their inexorable vengeance; and I will admit that we are all actuated like themselves by self-interested motives.

They affect to complain of malignity and vituperation on our side, though there is not to my knowledge a single passage in any of the anti-slavery publications that fairly supports the charge. When oppression, cruelty, and murder are to be exposed to public view (and this is what the controversy in its nature demands from us), the speaking of them with the reprobation they deserve, is not malice to the offenders, but necessary justice to the subject, and to the moral feelings of the reader. The guilty individuals no doubt may wince, and so may the apologists or partakers of their crimes, and even all who are engaged in a system by which such odious fruits are produced: but these are consequences of which they have no right to complain. To spare their feelings by abstaining from the moral censure that the subject calls for, would be to impair the just effect.

Very different is the case when the advocate of any cause resorts to needless personalities, and brings forward against the private character of his opponents offensive imputations, quite foreign to the merits of the question. But on which side of this controversy are such practices to be found? Certainly not on ours, in any publication with which I am acquainted at least; though few, if any of the works of my fellow-labourers, have wholly escaped my notice. I believe they have all too much confidence in the strength of their cause, if not also too much justice and generous sentiment, to use such unfair and poisonous weapons, even in their own defence against that

disgraceful warfare. For my own part, I challenge all my opponents, though some of them, seated in the judicial chair of literary criticism, have with an insidious air of candour affected to condemn me for "a too virulent and accusatory spirit*," to cite a single passage in any of my numerous works on this subject, that is calculated to give needless pain to any man's feelings. I have avoided the fault so carefully as even to abstain from mentioning the names of individuals whose crimes, attested by public records, it has been necessary to notice in proof of my general strictures, whenever it could be done without making my references to such cases, and to the public evidence which had reported them imperfect or indistinct†.

But on the other side, these foul practices are resorted to with the most outrageous licence. Never in any other public controversy, was there such a malignant use of personal calumny and invective as that which the Colonial party has syste-

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* Quarterly Review, No. 64.

† In the Preface to the first volume of my Delineation of Slavery, p. 43 and 44, I noticed this forbearance, and appealed to the reader for the general plan and character of the work, as calculated not to excite the passions of the vulgar, but to convince the understandings and consciences of the intelligent and dispassionate, especially gentlemen of the legal profession. If the strictures of the reviewer were just, this appeal would have been very unwise, and would have exposed me to well-merited rebuke; but it would have called for and fairly deserved the citation of, or reference to, at least some single passage inconsistent with the boast. The critic, however, has not condescended to support his general censure by any such specification. He accuses me of using "in almost every page *galling epithets or insinuations*;" but I believe he will not venture to adduce a single epithet in conjunction with the subject of it, in proof of that charge, lest his readers should feel an indignation at the fact, that would make the epithet seem faulty only in being too languid and cold. In the citation of iniquitous and barbarous laws I have doubtless sometimes given them a right appellation, such as might be "galling" to their authors or apologists; but as to "*insinuations*," they are foreign to the general style and character of my work, and I know not what he means.

I nevertheless owe thanks and gratitude to this unknown opponent; for if unjust to the work, he is more than just in his obliging mention of its author.

matically employed against its opponents in this cause. I except only the parent controversy of the Slave-trade, in which the humane, virtuous, and pious Ramsay, was one of the first devoted victims of the same illiberal vengeance. From his time to the present, those base arts have been invariably resorted to on that side; and the libels have progressively increased in virulence against each successive combatant on the side of humanity and truth, outraging every private feeling, and violating common decency even, to such a degree, that one of our reverend friends, after long acquiescing in their impotent calumnies on himself, was obliged at last to resort to the law, to silence attacks in the public newspapers, on the spotless reputation of his wife!

To support these shameful practices, and other delusions on the British public, large sums have been contributed by the Assemblies, as well as individual Planters. Some of our periodical prints have been taken into standing pay; and our daily press has been widely influenced in a positive, but still more in a negative manner; so that while scandal and falsehood have been profusely propagated, it has been sometimes extremely difficult, or impossible, to obtain a like publicity for defence and refutation.

Such, my countrymen, have been the rewards, and such only,—bosom applause excepted,—of those who have dared to invoke your humanity on behalf of the unfortunate Slaves! Can it be doubted that many have been deterred by them from giving a like testimony? But the system, I trust, will lose its terrors; for iteration must have spoiled its effect. Men of any reflection will not easily believe that every gentleman who, having resided in the Colonies, is an enemy to Slavery, and ventures to raise his voice against it, at the expense of offending all the friends he has there, is a profligate, a hypocrite, and a liar.

But I have detained you too long, and must hasten to my practical conclusions.

Such being the alarming posture of the sacred cause which you lately thought triumphant, and the formidable difficulties under which its associated friends at present labour, the important question is, what can we do to sustain it?

The insidious enemies of the cause, and some of its sincere, but much-mistaken friends, exhort you to be inactive and silent; but I should be inexcusable, knowing what I do, if I should concur in that advice, or not avow my firm conviction that your adopting it would be fatal.

Already the Colonists openly, though I trust vainly, boast that the popularity of the Resolutions of May 1823 is on its wane in this country; and unless there shall be a renewed and strong expression of popular feeling at this crisis, to prove the contrary, the opinion will seem to be confirmed. Let those who are credulous enough to believe that the sincere concurrence of the Assemblies is not yet hopeless, ask themselves whether such a persuasion will not be likely to reverse what little disposition may yet remain among them to adopt principles and measures to which they avow their aversion. To assist your views on that question, I will state as a fact, which I have from direct and most satisfactory information, (though for the author's sake I dare not name the source of it,) the way in which a Bill for the partial adoption of some of the reforms recommended by His Majesty's Government was lately defeated in one of the insular Assemblies. There were in that body several very influential members, who from policy perhaps, if not from better motives, were well disposed towards such a partial compliance; at least in point of form. Others were won over by their persuasion, or by the influence of the Governor; and the Bill was carried at length into a committee with such favourable prospects, that the author of it anticipated with confidence and exultation its speedily passing into a law. I know this latter fact with certainty, having seen it in a letter from the gentleman himself (whose handwriting I know) to a friend in this country. I had little or no doubt therefore that such an Act was passed; and on the recent arrival of a friend from the spot, a late member of the same legislature, I was surprised to hear to the contrary. On my asking the cause of this disappointment, he told me that the Bill had long been delayed in the committee by differences on some of its details, till at length its enemies prevailed so far as to get rid of it, for the session at least, by a suggestion, founded on information from England, that the storm was blowing over

here, and that if they took time till another year they would have no more trouble with such an unpleasant business. On this ground the Bill was suffered to drop, without its express rejection, or any report from the committee.

It is not however in a view only, or chiefly, to such natural effects in the Colonies that I deprecate your inactivity at this juncture. Its consequences in Parliament, and as I believe in the Cabinet itself, would be far more adverse to our hopes. In the Colonial Assemblies we have not a possible chance of ever obtaining any *substantial good*; and to obtain it here by parliamentary authority, without the continued aid of the popular voice, is almost equally hopeless. Every where your supineness would animate the enemies of our cause, and enervate, if not dishearten, its friends. The Government itself, supposing even its members unanimously with us (and this is more than we can reasonably hope), stands in great need of your assistance. It is a support which none of our friends in the Administration can solicit or seem to desire; for that would spoil its effect; but if any one of them were known to me to be really adverse to your demonstrating, by petitions or other constitutional means, your feelings on this occasion, then I own his sincerity and right intentions would appear to me very doubtful.

Never was such an exercise of the rights of the British people called for on more unexceptionable grounds. It is a privilege often prostituted to factions or party-spirited purposes; and still oftener used, by particular classes of men, to promote *their private* interests, when distinct from, and perhaps opposed to, *the good of the people at large*. But in this case, *we* have no factious views to promote, no selfish dispositions to indulge: we have none but purely national, or still higher than national, objects. For what can Englishmen more justifiably and meritoriously solicit of their representatives in Parliament, than to maintain the moral character of their country, to deliver themselves from national guilt, and to release them from the dreadful necessity of *maintaining* a cruel oppression, by dipping their hands, upon every resistance of it, deep in innocent blood.

Our adversaries have furnished us with a further argument; and upon their principles, though certainly not on mine, a stronger one. They allege that they shall be entitled to indemnities, the amount of which they magnify beyond all rational bounds, out of the public purse; they demand to be indemnified not only for the enfranchisement of their Slaves, if that should be enacted by law, but for every alleviation of their bondage. We ought to indemnify them, they contend, for abolishing even those aggravations of Slavery which the Mother Country was so far from having sanctioned, that she knew not of their existence, and the reality of which their own Assemblies and public agents, upon her inquiries, stoutly denied.

I will not here examine the merits of this claim; but if it has any just foundation, surely your petitions are pre-eminently right and decorous on the part of the people; and useful, instead of embarrassing, to a well-intentioned Government. They are, in that case, virtual offers to bear the pecuniary burthen incident to the reformations which your moral feelings lead you to desire; and what can be more acceptable to Ministers sincerely disposed to such a work? If we could do them such injustice as to suppose them not in earnest, their wishes would deserve from you no regard; but on the opposite, and I trust the right assumption, the petitions of the people cannot be too numerous or importunate for their satisfaction and their ease.

And here by the way, we have another argument, a decisive, though hitherto I think a neglected one, against the course that has been most unhappily taken. The Colonists contend (and if their claims for compensation are just, they rightly contend) that the damage and the indemnity should go hand in hand; and that it would be unjust to the Slave-owner to impair his property first, and leave it for subsequent consideration and enactment, when and how he shall be compensated. *But how can this possibly consist with referring the work to the Assemblies?* What! are the Assemblies of Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, or Jamaica to dip their hands into the purses of the people of England? Can it be left to *them* to annex compensatory provisions to the reformations they are desired to enact?

This obvious consideration might suffice to prove, if it were not otherwise sufficiently manifest, that the cry for indemnities is a mere bugbear to frighten you from your righteous purpose. They must well know that this part of the case can be examined and disposed of by Parliament alone; and yet they tell you it must be incorporated with reforms, against the interposition of Parliament in which, even to the extent of discussions upon the subject, they vehemently protest.

The opposition raised to us on this ground, however, ought not to be noticed without stronger condemnation than its mere inconsistency and insincerity deserve. Familiar though it is to us, I have never been able to regard its countenance in Parliament without astonishment, or without feeling as an Englishman ought to do when his country is degraded and dishonoured.

Let it be supposed that, as between the Planter and the State, compensation ought to be a simultaneous measure with reform, or if you will, a previous one; still, what is the reference to the one, as an objection to the other, but a shameful appeal to the avarice or economical prudence of the country against its honour and its conscience? To the moral rights of the Slave, it is just as valid a bar, as a plea of associated robbers would be against making restitution to the injured party, that it would require a contribution from the gang. Even this illustration is inadequate; for the question here is, not merely whether we shall restore, but whether, as the alternative, we shall add wrong to wrong, inflicting the same calamities on generations yet unborn, enslaving the offspring, lest we should have to pay for the redemption of the parents, and subduing all resistance from either, by the effusion of innocent blood!

Nevertheless, this base and odious argument is boldly and perpetually brought forward against us; and greatly augments, perhaps, the difficulties of those who are not only the keepers of the national conscience, but the responsible stewards of the national purse. In this view then also, the case loudly calls for popular interposition; for however powerful any administration may be in comparison with the party systematically

opposed to it, a strong league of particular interests, potent enough on both sides of the House of Commons to control the influence of the Crown with many of its own adherents, and at the same time to neutralize the Opposition as a body, may be more than it can effectually resist; especially when it will be the effect of a just measure to entail a serious burthen on the country.

There are acknowledged cases in which a strong expression of the popular voice, aided by a right use of the elective franchise, is the only remedy for public evils that our Constitution affords. I may, without offence I hope to any truly national party, allude to the well known case of Mr. Fox's Indian Bill, as illustrating the remark. I speak not in censure of that measure, or disparagement of the great and now departed statesmen who supported it. They may have been right in their judgement;—as I doubt not they were in their intentions;—but a concert of men of opposite political principles was formed, upon what were supposed to be personal and particular interests, with a view to give law to the Crown and Parliament, in opposition to what was contended to be the duty and interest of the country at large. An appeal to the people therefore was strongly made, and cordially answered; and the result was, that a new spirit appeared in the House of Commons, and the coalition was defeated. It was alleged on that occasion, that a fourth estate was about to be created, dangerous to the Constitution; but in the present case it might be with greater reason alleged that a fourth estate actually exists; not indeed under the management of a permanent East India Board, but of a West Indian Committee, which, if not dangerous to the Constitution, is so at least in a high degree to the public morals, the honour, and the prosperity of this great empire. The same remedy is therefore urgently called for, in order that public principles may have fair play; and that the Government itself may be sustained in right measures against a too powerful faction.

I call upon you then solemnly, as fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, to exert yourselves to the utmost on this great and interesting occasion. If you would prevent further

sacrifices of your manufacturing, commercial, and maritime interests, of your revenues and military means, and of the security even of your Colonies themselves; if you would maintain the independence and dignity of your Parliament, and its constitutional supremacy over the distant dependencies of the empire, without which they are a degrading incumbrance and a nuisance; if you would redeem the sacred pledges you have given to the unfortunate Slaves, and prevent the perpetuation on them and their innocent offspring of a bondage disgraceful to the British and the Christian name; and if you would rescue yourselves from the abhorred necessity of imbruing your hands in their blood, when and as often as intolerable oppression urges them to a hopeless resistance,—now, *now*, is your time to be active.

The constitutional and effectual path is plain. You are or soon will be solicited for your votes by those who wish to be your representatives in the House of Commons. Let your first question to every candidate be, Are you a Proprietor of Slaves, or a West India merchant? If the answer is in the affirmative, I would recommend to you a positive refusal, unless he be one of the very few who have already proved themselves true friends to our cause; or who, being known to you as a man of probity and honour, will give you the security of his promise henceforth to support it in the House. But whoever the candidate may be, demand of him, as the condition of your support, that he will solemnly pledge himself to attend in his place whenever any measure is brought forward for the mitigation and progressive termination of Slavery by parliamentary enactments; and that he will give his vote for every measure of that kind, not inconsistent with the temperate and prudent spirit of the Resolutions of May, 1823, and the recommendations of His Majesty's Government founded on those resolutions. Unless such a pledge is given in these, or equivalent terms, and more especially so as to exclude the subterfuge of still committing the work to the Assemblies, the engagement will be of little value, or rather of none at all. Add to this right use of your own vote, the widest and most active influence you can employ with your brother electors, to engage

them to follow your example. Let Committees for the purpose be formed in every county, city, and borough in the United Kingdom, in which any independent suffrages are to be found; and let Public Meetings be called, and the exhortations of the Press be employed, to extend the same salutary work; and that work, let me add, alone; avoiding all political distinctions, and inviting men of both or all parties, to unite in promoting that single object.

But it is not by such means only that we solicit your assistance. The petitions of the people led to the Resolutions of May 1823. Let the same means be speedily employed again for carrying them into effect. I trust that the tables of Parliament soon after its first assembling will be covered deeper than ever with new and earnest petitions from every part of the United Kingdom. Let them be temperate and respectful, but firm; and if need be, reiterated also, till their object shall be effectually obtained; and let your representatives on every occasion be requested to present and support them.

I cannot promise, my countrymen, that by such means your generous wishes will be fully and certainly accomplished; but one end at least, and an inestimable one, you will be sure to obtain. You will deliver your own consciences from any participation in the guilt which you have used your best endeavours to restrain.

To this most important end, indeed, one ulterior effort may be necessary. The consumers of West India sugar are, unquestionably abettors of the iniquitous means by which it is produced; and the only excuse for our consciences in not hitherto renouncing the use of it, has been the fear of prejudicing our cause by a premature resort to such a measure. My views on that subject being already before the public, I need not dwell upon them here; but the opinion which I now share with all the friends of our cause, whose sentiments are known to me is, that should we not obtain some satisfactory measure from Parliament in the approaching session, it will become the clear duty of all who regard Colonial Slavery as cruel and unjust, to renounce without further delay the use of its produce themselves, and to recommend the same measure

to others. The failure of Mr. Brougham's motion, if unhappily it should fail, ought I think to be a signal throughout the country, to all the friends of reformation, that the moment is arrived for their adoption of this last resort.

Mean time, let not any man who fears God, or loves his country and his fellow-creatures, think that this is a case in which he can warrantably be neutral or passive. It might be so under an arbitrary form of Government; but every man in this free country who *has* a vote, or a voice that can influence the electors or elected, has in cases like the present a conscientious *duty* to perform, for the neglect of which he will be justly and seriously responsible. Every degree of such influence that we possess is not merely a privilege, but a trust; and the laws made or maintained by the representatives of a free people, are virtually of their own enactment.

Let me, in conclusion, address myself not only to my countrymen at large, but to such distinct descriptions among them, as may be influenced by particular considerations not felt by all.

To you, friends of universal freedom, who glory in the old appellation of *Whigs*, and regard all absolute authority, civil or political, with pre-eminent suspicion and dislike; to you in whose eyes even the liberties of Englishmen are not perfect, or require at least additional securities; to *you* my first invocation shall be made. What a reproach would it be to your principles, if you should not be among the foremost in endeavouring to relax the heavy and degrading yoke of private Slavery in our colonies? What, in comparison with *that*, is *political thraldom, even to a foreign power; or what are* civil and military despotisms, in the worst forms of them known in Europe? In what region, and in what age, was grosser violation ever done to the natural rights of man? or, to avoid terms that have been abused, where or when did the institutions of mankind so completely annihilate, for the sake of the despotic few, every benefit that the subjugated mass can be alleged to have derived from the civil union?

You are zealous in the cause of the oppressed Greeks; and the feeling does you honour. You reprobate strongly the illiberal despotism that presses down its yoke on the necks of

the unfortunate Spaniards; and it is a right and generous indignation. Can you then be insensible to the far more intolerable wrongs, to the far more goading oppression, which the poor Africans suffer under your own dominion? The Greeks have not yet been driven by the cart-whip; and many a tyrant, more illiberal and ungrateful than Ferdinand, is maintained by British bayonets, as he by French ones, on the petty thrones of the Plantations. Surely, also, it ought to be a heart-stirring distinction, that the Greeks and Spaniards have not to accuse us as the authors of their miseries; while there is scarcely a Slave in the British West Indies on whom, or his ancestors, we did not originally impose the cruel yoke he wears; and that by atrocious means, which we have ourselves since confessed to have been repugnant to humanity and justice.

Take the lead then, as it will well become you to do, in the present arduous and most righteous struggle. You have, I too well know, some inconsistent partisans and leaders who would warp you from your natural course for their own private interests; but they are unworthy of the appellation they assume. The name of Whig is a brand on the forehead of every man who is a defender of Colonial Slavery.

To you whom your opponents designate by the less popular name of *Tories*, I would next appeal. The Slave-masters strive to inlist your honest prepossessions on their side. They would persuade you that their cause is that of loyalty against disaffection, and established government against democratical innovation. Not so thought your Johnsons and your Humes, your Gibbons and your Horsleys; not so your Pitts and Grenvilles, nor your virtuous and lamented Percival. The very reverse is the truth. It is the nature of the Slave system to make the masters contentious, turbulent, and impatient of all authority but their own (as Burke, though in more softened language, has remarked). You found it to your cost in America; and you find it now in the West Indies. Ask your Ministers who have presided in the Colonial department, in what part of the empire His Majesty's subjects are the hardest to govern and to please; and where they have always been the most annoyed with turbulent opposition to the con-

stituted powers, conducted with factious violence; and I am sure the answer will be,—in the West Indies. Their distance, their impotence in a national view, and the general frivolity of their subjects of dispute with their governors, have kept them in general from much public notice in this country. But their feuds are a standing nuisance in the departments of state which have the difficult duty to examine and compose them. Slave questions are so far from being the sole causes of agitation, that by placing all the Whites at present in one party, or at least in the only one that dares utter a political voice, they have rather tended to lessen than increase their ordinary interior dissensions. At a time when no such questions were depending, I once heard the late Lord Castlereagh, then at the head of the Colonial department, complain that there was hardly a single Colony in which he had not some, I think he said not one, very troublesome petty controversy between the governors and the governed on his hands.

The intemperance of their malcontent spirit is not less remarkable than its restlessness. To the most disrespectful and contumacious remonstrances, their Assemblies scruple not to add, on very slight occasions, threatenings to stop, and sometimes actually to stop, all supplies for the support of their public interior establishments; and even their trivial contributions of barracks, or other local provisions, for the accommodation of the troops which we maintain at such a fearful cost for their security. They have sometimes proceeded to suspend all legislative business till the governor at length has been compelled to dissolve them. Nor is that remedy often effectual: for resistance to the King's Government, however rude and intemperate, is almost sure to be popular among these men who punish all resistance of their own domestic government with death. The same factious representatives are re-elected; and the ultimate event too commonly is, that Ministers, wearied out with their pertinacity, and with the public inconveniences that ensue, make sacrifices to appease them, such as ill consist with a due regard to the maintenance of the royal authority, and the credit of its faithful delegates. A governor, for instance, is not rarely recalled, for a firmness of conduct that entitled him to applause; and when Ministers at the same time show that they approved

it, by appointing him immediately to the command of some other colony.

In the present case, I need not say how far they are from deserving your sympathies on the score of dutiful submission, or deference towards either the Parliament or the Crown. They set both at open defiance, and deal out menaces of forcible resistance, which, however absurd and ridiculous, do not the less manifest a turbulent and disloyal spirit.

And whose are the rights and interests that they thus violently oppose and trample on? A disaffected populace? No; but an unfortunate class, mocked with the names of His Majesty's subjects, who fondly look for protection and relief only to the King and his Government, and fain would, but cannot "fly from petty tyrants to the throne." Be not deceived then by the crafty pretences and idle clamours of these pseudo-loyalists; nor let your honourable principles be disgraced by a supposed affinity to theirs. As far as constitutional interests are concerned at all, their cause is the very opposite of yours. It is plainly derogatory to the constitutional power and glory of the Crown, that the mass of the Colonial population, like the vassals of the feudal barons, should have intermediate sovereigns, to whom, much more than to the King or his laws, their allegiance must be paid. In their degraded breasts the noble sentiment of loyalty can find no place. The master, to them is every thing, and the monarch an empty name. They find that they are subjects by the sword only, not the sceptre. They find it only when their blood is to be shed, either by judicial sentence, or military execution, in the name of the King, against whom they are preposterously said to have offended or rebelled, in most cases of insubordination to their masters.

Among other consequences of this odious system that ought to be offensive to every liberal and loyal heart, the authority of the Sovereign is so degraded as to be actually made subordinate and ministerial to that of the master; not only by enforcing obedience to him, but by the actual execution of his vindicatory mandates directed to the King's officers; and that to an extent of punishment greater than is inflicted here for most felonious offences. By the master's order alone, without any examination of its justice, his Slaves are received into His

Majesty's prisons, and by his officers attached to a chain, and driven by cart-whips in a file of similar victims, and of convicts judicially condemned to that harsh punishment, to hard labour in the public streets or roads*.

* See the most recent Act of Jamaica; and like Acts of other islands. See also my Law of Slavery, p. 251 to 354.

To show the reader how this punishment is administered by the Executive Government on the mere mandate of the master, I extract the following account of it by a Jamaica planter, and one of the public apologists of the system, the late Mr. Dallas.

"Negroes are often sent hither by their masters and mistresses as a punishment &c.; and according to the supposed heinousness of their guilt, the correction, that is, the torture of the cattle whip, is superadded."

"These unhappy wretches (I have reckoned near a hundred linked to the same chain) are employed to dig and carry stones, remove rubbish, and to perform all the most fatiguing offices of the public. The chain being fixed about the leader, is carried round the bodies of the followers, leaving a sufficient distance to walk without treading on each other's heels; and to each it is secured by a padlock. As soon as they are thus yoked, the gate is thrown open, and the poor animals are driven out by a Negro driver, attended by a White driver, both with cattle whips in their hands. Sometimes the White driver rides on a mule.

"You may imagine that in the great number of persons thus fastened to each other, without the least attention to the differences of age or of strength, it is not very probable that an equal pace among them can be kept up throughout the day as they move about. They are set upon a brisk walk almost approaching to a trot, and woe be to those whom fatigue first forces to flag. The never-ceasing sound of the cattle whip long keeps a regularity in the slight sinking curve of the intervening links of the chain; but nature will return; the feebler will begin to pull upon the stronger, the intervening links will lose their regular curve: here they become stretched to the utmost; there they sink nearly to the ground; the weak add the weight of their exhausted limbs to the strong, and the strong tread upon the heels of the weak. This the drivers remedy as much as possible by their cattle whips, till nature, quite worn out, is at last driven back to the work-house."—Dallas's Short Journey in the West Indies.

Even after a Slave has been prosecuted capitally in the King's court and acquitted, the prosecuting master has been known so far to show his contempt for the authority of the laws, as to send the injured man to be punished for an indefinite time in this cruel manner, on the same false imputation; and thus compel the Crown to be his minister of vengeance, after he has been tried at the King's suit and pronounced by his own judges to be innocent. (See a case cited in my Law of Slavery, p. 352.)

Can a greater degradation of royal authority than this be imagined?

The pedestals of the British throne are law, justice, and well-regulated freedom; all which this odious institution of private Slavery subverts. Its most glorious and darling prerogative is mercy; but of this the Slave is no object. No royal grace can absolve him from those harsh penalties which the master thinks fit to adjudge,—not even those which I have last mentioned, of which the Crown is the executioner. How, my loyal fellow subjects, can your feelings be expected to patronize a system like this?

Servants of God, of every description, my last and surest appeal is made to you. Of whatever faith you are, Churchmen, Dissenters, Catholics, Theists of every kind; if you believe that there is a God, the common Parent of the human race, who delights in justice and mercy, behold a cause that demands your strenuous support. The Slave-masters would craftily divide you. They would avail themselves of your theological differences; and especially would persuade you, if they could, that those who earnestly maintain this cause of God and man, are all fanatics and enthusiasts. But what creed will be found to countenance a system like theirs, when its true nature is developed? Even the Mahometan faith proscribes it, though in a much milder form, except as a scourge for unbelievers.

What then! is it pushing religious zeal too far to say that innocent fellow-creatures ought not to be left in a perpetual hereditary Slavery? that unoffending men, women, and children, ought not to be deprived of all civil and human rights, and condemned to toil for life, like cattle, under the whips of the drivers? *Is it enthusiasm, to hold that a Slavery so rigorous as to have destroyed thousands and tens of thousands of its victims in our Sugar Colonies, and which is still so fatal that the most prolific of the human race cannot maintain their numbers in it, ought to be lenified by law?* Is it fanaticism, to regard a bondage imposed by acknowledged crime, as one that cannot be rightfully protracted, and fastened on the progeny for ever? Then let religion and wrong, religion and cruelty, religion and murder, shake hands. The *Thurtels* and *Proberts* among us may claim to be rational religionists; and rail at their prosecutors as saints, enthusiasts, and fa-

natics. Perhaps indeed they do; for it seems to be the fashion to stigmatize by those terms every degree of moral sensibility that exceeds our own.

To such of you as are deeply impressed with the truth and importance of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity, and zealous for their propagation, and to such of you as are accustomed to observe and recognise the hand of Divine Providence in the government of the world, there is much more that I could wish to say. I might appeal to the principles you hold most sacred, for the duty of lending your aid to reform an impious system which shuts out the light of the Gospel, and violates in the grossest manner all its precepts; which keeps in a cruel thraldom the minds, as well as bodies, of its unfortunate victims; and adds to its other enormities antichristian persecution. I might show the inconsistency of the charitable efforts you are making to convert your fellow-creatures in the most distant and uncivilized regions of the globe, while you suffer your fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice, but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny which your own power, within your own territories, impiously upholds. I might prove to your entire conviction how hopeless it is that the poor Slaves in general should be made Christians, in more than name, by any means that have been adopted, or can be used, without raising their temporal condition.

Many of you also, I doubt not, might be strongly impressed by a clear and comprehensive view of that wonderful chain of events, which indicates, as plainly as events unexplained by Revelation can indicate, to human eyes, the hand of Divine Providence avenging the wrongs of the poor enslaved Africans, and favouring, I trust, our feeble efforts for their deliverance. The "signs of the times" are in this respect well worthy of the careful observation of every pious mind; and it is no presumption to deduce from them, not a new rule of conduct, but confirmation and encouragement in a purpose prescribed to us by the clearest principles of Christian duty.

But I think it best to abstain at present from these important and interesting topics. To do any justice to them here, would be to extend too far the length of this address. My

views on some of them are already, though partially, before the public; and I hope ere long to present to the religious friends of our cause, in a separate publication, a defence of the Bible against the foul charge of its countenancing Colonial Slavery; to which I propose to add a summary of those very extraordinary facts and coincidences that indicate, to my firm conviction, a purpose of Divine Providence to avenge, and I trust also to deliver, the long oppressed African race.

Mean time, enough I trust has been said to satisfy not only all who are actuated by Christian principles, but all who are friends to their species at large, or to their country, if unbiased by Colonial influence, that it is now our duty to be active.

Dismiss the idle hope that Slavery will ever be abolished, or materially alleviated, by the will of the masters, or by the laws of West Indian legislators. The often repeated, and often refuted pretence of actual improvements, believe me, is all delusion. The worst and most destructive branches of this oppression (excess of labour enforced by brutal means, and insufficiency of sustenance) are as prevalent as ever; and must be so from the necessary effects of the system, till controlled by parliamentary authority. I affirm it as a man who certainly knows the case; and who is preparing to adduce such evidence of its true nature as will satisfy the most incredulous.

Reject the insidious suggestions that your interference is needless; and that it implies distrust of our Ministers. I have shown that without the aid of the popular voice their good intentions must be fruitless. The Government, and the Parliament itself, are in thraldom to the dominating influence of our too powerful enemies. Examine fairly the facts I have adduced, and you will admit they can in no otherwise be explained. It is obvious, as I before remarked, that supposing the Cabinet unanimous in desiring petitions from the people, it is an interposition which they cannot solicit, or appear to approve. While the proper effect would be spoiled, the offence to the Colonial party would be not diminished, but enhanced. You must judge of the inclination of Ministers therefore on this occasion from the reason of the case, and from what you believe of their principles; and I ask of you only to believe them sin-

cere, in the views which some of them have strongly professed in Parliament, and all of them apparently adopted. To ascribe to them insincerity in such a case would be highly offensive, and, as I believe, unjust.

But should we suspect, or know, their wishes to be adverse to ours, our duties as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, would remain the same. We should be unworthy of all those appellations, and deserve to forfeit the privileges that belong to them, if, knowing our country to be the abettor and upholder of gross injustice and oppression, we should from complaisance to any men, or any party, decline to exercise our constitutional rights on the side of the injured and oppressed.

Come forward then with your petitions; instruct your representatives; give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament; and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause.

If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution, you will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven. You may rescue also yourselves and your posterity from severe calamities, which I firmly believe are now impending over us notwithstanding our apparent prosperity, not only from the natural effects of our pernicious system in the Colonies, if longer persisted in, but from the just vengeance of a righteous and all-directing Providence.

If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could "to undo the heavy burthen and to let the oppressed go free," and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT *from* Sir W. YOUNG's West India Common Place Book, p. 218.

TABLES, showing the Mortality of Troops in the West Indies (exclusive of those who fell in action) during Seven Years, from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, compiled from Regimental Returns collected by JOHN SAYER, Esq. Commissary in the Windward and Leeward Islands during that period.

	European Soldiers.				Negro Soldiers.			Officers.
	Largest force.	Medium monthly returns.	Died.	Per Cent.	Force.	Died.	Per Cent.	Died.
1796. April	19676	15881	6484	40¼	2495	75	3	226
1797. April	13627	11503	3766	32¾	3080	118	4	99
1798. April	9192	8416	1602	17½	3055	252	8	38
1799. February	7654	7202	876	11¾	3354	258	7¾	24
1800. February	8840	7890	1221	15½	4320	266	6½	58
1801. February	11745	10315	2340	22¾	4604	276	6	104
1802. February	10198	9038	990	11	3840	199	5	41
Original Army.	19676		17173					590

Printed by Richard Taylor, Shoe-Lane, London.

THE

SLAVE COLONIES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN;

OR

A Picture of Negro Slavery

Drawn

By the Colonists themselves;

BEING

AN ABSTRACT OF THE VARIOUS PAPERS RECENTLY LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT ON THAT SUBJECT.

"Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee." LUKE xix. 22.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND HENDERSON,
GOUGH SQUARE,

FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS;

AND SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY;
AND J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

1826.

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THE

SLAVE COLONIES,

&c. &c.

DURING the session of 1824, a number of papers were moved for in the House of Commons on the subject of Colonial Slavery. A few of these were presented and printed in the same session; but by far the most important were not produced till the following session, and were not printed and in the hands of Members till near its close, when it was too late to make any but a very partial use of them. As these papers are very voluminous, it has been judged advisable to form an abstract of them, with a view both to the convenience of Members of Parliament, and to the information of the public at large. A few observations and notes will be added, for the purpose of explanation, and in the hope of thereby rendering the abstract more intelligible and useful.

The following are the titles of the various papers which this analysis is intended to embrace. In order to avoid confusion, and promote brevity, a distinguishing letter is prefixed to each, which will be employed to designate it, whenever a reference to it becomes necessary.

A.—Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, in explanation of the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government for the melioration of the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's possessions in the West Indies and on the continent of South America (in continuation of the Papers presented in 1824). 1825.

B.—Additional Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, in explanation, &c. (in continuation of the Papers presented this session). 1825.

C.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies; Demolition of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes. Ordered to be printed 16th March, 1825, and numbered 113.

D.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies; Demolition of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes. Ordered to be printed 21st March 1825, and numbered 127.

E.—Papers relating to the Manumission, Government, and Population of Slaves in the West Indies, 1822—1824. Ordered to be printed 1st March 1825, and numbered 66.

F.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies; Information respecting Lecesne and Escoffery. Ordered to be printed 4th March 1825, and numbered 74.

G.—Honduras: Letter from Captain R. Maclean. Ordered to be printed 16th June 1824, and numbered 439.

H.—Slave Population, West Indies. Ordered to be printed 14th June 1824, and numbered 424.

I.—Slave Population, West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. Ordered to be printed 1st July 1825, and numbered 512.

K.—Population of the Mauritius. Ordered to be printed 30th May 1825, and numbered 361.

L.—Slaves in Tortola. Ordered to be printed 25th April 1825, and numbered 1235.

M.—Slaves in Tortola: Case of the Donna Paula. Ordered to be printed 18th June 1824, and numbered 441.

In the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society will be found a copy of the Instructions transmitted to the Governors of the different West-India Colonies by Earl Bathurst, respecting the reforms in the system of colonial slavery which his Majesty's Ministers were desirous of introducing; together with the substance of the Order in Council for improving the condition of the slaves in Trinidad, in which Order those instructions were for the most part embodied. Soon after that Order was promulgated in Trinidad, Lord Bathurst, in July 1824, transmitted a copy of it to the different local governments in the West Indies, accompanied by letters recommending its adoption. The general tenor of these letters will be sufficiently understood by the following copy of one of them, which was addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, and from which the others do not materially vary. It is as follows:—

"I have the honour of enclosing to your Grace a copy of the Order in Council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves in Trinidad: and I have also to notify to you his Majesty's appointment of two Bishops; the one for Jamaica, and the other for the Leeward Islands; to whom are to be entrusted the controul of the Clergy of the Church of England within their respective dioceses, and the duty of reporting upon the state of the ecclesiastical establishments, particularly as it relates to the slave population; and upon the best means of diffusing the benefits of religious instruction to that part of the community. Your Grace must, indeed, have been long informed of both these measures; but my reason for calling your attention to them at this moment, is for the purpose of enabling you to bring more completely under the consideration of the Legislature, at their ensuing meeting, the whole of the measures which his Majesty's Government have in contemplation for the melioration of the state of the slave population.

"His Majesty's Government have been anxious to prove the deep interest which they feel in the encouragement of the religious and moral instruction of the Negroes, by at once taking upon themselves

the whole charge of placing the clergy of the West Indies under episcopal controul; and they have further directed, that a given sum shall be forthwith placed at the disposal of the Bishops, for the purpose of providing for the more immediate supply of persons in holy orders within their respective dioceses; and his Majesty confidently expects to receive every assistance from the Assembly, to promote the establishment of a system so calculated to produce the most beneficial effects on the morals and habits of the slave population.

"With respect to the Order in Council for meliorating the condition of the slaves in Trinidad, similar provisions to those which are contained in that Order will be extended to Demerara and Essequibo, St. Lucia, the Cape, and the Mauritius, with such modifications as may be necessary to adapt them to the Dutch and French laws, which are respectively in force in those possessions.

"The Assembly of Jamaica shewed their anxiety for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, by many of the provisions of their Consolidation Act, passed in 1816; and it is impossible to believe, that, consistently with the spirit which then animated them, they will now refuse to go further. On attentively considering the provisions of the Order in Council, they will not fail to perceive much which practice has already established in Jamaica, and which requires little more than the formal sanction of a law to complete*. In comparing it with the provisions of their own Act, they will observe, that, upon the principle of those provisions, many of the suggested alterations must be considered as improvements; and by incorporating in their statutes those additional provisions of the Order, which as yet are not to be found in their Consolidation Act, they will lay the foundation for such a system of gradual improvement of the condition of the slave population, as will prove equally honourable to the Assembly, and beneficial to those for whose advantage it appears to be more immediately intended.

"Your Grace will readily anticipate the serious extent of the disappointment which his Majesty's Government will experience, if, unfortunately for their best interests, as well as for the cause of humanity, the Assembly of Jamaica shall reject the substance of these regulations, which they must be aware have received the sanction of Parliament, and the general approbation of the country." (A. p. 6.)

We shall now proceed to state the effect which has resulted in the colonies from the various recommendations of his Majesty's Government, as far as it is to be deduced from the papers recently laid before Parliament; combining with that information the substance of such communications from the colonies on collateral topics, as may bear materially on the main subject of the present publication,—the Progress of Colonial Reform. The colonies will be taken separately, and in their alphabetical order.

* Lord Bathurst, we fear, has been led to think far too favourably, both of the law and the practice of Jamaica.

I. ANTIGUA.

The only information obtained from this island is to be found in a dispatch of Mr. President Athill, addressed to Earl Bathurst, dated Sept. 3, 1824, and is as follows:—

"The Committee, to form the Bill for consolidating the laws respecting the slave population into one Act, have not proceeded with as much industry as might have been expected from the importance of the subject. Since I received your Lordship's letter, I have called the attention of the chairman to the subject; and I hope that will be more completely done by the consideration of the dispatch itself, when laid before the Assembly, at their meeting, on the 9th of this month." (A. p. 102.)

The want of industry in the Colonial Assembly, of which the President complained on the 3d of September 1824, does not appear to have been remedied by the subsequent communication to them of Lord Bathurst's dispatch. No further report of progress appears to have been since made to his Majesty's Government.

II. BAHAMAS.

The Legislature of the Bahamas has given us a useful specimen of the kind and degree of improvement to be expected, when it is left to the colonists themselves to reform their slave code. In the Bahamas, from their peculiar circumstances, but more especially from the unproductiveness of their soil, and the total absence of all sugar culture, the treatment of the slaves has been practically less severe than in most of the other slave colonies. The slaves have been less worked and better fed; and their numbers have consequently increased, at the rate of about two per cent. per annum, or probably at a still higher rate. In January 1824, the Bahama Legislature proceeded, in compliance with the recommendations of his Majesty's Government, to pass Acts to amend their slave laws, and to improve the condition of the free People of Colour. It will be only necessary to advert to the provisions of these Acts, in order to judge how far this colony has advanced in the career of amelioration.

In some of his Majesty's colonies, free Blacks and Persons of Colour have been long admitted to give testimony in courts of justice against Whites; but in the colony of the Bahamas it was not until the year 1824 that a person of any description, not White, was admitted to this priviledge. Free Blacks and People of Colour are now allowed to give evidence in courts of justice, in all civil or criminal cases affecting White persons. But it is under the guard of the most jealous restrictions that even this privilege is conceded to them: none are permitted to enjoy it fully, who have not been *born*

free, and who have not been born Creoles—that is to say, who are not natives of the West Indies—and who have not resided at least five years in the Bahamas. Thus a Mulatto born in England, for example, whatever may be his acquirements, his station in life, or the respectability of his character, is excluded from giving evidence, in all cases affecting the White persons who form the petty oligarchy of the Bahamas.—But the next clause contains a further extension of this liberal system. All *Creole* Negroes or Mulattoes, who, though not born free, yet have been manumitted since their birth, and have actually enjoyed freedom for five years, and who profess the Christian Religion, shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges in this respect of Persons of Colour born free in the Bahamas; except that they shall not be allowed to give evidence of any treason, felony, or other offence committed previous to their emancipation. But from these rights and privileges all "Negroes, Mulattoes, and other Persons of Colour, being natives of Africa, or of any of the islands contiguous thereto," are to be absolutely excluded; while all who are not Creoles —that is, natives of the West Indies—are virtually excluded from them. We presume that this extraordinary Act has not received his Majesty's sanction. (A. p. 20.)

The new Consolidated Slave Law contains seventy-eight clauses. (A. pp. 21—37.) We shall briefly advert to such of them as require observation.

§ 2. The allowance of provisions given to slaves is to be equal to twenty-one pints of wheat flour per week*.

§ 3. All manumissions of slaves incapable of labour are made void, and the master is bound, under a penalty of ten pounds for every failure, to provide for such slave †.

§ 6. Slaves being husband and wife, or reputed husband or wife, and their child or reputed child being under fourteen years of age, when belonging to the same owner, are not to be sold separately; and the same rule is to be observed in the case of testamentary bequests‡.

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* *This is more than double the allowance in the Leeward Islands, where the labour is far more severe than in the Bahamas.*

† Lord Bathurst justly objects to this clause, which, he argues, may become the source of great abuses. "If the slave," his Lordship remarks, "possesses, or can find, the means of purchasing his own freedom, there is no danger of his becoming a burden to society." Besides, "it may at any time become a question, whether the manumission of a slave is not void in consequence of his owner having been induced to grant it by his incapacity to labour; and a class of persons may therefore arise, respecting whom, and respecting whose descendants, it may always remain a question whether they are free men or slaves." His Lordship refers them to the Trinidad Order in Council, which sufficiently guards against all the probable evil arising from improper manumissions, by requiring of the owner, in the case of his *voluntary* manumission, either of infant children, or of infirm and aged slaves, a bond to be entered into, for the maintenance of the infant till the age of fourteen, and of the aged and infirm during life. (A. pp. 39 and 136.)

‡ The provisions of the Spanish and Portuguese laws require, not only that husbands, wives, and children of a certain age, belonging to the same owner,

§ 9. "All masters or owners, or, in their absence, their overseers, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to instruct their slaves in the Christian religion; and shall do their endeavour to fit them for baptism: and, as soon as conveniently may be, shall cause to be baptised all such slaves as they can make sensible of a Deity and of the Christian faith*."

§§ 10—13. These clauses are intended for the encouragement and due celebration of marriage between slaves, and between slaves and free People of Colour. Such marriages cannot be celebrated without the consent of the owner in writing; which consent there is no provision for compelling the owner to grant, or to assign an adequate reason for not granting. Marriages so celebrated are declared to be good, valid, and binding, to all intents and purposes in the law whatsoever, "saving always the just right of ownership, which in no case whatever shall be in any wise hurt, prejudiced, straitened, or otherwise affected thereby," and "provided that the marital power and authority to be thus acquired by the husband over the wife, shall in no such case impugn, diminish, or interfere with, the rights or authority of the owner, in any manner whatsoever†."

§§ 14, 15. The wilful mutilation of a slave is made liable to be punished by a fine, not exceeding 100*l.* (currency), and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months; and the court *may* free the slave so mutilated from slavery.—No court of justice shall sentence a slave to be mutilated or maimed.

§ 16. A person killing a slave "wilfully, and with malice aforethought," shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

§ 17. A person wantonly or cruelly treating a slave, is liable to be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court.

§ 18. "In order to restrain arbitrary punishment," "no slave shall receive more than twenty lashes at any one time, or for any one offence, unless the owner or employer of such slave, or supervisor of the workhouse, or keeper of the gaol, be present;" and these persons are restricted from inflicting more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence: "nor shall any female slave above the age of

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should not be separated by sale or bequest, but that, when they belong to different but neighbouring owners, an arrangement should always be made to prevent their being separated, by obliging the owner, either of the wife or the husband, to become the purchaser of the other, on reasonable terms.

* We have here a specimen of the ordinary provisions of West-Indian Legislatures for the religious instruction of the slaves, whenever they have condescended, out of deference to public feeling in this country, to notice the subject at all; viz. an enactment without penalty or sanction of any kind, without any specification of time or place, without any provision of means of instruction, or of instructors—an enactment, in short, intended for effect in England, but which must be a dead letter in the West Indies.

† What may be the exact import of this proviso we are unable even to guess. Whether it leaves to the husband any connubial rights whatever; and whether it conveys any means of redress against the master, or any other free person, violating those rights; are points which remain involved in a happy obscurity.

twelve be punished otherwise than in private"—all under a penalty of 10*l.* (currency) for every offence*.

§ 19. This clause recognises the right of owners to send their slaves to gaol, and authorises the marshal or gaoler to keep them there, without any limitation as to time.

§ 20. The practice of fixing iron collars, with projecting bars or hooks, round the necks of slaves, or loading their bodies or limbs with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, *beyond what is necessary for securing their persons* (a somewhat indefinite measure of punishment!), is forbidden, under a penalty of 50*l.* (currency.)

§§ 28—39. *All* slaves who have been in the island two years, and who shall run away, and be absent for more than ten days and not exceeding six months, may suffer any punishment that *two justices* may inflict, not extending to life or limb. If absent more than six months, they may be transported for life, or suffer any other punishment the *two justices* may inflict, not extending to life or limb. Slaves harbouring run-away slaves may be punished in like manner; and free persons doing so, on conviction in the general court, may be punished by fine and imprisonment. All persons taking up run-aways, shall have certain rewards. Slaves shall receive for each rebellious slave they kill, 5*l.*; and for each they take alive, 10*l.* and a blue coat with a red cross †.

§ 40. After a run-away slave committed to gaol shall have been advertised for twelve calendar months, if no person shall claim him, he may be sold by public outcry; and the surplus, after paying the

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* Lord Bathurst (A. p. 39) very justly objects to arming the supervisor of a workhouse, or the keeper of a gaol, with the power of inflicting "on a slave a punishment as severe as could be inflicted by his owner," because "such power cannot be placed in the hands of such officers without a danger of its being much abused." But might not this just remark have extended much farther? Is there, then, no similar danger of abuse from arming an owner or employer with such a power? or from arming all other persons with a power of inflicting twenty lashes—of the cart-whip to wit—at their discretion? In Jamaica, forty years ago, an owner or overseer was allowed to inflict only thirty-nine lashes, and all other persons only ten; but the ameliorating law of the Bahamas has now only arrived at the limit of thirty-nine for the owner, and twenty for all other persons. In the Trinidad Order in Council, no punishment exceeding three lashes is allowed, without certain important formalities; and, with all these formalities, the utmost extent to which a master can go is twenty-five. In the Bahamas, however, for any offence, or for no offence, without record and without witnesses, at the caprice of a driver, twenty lashes, and at the caprice of an owner or employer, thirty-nine lashes, of the cart-whip—every stroke of which may leave a deep incision—may be inflicted on any slave, male or female, the latter being whipt in private!!

† The extent and the jealous minuteness of the provisions respecting run-aways, form a curious contrast to the brevity, and the absence of all penalty and sanction, which mark the single clause about religion. And then let the frightful severity of these enactments be considered. *Two justices* may inflict any punishment short of life and limb—even the unsparing torture of 500 or 1000 lashes, if the wretched sufferer can live through it; for there seems to be no other limit.

prison fees and charges, "shall be paid into the public treasure, to be applied towards defraying the expenses of the government*."

§ 42. Slaves escaping from gaol before trial, and being taken, on proof of identity before two justices, may receive fifty lashes.

§ 47. Any slave having concealed in his or her house, or possession, any fire-arms, gunpowder, slugs, or ball, and convicted before two justices, shall be punished by whipping, at their discretion—(no limit to its extent).

§ 48. Any slave *offering* violence, by striking or *otherwise*, to any *White* person, shall be punished, at the discretion of *two justices*, with *any punishment short of life or limb.*

§§ 49, 51. Slaves mixing poison, with intent to give, or actually giving it, though no death ensue; and stealing or killing cattle, sheep, horse, mule, or ass; may be punished with death.

§ 50. To a slave "fraudulently" possessed of from five to twenty-eight pounds of beef, mutton, veal, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, two justices may give thirty-nine lashes; if more than twenty-eight pounds, they may inflict *any punishment not extending to life or limb.*

§§ 52—54. A slave aiding a slave to depart from the Bahama islands, shall suffer transportation, or any other punishment, not extending to life and limb. A free Negro, or Person of Colour, doing so, shall be subject to transportation; and, if afterwards found at large, to death, without benefit of clergy. A White doing so, shall forfeit 100*l.*, and be imprisoned, for not more than twelve months†.

§§ 57, 58. Slaves vending spirituous liquors, or playing at dice or cards, or guilty of any other kind of gaming, shall be publicly whipped, by the order of any two justices.

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* After all that has been said and written on the subject, it has been re-enacted as a law, in the reformed slave code of the Bahamas, that a Negro or Mulatto, who shall have been committed to gaol as a run-away, after having been confined and worked there for twelve months, shall, without any proof of his being a slave, and against the fair presumption of his being a freeman, have this additional cruel and irreparable wrong inflicted upon him, of being sold into perpetual bondage. Lord Bathurst makes an objection to this part of the law respecting run-aways. The following are the terms he uses, (A. p. 39): "It is necessary," he says, "that some provision should be made for ascertaining whether the person is really a slave. The non-claim for twelve months raises at least a presumption that he is not a slave; and if he asserts himself to be free, it is in justice necessary that he should be secured from being sold into slavery, without sufficient proof that he is a slave." But is it not also necessary, in justice, that a person thus situated should be assumed to be free, and dealt with as free, until the contrary is proved?

† Lord Bathurst is struck with the gross inequality of these punishments, (A. p. 39.). "Since the superiority of rank and education," he observes, "which belongs to the White inhabitant, is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is an injustice in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment." This admirable principle of law would go to abrogate, and ought to abrogate, more than one half of the whole frame of colonial legislation, which proceeds universally on the very opposite principle to that so well laid down by his Lordship, aggravating both crimes and punishments in proportion to the inferiority in rank and education of the criminal.

§§ 59—63. Slaves accused of crimes subject to death without benefit of clergy, are to be tried by the general court, in the same way as Whites or free persons. Those accused of clergiable felonies, are to be tried by a court composed of two justices and five jurors, and *are not to be allowed any right of peremptory challenge of a juror, or any right of exception to the form of indictment.*

§ 64. Slaves giving false evidence, shall suffer the same punishment which the person, "on whose trial the false evidence was given, would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer," "AND such other punishment as the justices shall award, *not extending to life and limb**."

§ 69. Slaves receiving sentence of death or transportation, shall be appraised and valued. "But, if it shall appear that the owner of any such slave had treated him or her with inhumanity, and that necessity or hard usage might have driven such slave to the commission of the offence of which he or she shall have been convicted; then no valuation shall be made, nor certificate granted, and the owner shall not be entitled to receive any allowance whatever for such slave from the public †."

§ 73. All free Negroes, or Persons of Colour, who have been slaves, shall, for all offences under the degree of felony, be tried as slaves are directed to be tried, and the evidence of slaves shall be admitted against them ‡.

§ 74. Inferior offences on the part of slaves may be summarily punished, by two justices, to the extent of fifty lashes.

Such is the attempt made by the Bahama Legislature, in the year 1824, to improve the condition of their slaves. Who could have believed it possible, prior to the fact, that, after the Resolutions passed in Parliament, after the Instructions issued by his Majesty's Secretary of State, after all that has been said and written on the subject of slavery, men, calling themselves Englishmen, could have been found so lost to all sense of propriety as to frame such an Act (an Act worthy of the most barbarous age), and to present it for the delibe-

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* *His Lordship also objects to this clause, which, however, forms a part of almost every West-Indian code. "By this clause," he remarks, "the operation of the law against the crime of perjury committed by a slave, whose ignorance is an extenuation of his guilt, is much more severe than against others, for whose guilt no such extenuation can be presumed."* Happy would it be for the slaves, if this principle had its just application universally!

† It is difficult to conceive how such an enactment as this should have found its way into any code of law. Is it possible for any man to read, without amazement and horror, that, though the convicted slave should be proved to have been driven to the commission of his crime by necessity or hard usage on the part of his master—a master possessing absolute and uncontrouled power—yet that the law does not order his sentence of condemnation to be reversed, but leaves him to be executed, or transported, as the case may be; while the only punishment inflicted on the real criminal is, that he does not receive the value of the murdered slave?

‡ Lord Bathurst objects to this clause, which marks so very strongly the disposition of the White legislators of the Bahamas to degrade the free People of Colour. "Any enactment," he says, "cannot but be objectionable which deprives any free class of men of the benefits of trial by jury." (A. n. 40.)

rate approbation of his Majesty? It is due to Lord Bathurst to observe, that his estimate of this legislative act is not to be measured by the terms he applies to particular clauses of it. In the letter which contains his specific objections, he adds the following general caveat against being supposed to approve what he does not specifically condemn. "With respect to the other provisions of this Act, and to the important omissions in it, I have only to refer you to my circular dispatches of last year, and to the Order in Council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves in Trinidad *, by a comparison with which you will be fully enabled to judge how far this Act may consist with, and in what respects it will fail to carry into effect, the wishes of his Majesty's Government."

In the first section of the Act now reviewed, a number of former Acts, respecting slaves and free Persons of Colour, are suspended. From the operation of this suspending enactment, however, one clause of one of these Acts, passed in 1784, is excepted. This clause is not recited in the Act which thus distinguishes it from all the others, by continuing it while they are suspended; but Lord Bathurst has happily discovered its purport. It is a clause which condemns any Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, who assaults a White person with a dangerous weapon, (except a slave in defence of his owner's person or property,) to suffer death; and if the assault is committed by direction of the owner, it then renders the owner answerable by law, as he ought;—and it also condemns any Negro, &c. *who is otherwise abusive to any White person*, to be punished by a fine of not more than 15*l.*, or by corporal punishment. Such is the law specially selected from the mass by the White legislators of the Bahamas, to be maintained in all its savage rigour, for the purpose of upholding the despotism of colour. The following is Lord Bathurst's comment on this curious exception, this smuggled act of legislation: "The injustice of these enactments is so manifest, that, when the attention of the legislature is called to them, I assure myself they will not be desirous to continue them in force."

His Lordship, however, judged far too favourably of the disposition of that legislature. On receiving his observations, they transmitted a long message to the Governor, General Grant, complaining grievously of the wish expressed by Lord Bathurst for their adoption of the principles of the Trinidad Order in Council, the provisions of which they vehemently impugn as unjust and injurious; and, with a gravity which would be quite ludicrous, if the happiness of thousands were not implicated in the result, they proceed to argue that it is infinitely better for all parties that the Negro should be left to the voluntary and unforced kindness of his master, than to be protected by law. For, protect him, they say, by law—in the enjoyment of his property, for example—and from that moment, that property, "instead of a bond of union between him and his master, would become a barrier

* See the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society for these important documents; Appendix, pp. 71—104.

of inextinguishable hate.'" In short, "a strong sense of the great impolicy and absolute danger of making any further innovations at present in the slave system of the colony, *and a decided conviction of the correctness of the principles on which they are now acting,*" compel them to refuse to alter their legislation. (A. p. 48.) This is at least a bold and frank defiance, on the part of the petty Parliament of the Bahamas, of the King, Lords, and Commons of England.

It would be wrong to close the abstract of these proceedings without adverting to the various communications of the Governor. In transmitting the Act which we have so fully abstracted, he observes to Lord Bathurst, that "it improves the condition of slaves very considerably." (A. p. 19.) What, then, must that condition have been previously? He adds, "Having stated what has been done by the legislature *in favour* of the free coloured and slave population," (we have seen what that is,) "I conclude with observing, that I am not of opinion there exists, among the generality of the inhabitants of the community, any disposition to oppose the immediate wishes of Government, on the subject in question, *from any spiteful principle,* but, on the contrary, they will hereafter be found to go farther than they have done when the matter becomes less novel to them." (*ibid.*) Again: he assures Lord Bathurst, that he does not believe there exists among them "any *innate* disposition to oppose the wishes of Government," but that their reluctance proceeds from fear; and he has thought it best not to confute their objections, though that would have been easy, as more, he thinks, will be gained by "allowing time for cool reflection, than by appearing over anxious here, before it was known what may have been done by the other colonies." (p. 41.) His speech to them at the close of the session is in the same style: "Although nothing has been done this session, I nevertheless entertain the expectation, that, when the measures come to be less novel, you will be found duly to appreciate the position which his Majesty's Ministers have assumed," &c...." I cannot acquiesce in your arguments or conclusions; but I shall refrain from entering upon any argumentative discussion, as I conceive nothing is more likely to create and keep alive irritation in one class of persons, and excitement in another, than the giving unnecessary publicity to the various speculative opinions which are likely to be formed on a subject of such extent." (A. p. 49.)

General Grant does not believe that there is the smallest room for apprehending any insubordinate feeling or disposition among the slaves. (A. p. 37.)

III. BARBADOES.

The Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, lately published, adverts at some length to the legislative reforms attempted at Barbadoes, and points out some of the topics which had so divided the opinions of the Council and Assembly as to prevent the adoption of

a new consolidated and ameliorated Slave Act, which had occupied two years of anxious deliberation on the part of the legislators of this oldest slave colony of the British Crown. This measure has at length passed into a law; so that we have now a fair opportunity of ascertaining what, in their judgment, are the best means of so reforming their slave code as to meet the wishes of the mother country, and to satisfy the demands of humanity and justice. We proceed to analyze the new law.

§ 1. The preamble sets out with declaring, that "many circumstances, arising out of the present state of the slave population, render it necessary that the laws enacted by the *prudence* and *wisdom* of our forefathers, for their government, "should be revised;" and they therefore repeal no fewer than sixteen statutes on the subject, framed at different times from 1688 to 1818.

§§ 2—4. Slaves accused of capital crimes are to be tried by three justices, and twelve freeholders of the parish where the crime was committed. If the jury are unanimous in convicting, and the sentence be death, the execution shall take place not less than forty-eight hours after passing the sentence; and if the owner or overseer of the slave be the prosecutor, then a solicitor is to be engaged for the accused, and a clerk is to be appointed to take minutes of the trial, which are to be filed in the Crown-office of the island. If, when a slave is condemned to death or transportation, the owner, &c., shall desire to appeal (the slave himself has no right of appeal), the execution shall be stayed for ten days, that such owner may have time to apply to the Governor for a writ of error; and the judgment of the Court of Error, which shall have power either to affirm or reverse the sentence, shall be final; such court having power also to award costs against persons who may be deemed obstinate and vexatious for moving a writ of error without good cause.

§§ 5—8 contain minute regulations of police, about taking up slaves going abroad without leave, or found with any offensive weapon; and about permitting them to beat drums, or blow horns or shells, or use any instruments of dancing; or to dance, except in the mill-yard, and before nine at night; or to have their funerals after seven at night; or to have music or singing at such funerals. The Governor is empowered to forbid, by proclamation, all dances of slaves; and to employ the militia in searching the Negro-houses for run-aways, or for mischievous weapons.

§ 9. Every owner, who does not furnish every year his slaves with "decent clothing, according to the custom of the island," shall, on proof thereof, pay twenty shillings for each slave who shall not have been decently clothed within the year; half to be paid to the informer, and half to the treasury of the island *.

* This is a most whimsical enactment; for it leaves the slave still unclothed for the year, after the fine shall have been paid. And then, what is the fine for such an offence? It is equal to thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling. Now, if this fine is intended to operate as a punishment, we may assume it to be at least double the value of that "*decent* clothing, according to the custom

§§ 10—18. These clauses regulate the apprehension and imprisonment of run-away slaves till claimed by their owners. If not claimed in three months, the provost-marshal is empowered to sell them: the proceeds, after paying their expenses, to be paid into the treasury. *Until sold, the run-aways are to be kept at work in the chain gang.* Persons claiming to be free are to be advertised as such for three months; and if at the end of that time their freedom is not proved, the Governor and Council are empowered to hear and to determine the matter, and either to sell them as slaves or send them off the island. For persons committed as run-aways, but claiming to be free, the provost-marshal *may* take bail in 100*l.* The keepers of the cage, or of prisons, misconducting themselves, or being guilty of any crime, misdemeanour, or offence, in their office, shall be punished with imprisonment, not exceeding one month, and fine, not exceeding five pounds*.

§ 18. Slaves confined in the cage, or in gaol, shall be employed in gangs, on the streets and highways, or public works in and around Bridgetown, *secured by fetters* †, under the superintendance of a proper person, who shall be answerable for their safety.

§ 19. Inquests of coroners on the bodies of slaves, are to be transmitted, with all the evidence, to the Governor, and to be recorded in the Crown-office.

§ 20. Any justice of the peace may call out a guard of twenty men, armed, to apprehend run-away slaves; and if any such slaves are killed, in consequence of their resisting the authority of this guard, the guard shall not be punished for the same, either criminally or otherwise.

§ 21. Any owner, &c. permitting a slave to go at large for the purpose of supporting himself, or paying hire for himself, or following any trade or business, for his own advantage or that of his owner or any other person, shall forfeit 5*l.*; the *onus probandi* resting on the party complained of. This most cruel and oppressive enactment is not to extend to a slave regularly *settled* in any house, and carrying on trade for the benefit of his owner, if licensed half-yearly.

§ 23. *Any* person may apprehend any slave having in his possession "any sugar-canes, sugar, rum, cotton, ginger, aloes, plate,

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of the island," which an owner is expected to give. If we are wrong in this assumption, and the "decent clothing" of a Negro would cost more than thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling in the year, then the owner will gain, even if he pay the fine: of course he will gain still more by merely running the risk of being made to pay it, by means of a conviction consequent on the complaint of his slaves.

* This law, bad as it is, is an improvement of the old law. It empowers the Governor and Council to examine his claim, before a man claiming to be free shall be sold as a slave. But even if he should not be proved to be a slave, he must still be banished; and in the mean time he must work in the chain gang. It seems to evince a most extraordinary confidence in the keepers of cages and prisons, or a great tenderness for their crimes, to limit their punishment to 5*l.* fine and one month's imprisonment, for any malversation in their office, even, it may be, for starving or mutilating one of their prisoners, or whipping one of the chain-gang to death.

† No exception is made of persons claiming to be free.

wrought or cast iron, lead, copper, pewter, brass, tin, or *other article or thing, of what nature or kind soever*, without a note descriptive of the same; who, on conviction before any justice of the peace, shall be whipped, at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. And if any slave shall plant cotton, ginger, or aloes, it can only be reaped under the inspection of some White person, and sold or disposed of by the same *.

§§ 25, 26. Any White, free person, or slave, buying of a slave stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, shall be punished as the actual stealer would be. And if stolen goods are found in the possession of any White or free person, or slave, *although it cannot be proved that it was with the knowledge of their being stolen*, yet such person, if a White or free person, shall be proceeded against as receivers of stolen goods are proceeded against in England, and shall be taken and deemed and punished as accessary to the felony after the fact; and, if a slave, shall, on conviction before *any* justice of the peace, be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes †.

§ 27. "Any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of *insolent language or gestures to or* OF *any White person*; or of *swearing*, or *uttering any obscene speeches*; or of *drunkenness*; or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fireworks; or of cock-fighting or gaming; or of *riding on a faster gait than a walk*, or of *driving upon a faster gait than a gentle trot*, on any road, street, or lane of the island; or of cruelly whipping, beating, or ill-using any horse, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of *negligently driving* any waggon, cart, carriage, &c.; or of ANY *disorderly conduct or misbehaviour*; shall, on conviction before *any* justice of the peace, be whipped, *at his discretion*, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes; but *the punishment of pregnant women shall be commuted to imprisonment*‡."

§§ 28—30. Any person screening a slave, guilty of any of the above offences, from punishment, shall forfeit not less than 5*l.* nor more than 25*l.* A like punishment, with the addition of a month's imprisonment in the common gaol, is assigned to all who permit

* This amounts to a virtual prohibition of the culture even of cotton, ginger, and aloes; the only articles, it would appear, except provisions, which slaves are allowed to plant. This is the way in which Negro industry is encouraged in Barbadoes. See also § 21.

† The injustice of these enactments is so obvious as to need no comment.

‡ There is something irresistibly but most appallingly ludicrous in this specimen of colonial legislation. What should we say to an Act which should condemn all men, women, and children (pregnant women scarcely excepted), at the discretion of *any* of his Majesty's justices of the peace, to thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip, or the cat-o'-nine tails, on the bare breech, if they quarrelled, or used any insolent language or gestuse, or swore, or spoke obscenely, or were drunk, or fought cocks, or gamed, or rode faster than a walk, or drove faster than a gentle trot, or were guilty of *any* disorderly conduct or misbehaviour? How admirably would the effect of Mr. Martin's Act be aided if the Barbadoes law were transferred to England, and thirty-nine lashes could be inflicted on every one who should whip, beat, or ill-use any horse, mare, gelding, mule, ass, or other cattle! The tender feeling of the Barbadians for the brute creation goes far beyond even his.

gaming to be carried on by slaves on their plantations; the penalty being doubled on each succeeding offence. Constables, under a penalty of 5*l.* and imprisonment for fourteen days, are not to permit slaves to game, or to assemble at huxters' shops, or dram shops, or any unlawful meetings *.

§§ 32—40. Slaves wilfully striking or assaulting any White person shall suffer, for the first offence, not more than six months' imprisonment and thirty-nine lashes; for the second, transportation for life, or imprisonment and hard labour, at the discretion of the court. Slaves who "shall strike, or *offer*, or *dare* to strike, or use *any* violence *towards* their master or mistress, shall, for the first offence, suffer *death without benefit of clergy*, transportation, or such other punishment as the court may think fit to inflict; and for the second, *death without benefit of clergy*. Slaves guilty of treason or rebellion, or who shall plan, excite, raise, or *in any way* promote mutiny or rebellion, or *any thing that shall have a tendency* thereto, or prepare arms or offensive weapons; or hold any council for, or *compass or imagine* for, the purpose of rebellion; or commit any murder, rape, forgery, felony, or robbery; or wilfully set fire to any house, out-house, canes, cane-trash, cane-tops, cane-stalks, pea-trees, cotton, wood, or piles of lumber; or break into any house, by night or day, and steal thence above the value of forty shillings; or compass and imagine the death of any person or persons whomsoever, and declare the same by some overt act; or steal any live stock, or feathered stock, above forty shillings' value; shall, for every such offence, suffer death without benefit of clergy, transportation, or such other punishment as the Court shall inflict. Slaves committing any crime not here specified, which, if committed by a White or free person, would be deemed felony by the laws of Great Britain; or wantonly and wilfully killing, by poison or in any other manner, any cattle, horse, mare, mule, ass, sheep, or hog; or who shall pretend to supernatural powers, or shall use obeah for malicious purposes; or shall prepare poison, or cause it to be taken; shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper. Slaves stealing, or attempting to steal, under the value of forty shillings, any cane-trash, cane-tops, cane-stalks, pea-trees, cotton, wood, fruit, goods or chattels, or any ground provisions, shall suffer corporal punishment, imprisonment, and hard labour, at the discretion of *any one justice*; but if the slave was urged to the crime by his owner not giving him sufficient food, the punishment shall be proportionably lessened, and the master be subject to a fine of 50*l.*; or, if he cannot afford to feed his slave, the slave shall be taken possession of by the treasurer, and let to hire for the benefit of the

* The surprise we cannot but feel at witnessing the intense indignation of the Barbadians against every thing which borders on indecorum in the untutored slave, will not be lessened, if we should have derived our estimate of their own moral conduct from the account given of it by their Agent and Advocate, Mr. Jordan, in his pamphlet against the Registry Bill in 1816.

owner. Slaves sentenced to death or transportation shall be valued, and the value, not exceeding 100*l.*, paid to the owner*.

§ 41. The practice of divination, or fortune-telling, shall be punished in a slave by whipping, imprisonment, and working in the chain gang, at the discretion of *any one* justice; in a White or free person, by a fine of 10*l.*†

§§ 42, 43. Any person wilfully or maliciously killing or murdering, or causing to be killed or murdered, any slave, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. But "if any person shall unfortunately kill by accident the slave of another, he shall only be liable to an action at law for the value of the slave:" or if any slave shall be killed while committing, or attempting to commit, *any* robbery, theft, burglary, or arson, or in the *attempt* to maim or *injure* any White person, the person killing any such slave shall not be punished for the same, either criminally or otherwise ‡.

§ 44. "Whereas it is highly expedient to restrain owners and others, having the government and direction of slaves, from indiscriminately, wantonly, and cruelly exercising the power they possess over slaves; and as the cruelty of punishment by flogging necessarily depends much more on the *manner of inflicting it* than upon the number of stripes; *it is therefore most conducive to the ends of humanity*" [not to limit the number of lashes, but] "to trust to the discretion and good feelings of the justices before whom complaints shall be made:" it is enacted, that if any person commits, or causes to be committed, any wanton act of cruelty towards any slave, or shall wantonly, maliciously, and cruelly whip, beat, or bruise any slave, such person, on conviction before two justices, may be fined not more than 25*l.* (about 17*l.* sterling): and if the accuser cannot prove his complaint, yet if the marks of the cruelty appear on the person of the slave, and the slave makes a particular, consistent, and probable statement of the cruel punishment, then the accused shall be considered guilty, unless he shall prove, either by his own oath, or the oath of some credible witness, that the punishment was not inflicted by him, or with his knowledge: and if any slave make a complaint, which shall appear to be frivolous, vexatious, or unfounded, then the justices may give him thirty-nine stripes. Any person maiming, mutilating, or dismembering a slave, may, on conviction at the grand sessions, be punished by fine and imprisonment [no minimum is fixed], or either, as the court shall think fit; and if the maiming, &c. shall have been done by the

* The obstinate maintenance of these Draconian laws by the Assembly, in despite of the remonstrances of the Council, sufficiently indicates the popular feeling of Barbadoes. The lust of multiplying capital crimes and felonies seems to have suffered no abatement among them.

† How forcibly, in this and a variety of similar instances, does Lord Bathurst's remark, quoted above, apply! (see notes page 11.)

‡ The Barbadians have fought a stout battle for the privilege of extinguishing Negro life since Lord Seaforth first proposed to make the murder of a slave felony, instead of being liable only to a fine of 15*l.*; even now, to extort protection to Negro life seems like wringing from them drops of blood.

owner, then the slave shall be taken possession of by the treasurer of the island, and forthwith *sold* [not made free, but sold] to some person of good and humane repute, for the best price that can be obtained for him, and the proceeds *paid over to the owner* or his creditors. For a second offence, the whole of his property in land and slaves shall be vested in trustees, to be managed for his benefit or that of his creditors, or to be sold, as the case may be, and paid to him or to his creditors; and he shall be declared incapable of holding the possession, or having any controul, management, or direction whatsoever over slaves.

§ 45. All punishments by whipping, whether by order of the magistrates, or by owners, &c. shall be inflicted with the like instrument used in his Majesty's navy and army, except by owners who may use a milder instrument. When female slaves are punished by whipping, the same shall be inflicted on the shoulders, in a *decent* manner, without any *unnecessary* exposure of the body of such female slaves; but pregnant women are to be punished in no other way but by confinement. The penalty for acting in violation of this clause is 5*l.*

§ 46. Any person fixing an iron collar round the neck of a slave, or fixing chains, weights, or irons of any kind on his body or limbs, shall be punished by fine and imprisonment. Owners, however, may confine *refractory* or run-away slaves in iron or wooden stocks, or by other means of security; or may send them to labour in the chain-gang for six months at a time; provided it is made to appear, *by the oath of the owner or some other witness*, that the improper conduct of the slave was not caused by want of food or clothing, or cruel treatment.

§ 47. Any slave who shall *hear any other slave speak any words* TENDING to mutiny or rebellion, or shall know of his having gunpowder or arms in his possession for purposes of rebellion, and shall not immediately disclose the same, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court may think fit.

§ 48. Any slave giving information which shall lead to the discovery of plots, &c. and shall cause the conviction of the accused, shall be purchased by the treasurer and made free, and receive an annuity of 10*l.* and be sent where he pleases*.

§ 49. If any White or free person shall sell or give to any slave gunpowder or arms, or any poison or noxious drug or thing, they shall be fined, on conviction by two justices, not more than 50*l.* And if the offence cannot be otherwise proved, then the declaration of the slave is to be evidence, and the party accused shall be deemed guilty, unless he clear himself by his own oath or that of some credible witness. And if the offender knew that the things sold or given were for illegal purposes, then, on conviction before the grand court, he shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or transportation.

§ 50. Every slave who, in the case of invasion or rebellion, shall

* What a temptation is here given to the fabrication of plots, and to perjury! We shall hereafter meet with proofs of this.

by any means kill or destroy one or more of the enemy or rebels, shall be rewarded at the public expense, or made free, if his cost shall not exceed 100*l.*

§ 54. Any slave running away or absenting himself, or misbehaving himself to his owner, &c., and the owner not choosing himself to punish such slave, complaint may be made to a justice, who may order the slave to be whipped at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or to be worked for six months in the chain-gang.

§ 60. "And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act the evidence of slaves shall, as heretofore, be taken and received, in all cases *against each other*." The evidence of slaves having a certificate of competency from the clergyman of the parish, shall be received in all cases which do not concern their owners, or affect the life of a White person. But if any White or free person shall associate with a slave in cock-fighting, gaming, getting drunk, &c.; or *shall live with any slave as man or wife*, then the evidence of *any* slave shall be received against such person*. Slaves giving false evidence are to be punished *as the person would be on whose trial the false evidence was given.*

§§ 64, 65. Hanging by the neck shall be the only mode of executing slaves. All slaves sentenced to imprisonment "shall and may be worked in chain-gangs."

Such is the Act of which Mr. Moe, the Speaker of the Assembly, had such exalted conceptions, that he gave it as his opinion that the "two branches of the Legislature would *splendidly* close their labours, by forwarding that great work, completed, to the Executive; and, in the night-fall of their existence, to have given life to this Act would endear their remembrance to posterity." (B. p. 29.) What an extraordinary perversion of all just reasoning and just feeling is implied in such a sentiment, even if we make the fullest allowance for the horrors and abominations of the various Acts which this *splendid* Act, the fruit of so "many tedious hours," has superseded! Of course such an Act never can be sanctioned by the King. It is an outrage upon him even to offer it to his approval. And let it also be kept in mind, not only what this Act does, but what it omits to do. It does not remove any of the obstructions to the manumission of slaves, not even the tax of 50*l.*; nor does it enable slaves to purchase their freedom. It does not cause slaves to cease to be chattels, or prevent their being sold at the discretion of the owner, to the disruption of the dearest family ties. It provides no means of instruction for them, and does not abolish Sunday markets and Sunday labour. It does not protect them in the possession or transmission of their property; nor relieve them from the burden of legally proving their freedom when freed; nor legalize marriage among them; nor put an end to the driving system; or to the flogging of women; or to arbitrary punishments, to an almost unlimited extent, for any offence,

* This is a virtual interdict of all intermarriages between slaves and free persons.

or for no offence. In short, it scarcely advances one step towards giving the slaves a participation in the civil rights and privileges of British subjects. The very provisions, framed with a professed view to mitigate the rigours of their former state, avail but little to that purpose, while they serve to mark more unequivocally the depth of their degradation. Is it possible that Parliament can continue to delegate to such legislators its own powers and its own duties; or that they can refuse at length to interfere between 800,000 of our fellow-subjects and such revolting despotism?

Sir Henry Warde, in transmitting this Act to Lord Bathurst, observes, that "though it may not be so complete as your Lordship might wish it to be, yet very great and substantial improvements" (what then must have been the former state of the law?) "have been effected;" and he gives a hope of farther improvements. (B. p. 1.) They must be very large improvements indeed, to satisfy the just expectations either of Lord Bathurst or of the public.

But there is another chapter in the history of Barbadoes, into which, after the recent discussion in Parliament on the subject, it may now be less necessary to enter—namely, the persecution of the Methodists, and the destruction of the Methodist chapel*. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Buxton, in a speech which gave an able and luminous exposition of the whole of that atrocity. The sense entertained of it, both by the Government and Parliament, could not be more strongly marked than it was in the speech of Mr. Canning. He reprobated the conduct of the Barbadians with the most unsparing severity—"It was unjustifiable, indefensible, a violation of law and justice, a defiance of all legal authority, a flying in the face of Parliament and of the country;"—and he moved, as an amendment, a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the House, "that they view with the utmost indignation that scandalous and daring violation of the law: and having seen with great satisfaction the instructions sent by his Majesty's Secretary of State to the Governor of Barbadoes, to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages, they humbly assure his Majesty of their readiness to concur in every measure, which his Majesty may deem necessary, for securing ample protection and religious toleration to all his Majesty's subjects in that part of his Majesty's dominions †."

The most remarkable circumstance attending this flagitious act is, the general concurrence of all ranks of the White inhabitants, if not in entirely approving what had been done, at least in manifesting no dissatisfaction with it. The magistrates, with scarcely an exception, seem to have exulted in the success of the outrage, and some of them to have even participated in its contrivance and perpetration. We have not heard that any of those magistrates, who were guilty of so scandalous a dereliction of their duty, have yet been removed from

* See Papers C. and D.

† "An Authentic Report" of this interesting debate has been published for Hatchard and Son.

the stations which they had so criminally prostituted. It is instructive to compare the total impunity which has attended this insurrection of the Whites, with the massacres in cold blood which followed, in 1816, the insurrection of the Blacks in the same island.

IV. BERBICE.

In this colony nothing whatever appears to have been done in the work of reform. Governor Beard had pressed the subject at different times on the attention of the Council of the colony, but without effect. On one occasion he observes, addressing Lord Bathurst, "I have no hope of the Council redeeming their pledge in this respect," (namely, the abolition of flogging in the case of women,) "or acceding in any manner to the proposed measures of his Majesty's Government." And again: "I cannot discover any friendly feeling, on the part of the individuals composing the present Council, towards the measures intended by his Majesty's Government to be carried into effect in this settlement." (A. pp. 227—236.)

We have not heard what steps the Government have taken in consequence of this contumacy.

A return has been made to the House of Commons of the taxes and fees paid on acts of manumission in Berbice, from the 1st of January 1822 to the 13th April 1824, being upwards of two years and a quarter. In that time there were only twenty-five acts of manumission, being at the rate of about eleven annually; and the amount of taxes and fees alone paid upon them, exclusive of the cost of redeeming the slaves, was 11,564 guilders, being at the rate of nearly 40*l.* sterling for each. (E. pp. 9, 10.)

A motion was made, in the session of 1824, for "a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice, in his capacity of guardian and protector of the slaves, with his decision in all cases of complaint of masters and slaves respectively against each other, and the punishments inflicted or the redress given in consequence of such complaint, from the 1st of January 1814 to the present time." To this motion a return has been made, the substance of which will appear at the close of this pamphlet.

V. BERMUDA.

No account whatever has been received from this colony of the slightest movement towards reform; although it will be seen by a reference to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society (p. 144), that the laws of no colony more need reform than those of Bermuda.

VI. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Since the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society was printed,

a return from the Registry of Slaves has been laid on the table of the House of Commons, by which it appears that the slave population of the Cape of Good Hope, instead of being, as there estimated, only 25,000 (p. 157), amounted in the year 1823 to 35,271—viz. 20,491 males, and 14,780 females. (I.) A disproportion in the sexes so great as this, after the Slave Trade had ceased for 17 or 18 years, raises a suspicion that slaves may have been illicitly introduced.

In March 1823, Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, issued a proclamation containing regulations for the religious instruction and treatment of the slaves. Compulsory labour on the Sunday is forbidden by it, under a penalty of not more than fifty or less than ten rix-dollars for each offence. Certain regulations are adopted with a view to the marriage and the baptism of slaves. Married slaves * cannot be sold separately, or without their children † under ten, except (and why this exception?) by the decree of a court of justice. The evidence of *baptized slaves* (why the restriction?) is to be received in all cases whatsoever. Christian slaves (and why not all slaves?) are to pay no tax on manumission. Young slaves are to be sent for instruction to the nearest free-school, by such proprietors as are Christians (and why not by all?). The property of slaves is secured to them, and they are empowered to bequeath it. In cases of suicide, the owner of the slave inherits his property‡. The property of intestate slaves having no relations, is to go to a fund for redeeming female slave children. Owners, &c. are not to inflict on a slave more than twenty-five lashes for one offence, or to repeat the punishment until the delinquent has recovered from the former correction; and no punishment is to be inflicted by any other hand than that of the owner, &c., under a penalty of from fifty to one hundred rix-dollars. An owner killing a slave is guilty of homicide; maltreating him may be punished by fine, imprisonment, or banishment, and the slave may be sold for his account§, but so as not to come into the power of him or his relations. An overseer maltreating a slave will be punished as if he had maltreated a free servant. A slave whose complaint proves groundless shall be punished ‖.

VII. DEMERARA.

The taxes and fees paid on manumissions in Demerara and Essequibo, from the 1st of January 1822 to the first of September 1824,

* The right of marriage is confined to Christian slaves. Why may not Mohammedan and Pagan slaves be encouraged to marry, and protected in their marriages, as well as Christians?

† This rule should also extend to reputed marriages.

‡ The owner seems the last person who should inherit the property of a slave who commits suicide, acts of suicide generally proceeding from harsh usage.

§ Ought not the slave to be made free?

‖ This is surely most objectionable. Why should the complaints of slaves be discouraged? To make the failure of proof a ground of punishment, unless malice or perjury can be proved, is repugnant to all our ideas of justice.

being two years and eight months—during which time seventy-six slaves only were manumitted, being at the rate of twenty-eight or twenty-nine in each year—amounted to 32,750 guilders, or at the rate of about 36*l.* sterling each. (E. pp. 5—8.)

In return to the motion for "a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara, in their capacity of guardians and protectors of slaves, with their decisions in all cases of complaint of masters and slaves respectively against each other, and the punishments inflicted or redress given in consequence of such complaints, from the 1st of January 1814 to this time," the first Fiscal, Mr. Herbert, thus writes: "There is no record of such proceedings at this office; and until the month of April 1824, there does not appear to have been even a memorandum of the proceedings held before the Fiscal as a magistrate." (E. p. 17.) Thus we learn that no record has been preserved of the judicial proceedings which have taken place, in cases most deeply affecting the happiness, if not the lives, of 80,000 of his Majesty's subjects, prior to the month of April 1824. The only return made to this order comprises a period of not more than three months; namely, from June 16 to September 18, 1824.—The number of complaints in that time is twenty-five, of which seventeen are complaints of slaves against their owner or manager, and six of masters or mistresses against their slaves. The other two are complaints of slaves against each other. The complaints of the masters against their slaves appear to be in every case redressed. One man is reprimanded; two women are confined for a week; one man is punished (it is not said in what manner); of four men accused of ill behaviour, three are punished: and of twenty-six, belonging to the estate Maria's Lodge, accused of running into the bush, striking work, and bad behaviour, four are punished—three men and one woman. It is added, that in this case the Negroes had no ground of complaint, and that the woman was very insolent, saying, "You cannot flog women." (E. p. 19.)

The result of the complaints of the Negroes against their owners and managers is somewhat different.

1. The Negroes of Plantation Big Diamond complain of ill-treatment: three of the ringleaders are punished, "the complaint being unwarranted."

2. The Negroes of Plantation Friendship make the same complaint: four are punished, and all are sent back severely reprimanded.

3. Negroes of the Plantation la Bonna Mere make the same complaint: it is pronounced frivolous and unwarrantable, and seven of them are punished.

4. The gangs of Plantation Belle Hope complain of ill-usage, hard work, starvation, &c.: the complaint is pronounced frivolous and ill-founded, and three of the ring-leaders are punished.

5. Izak, of Plantation Fowlis, complains of ill-treatment: he is punished.

6. George makes a like complaint: he is to go to his work, and to be punished.

7. Sally begs leave to be sold without her child: not allowed, and warned to take care of it.

8. Lucinda complains of various ill-treatment from the manager and overseer of La Jalousie: "a made-up story; is punished."

9. Adam complains of his little sister being ill-treated: contradicted by the mother and child; is punished in gaol.

10. A woman and boy complain of want of clothing, and ill-treatment: unfounded; the woman confined eight days, the boy flogged.

11. A Negress complains of Mr. Cantzlaar, her master, that he was taking her into the country to punish her for nothing: "she had misbehaved; he was taking her into the country; she ran away to complain:—returned to her master to act discretionary."

12. Irins and another complain, that the manager of Plantation Kissingin does not give them enough to eat: "frivolous—restored to the master."

13. Caroline and some others of Plantation Groenseld complain of the manager; Caroline, that he had flogged a Negro till he died; and the rest, that he beat them with a tar rope: "Caroline's story unfounded; six weeks' confinement on bread and water, to be mitigated on contrition:" the rest showed no marks of violence: "the tar rope was taken away, the Negroes satisfied, and the manager reprimanded."

14. Peggy complains that her mistress, Miss Neil, treats her ill, and gives her no clothing: "altogether unfounded; is punished."

15. Four Negroes of Plantation Northbrook complain against the manager of hard work, over work, and flogging: "altogether unfounded; punished, one man rather severely, one very slightly, two sent to work as convicts for a month." "Mr. Stuart, the master, is very kind and indulgent, but discipline and proper method wanting."

16. Twenty-seven Negroes of the estate Land of Canaan complain of a want of clothing, lodging, food, comforts in sickness, &c.: "just, except as to food; fined the owner 10*l.* for every Negro; ordered him to furnish the things required, and informed the Negroes to that effect."

17. Negroes of Plantation Jans and Coree complain of the manager's ill-treatment: the manager to be discharged. (E. pp. 18—20.)

In this return no part of the evidence is given; we are left to conjecture what it may have been: the particular details are throughout suppressed; nor is even the nature or extent of the punishment specified. Such a record is, in fact, of no use whatever. It affords not the slightest means of judging of the equity of the proceeding; excepting that the very sententious brevity with which the entries are made excites a suspicion of a very summary mode of administering justice. One thing is clear, namely, that the general course of the Fiscal's administration is calculated to discourage all representation of harsh usage on the part of the slaves, except perhaps in the very grossest cases. But facts are wanting; and an exposition of the facts of each case ought to be peremptorily required: it is only in this way that we can get at the real nature of the slave system, in

its practical operation. If we had not obtained the particulars of the trials of the alleged insurgents in Demerara and Jamaica, we should not have suspected half of the gross perversions of justice which take place in the colonial judicatories, in the name and by the authority of the King. In this country, we all feel how essential publicity and the controul of public opinion are to the ends of justice: how much more are these required in the West Indies! "If it be asked," said the murdered Missionary Smith, in speaking of the cruel treatment of the slaves in Demerara—"if it be asked, Are there not authorities to whom the injured slaves can appeal for redress? The answer is in the affirmative. But many of the legally constituted authorities are themselves owners of plantations, following the same system, and perhaps, by means of their managers, practising the same abuses on their slaves. Judging from their conduct, it would seem that some of them consider it a greater crime for the Negroes to complain of their wrongs, than for the master to *inflict* them. The complainants are almost sure to be flogged, and frequently before the complaint is investigated, if listening to the exculpatory tale of the master can be called investigation; and even when the cause is so evidently on the side of the complainant that it can neither be denied nor evaded, the decision is so studiously concealed from them that they scarcely know whether the law is to protect the oppressed, or to indemnify the oppressor; nor can they always solve this problem from the result." How painfully does the return of Mr. Fiscal Herbert (and still more that of Mr. Fiscal Bennett, inserted at the close of this pamphlet) illustrate the statement of Mr. Smith!

The attention of the government of Demerara having been called, by Lord Bathurst, to the subject of a reform of the slave code of that colony, frequent discussions have taken place upon it; hitherto, however, without leading to any satisfactory result. It may be useful, nevertheless, to trace the progress of these discussions.

Sir B. D'Urban, the Governor, professing to draw his information from the planters, states his opinion, in May 1824, to be, that the Negro mind is still "agitated, jealous, and suspicious." "Many of the slaves are *described to me* as remarkably well informed upon all that passes in England and in the colonies, interesting to their views and condition: many of them read, most of them well understand what is read or repeated to them; they are (naturally enough) inquisitive, and anxious to learn whatever relates to them; and unquestionably they continue to procure very early information of all discussions in Parliament, in the newspapers and in the public prints." (A. p. 193.)—Such a statement as this proves this, at least, most unquestionably, that the Governor has been made the dupe of false information; and it will serve sufficiently to explain much in his communications, which would otherwise not have been explicable. It is somewhat surprising, so much depending upon accuracy, that the Governor should not himself have insisted on having these well-informed and erudite Negroes, these masters of intelligence from Europe, brought at once into his presence, and examined. He

would then have ascertained the depth of the delusion which had been practised upon him, by those in whose descriptions he confided *.

Under the same influence, doubtless, which had been thus employed to delude him as to the state of intelligence among the slaves, he proceeds, in a letter of the 25th of June 1824 (A. p. 196), to use the arguments of the planter for departing, in the reform of their code, from the Trinidad model. To this letter, on the 20th of November 1824, Lord Bathurst replies at considerable length, and in most respects very satisfactorily. (A. pp. 219—226) He notices, in their order, the various provisions of the law framed by the Court of Policy which he says *must* be amended, and the various omissions which *must* be supplied, before that law can be promulgated.

1. The principle of forbidding the person entrusted with the office of Protector to possess plantation slaves, *must* be adhered to.—It would have been well had his Lordship added domestic slaves also.

2. It *must* be kept in mind, and expressed in the law, "that the total abolition of Sunday markets is contemplated, as soon as the measures shall have taken effect which are designed to remove the causes of its temporary inexpediency †."

3. The employment of slaves on the Sunday is prohibited in the Trinidad Order: a *close* adherence to its rules is required in the present instance.

4. The offence of carrying a whip in the field *must* be punished, not only by mulct, but, as in the Trinidad Order, by fine and imprisonment.

5. It is absolutely *necessary* to retain the provision which requires witnesses of the punishments inflicted on slaves.

6. The abolition of the punishment of females by the whip, is an enactment of which *no* qualification can be admitted as relates to adults.

7. If a slave, when produced in court, shall exhibit traces of recent flogging, and shall state probable grounds for believing the punishment to have been unlawfully inflicted, the owner *must* be required to disprove the allegation, otherwise he must be convicted of the offence.

8. The record of punishments *must* be kept, and the returns made once in every half year, on oath, as in Trinidad.

9. The draft of the Court of Policy having been silent on the subject of the evidence of slaves, on the ground that such evidence is by the Dutch law admissible in all cases, Lord Bathurst *requires* that the

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* The want of knowledge, the barbarism, and the total incivilization of the slaves, have hitherto formed one great plea for keeping them in slavery. When it suits the varying purposes of the planters, the same men are acute, intelligent, penetrating, and capable of surmounting difficulties of the most formidable kind in the pursuit of information.

† The reasons are given in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society (p. 72) for conceiving that this delay in the abolition of Sunday markets is altogether uncalled for, and not justified by any one of the reasons on which it is founded.

omission should be supplied, and that the course pursued in the Trinidad Order should be adhered to.

10. "The marriages of slaves are proposed," says his Lordship, "to be regulated by provisions substituted for those of the Order in Council for Trinidad; but which will, I am sure, upon consideration, appear so inadequate, (and one part of that proposition is, in truth, so open to ridicule) that I am persuaded the Court of Policy will at once acknowledge the expediency of a stricter conformity to the Order in Council."

11. A strict adherence to the Trinidad Order in Council is also *necessary* in regard to the acquisition and disposal of property by slaves. Lord Bathurst approves of the proposed prohibition of slaves possessing fire-arms and ammunition; but sees no sufficient reason for not allowing them to possess the exportable produce of the colony*.

12. Lord Bathurst wholly disapproves of that existing law of Demerara, by which the consent of the Governor and the Court of Policy is

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* The part of the draft to which Lord Bathurst here objects, states that slaves may, but with the approbation and consent of their owners (a qualification which obviously altogether nullifies the *right* of property), possess property of any kind, and dispose of it by bequest or otherwise, save and except fire-arms and ammunition, and such colonial produce as is prohibited to be sold or bartered by the eleventh article of the existing law. On turning to that article, we find it to be as follows:—

"All slaves, as well males as females, are prohibited from selling or bartering, with any one whatever, any produce,—sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, rokow, syrup, rum, bottles, or flasks, *or any thing else;* being permitted to sell only vegetables and ground provisions, the produce of their gardens, or stock which they are allowed to rear; on pain of being severely flogged on the plantation to which they belong, for the first offence; and for the second to be punished by sentence of the court, according to the exigency of the case." (A. p. 210.)

Lord Bathurst might well question whether any sufficient reason was assigned for making, by a side wind, such a cruel and preposterous enactment as this a part of the new and ameliorated slave code. But such is, in point of fact, the cruel and preposterous law of every slave colony in his Majesty's dominions; and Lord Bathurst himself, we fear, has inadvertently given it an indirect, sanction, in his correspondence with the Governor of Trinidad. The passage to which we allude is contained in a letter to Sir R. Woodford, dated 24th July 1824, and is as follows:—

"In the papers before me, a construction is put upon a part of the Order in Council which is warranted by none of its provisions. It appears to be doubted whether the permission, conveyed to slaves, to purchase and hold land, does not indirectly revoke the existing law of Trinidad, whereby slaves are prohibited from cultivating for their own profit any of the staple commodities of the island. In granting the slaves the power of acquiring land, the Order does not, of course, exempt them from any existing restrictions as to the mode in which land might be cultivated by persons of their class and condition."—Now as the restrictions in Trinidad and Demerara are substantially the same, it appears that there is as good reason for questioning in the former as in the latter case the propriety of prohibiting slaves to cultivate or to possess exportable produce. In fact, the principle on which the legislators of the West Indies have uniformly proceeded, of absolutely prohibiting slaves from raising any exportable produce whatever, is one which deserves the very utmost degree of reprobation, and which, as the attention of Government has at length been called to it, will, we trust, in every case, meet with their decided and unequivocal rejection.

rendered necessary to every act of manumission, to which even the owner of the slave is consenting, and he cannot therefore allow such a principle to be introduced into the new code. It is *impossible*, he says, to admit of this, or indeed of any other departure from the provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council on this head.

13. Another important regulation, which postpones the payment of the Protector's salary till he shall have made his periodical returns, has been omitted in the draft, but, his Lordship says, *must* be strictly adhered to.

14. The clause proposing to vest in the Governor a power of suspending the proposed law, is declared to be perfectly *inadmissible.*

Lord Bathurst adds, that he trusts the Court of Policy is prepared to adopt these suggestions; but, if not, "it is necessary that I should explain to you, that in such an event, however desirous his Majesty's Government may be that the origination of this measure of melioration should proceed from the Court of Policy, they would feel it their paramount duty to issue, without further delay, an Order in Council for the purpose of carrying them into effect."

The whole of this dispatch is most highly creditable to Lord Bathurst; and we trust to see, ere long, the important principles which it develops carried into full effect throughout all his Majesty's slave colonies.

But what has been the practical result of these instructions of Lord Bathurst? This we learn from the Additional Papers (B.) presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command. On the 14th March 1825, the Governor transmits to his Lordship the amended draft of an ordinance; in which, however, there are such material deviations from Lord Bathurst's instructions as forbid him from promulgating it without a further reference to England. What course Lord Bathurst may have pursued in consequence of this further reference, does not appear in these papers. We cannot doubt that it has been marked by the same firm adherence to just principles which distinguished his former communication, of which we have already given the substance. In the mean time, it will be of essential use to give an abstract of this last and highest effort of the Demerara Court of Policy in the work of legislative reform, adopted under the influence of all those powerful and constraining motives which the dispatch of his Lordship, last quoted, must have conveyed to their minds. The following is the substance of their draft. (B. pp. 259—279.)

§ 1—6 appoint the First Fiscal Protector of Slaves*; disqualify him from holding any plantation or plantation slaves *within the colony* †, or acting as trustee, guardian, executor, attorney, manager, &c. of slaves; and require him to perform his duty in person.

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* The union of these two offices appears to be utterly incompatible, the Fiscal being the public prosecutor.

† He ought not to hold slaves *any where*, or to have been a holder of slaves, who merely renounces his property in them for the sake of his office.

§ 7 appoints the Deputy Fiscals, or Burgher Officers, Assistant Protectors *.

§§ 9, 10, forbid the compulsory labour of slaves on Sunday, under a penalty of 600 guilders; but this exemption from labour is not to authorize them to leave the plantation to which they belong, without leave; or *to exempt them from the operation of the existing laws*; or to prevent the distribution of their weekly allowance being made on that day; or to extend to the following excepted cases—viz. domestic service, attendance on cattle or live stock, attendance on hospitals, burying of the dead, preventing or remedying breaches in dams, conflagrations, and all cases of the same general nature, and referable to the same principles; all labour for the preservation of the crops, as boiling-off the cane-juice expressed before sun-set on Saturday, turning and drying of coffee or cotton, picking of cotton and coffee during crop; for which last service wages, to be fixed by the Protector, shall be paid †.

§ 11. Until effectual provision shall have been made for the religious instruction of the slaves, when Sunday markets shall be wholly abolished, these shall be continued until eleven o'clock in the forenoon ‡.

§ 12. A person carrying a whip, or any other instrument of punishment, in the field or elsewhere, either as a badge of authority or as a stimulus to labour, shall incur, if free, a penalty of 600 guilders, or be imprisoned for not more than six months; and if a slave, shall incur corporal punishment.

§ 13. On male slaves, when punishment by the owner, &c. is necessary, it must be inflicted without cruelty or passion, to no greater extent than twenty-five lashes, and not till after sun-rise of the day next following that of the offence, in the presence either of one free person, or of six slaves (in which case the owner, &c. must prove he could not procure a free witness within twenty-four hours), to witness the infliction, besides the person ordering it. Punishment shall not be repeated on the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from former punishment §.

* No restraint is imposed on the Assistant Protectors as to holding slaves. This is a most important defect. Dr. MacTurk, for example, will now be, ex-officio, an Assistant Protector of slaves.

† Wages are allowed by the Court of Policy only in the case of picking coffee or cotton; but this is a labour which ought on no account to be allowed to be carried on on a Sunday. With as much reason, nay, with more, might it be allowed, in this country, to make hay or reap corn on a Sunday, or to perform any other harvest work. Such a practice is defended on a pretence which is altogether unfounded; namely, that coffee and cotton ripen so suddenly that they would be totally lost if not immediately picked. The other operations spoken of ought unquestionably to be paid for. Why should persons mend a dam, or turn coffee or cotton, on a Sunday, without being paid for their labour? Again: what are those existing laws, which are alluded to, but not specified, and which are to modify all this exemption from Sunday labour?

‡ See the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society, p. 72.

§ We greatly regret that Lord Bathurst should have given way as to the substitution of six slaves for one free person as witnesses of punishment. It

§ 14 prohibits the flogging of female slaves absolutely, under a penalty of 1400 guilders, or imprisonment from one month to six months; and substitutes the punishments, as in Trinidad, of solitary confinement, with or without work; and of stocks, and distinguishing dresses, and marks of various kinds; all which *may* also be substituted in the case of males. Confinement for more than twelve hours can be ordered only by the Fiscal, who may extend it, together with labour in the tread-mill, to a month, or otherwise proceed *according to the existing laws of the colony* *.

§ 15. A record book is to be kept by every person having a gang of slaves exceeding six †, and on every estate; in which must be entered, within forty-eight hours (why this delay?), the punishment inflicted on any female slave, or on any male slave exceeding three lashes; the nature of the offence; the time and place of punishment; the names of the persons ordering it, and of the persons witnessing it, and the number of stripes actually inflicted. False entries, erasure, &c. are to be punished with a fine of 300 guilders, or imprisonment for not more than three months. A copy of this record must be delivered every six months, on oath, under a penalty of 300 guilders.

§§ 19, 20, are intended to regulate the marriage of slaves, with the permission of the owner, &c.; such owner, however, if he refuses permission, being to be called upon by the Protector to shew good cause for so doing. They are to be married without fee or reward, by any minister either of the Church of England, or Scotland, or Holland, or any licenced teacher within the colony; a register of the same being kept: "Provided always, that such marriage shall *in no manner* confer on the slaves *any* of those civil rights which by marriage are acquired by persons of free condition, nor subject such slaves to any penal infliction, the effects of which might destroy the rights or injure the property of their owners ‡."

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is a dangerous innovation, to make the witnesses persons so wholly dependant on the punisher as his own slaves must be; and to suppose that a free person could not be found to witness a punishment, if not in 24 hours yet in 48 or 72 hours (and where is the evil, in such a case, of delay?), is absurd. Besides, it is in the power of the planters to add to the number of free persons in the colony.

* It is impossible not to be extremely jealous of such vague and undefined references to existing laws—laws existing somewhere else than in this new slave code—because it is impossible to know to what extent oppression may be sanctioned by such loose and sweeping terms.

† No good reason can be given, why, if persons not possessing more than six slaves should not be subject to this regulation, they should not refer the offences of their slaves to the magistrate. Persons in low circumstances are both less likely to restrain their passions, and are less liable to observation, than others. The very circumstances, therefore, which render it expedient to exempt the owner from the necessity of keeping a record-book, and making a due return of its contents, make it still more expedient to exempt the slave from liability to punishment, at least beyond three lashes, without the interference of the magistrate.

‡ The Court of Policy say that they have laboured to obviate the diffi-

§ 21. Every female slave *who is faithful in marriage*, shall receive from her owner, &c., for her first child twelve, and for every other fifteen guilders; and when she has six children *living*, she shall be exempt from labour *in the field*, or any other than light work, under a penalty of 300 guilders. (Why not made free?)

§ 22. Owners of estates shall provide food for slaves at the rate of one acre for five Negroes, from which a reasonable weekly allowance shall be made them; or shall otherwise purchase or procure a sufficient supply; and shall provide them with proper clothing; under a penalty of 90 guilders for every acre deficient, and of 150 for every slave not properly provided for.

§ 23. The hours for *field work* of slaves, shall be from six o'clock in the morning till six o'clock in the evening, two hours being allowed them during that period for rest and meals; under a penalty of 300 guilders *.

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culties which must arise from adopting the Trinidad code, which makes the marriage of slaves, "to all intents and purposes, binding, valid, and effectual in law,"—"but that the civil rights acquired by marriage are so numerous and complicated, that it is found impracticable to adopt or modify this expression." Lord Bathurst, in his letter of the 24th November 1824, had intimated that the particular ill effects which were apprehended from the rights of marriage should be specified, and especially guarded against. The Court of Policy have not chosen to comply with his Lordship's suggestion; but repeat the same vague assertion, in the same vague manner, without any proof or specification whatever. Why could they not have stated what the various civil rights are which marriage confers; and which of these rights they deem wholly incompatible with the slavery of Demerara, and with their own rights and property as masters? This at the least they are bound to do.

* Now, in this apparently precise enactment, there is nevertheless much ambiguity.—"The hours of *field-work*." But is there no species of labour but that of field-work? Pulping coffee, or ginning cotton, or grinding and boiling sugar, is not field-work. Again, collecting grass for the horses, cattle, and live stock, is not deemed field-work, and yet it forms a cruel aggravation of the daily task. The practice is thus described by the Missionary Smith:—"Soon after sun-set (which is always within about fifteen minutes of six), they leave off work in the field; and each one, having cut or picked a bundle of grass for the master's horses, which serves instead of hay, an article not made in the West Indies, they bend their course homewards. They all carry the grass to a certain spot, forming a general muster, and there remain, in the open air, often shivering with cold, till the cracking of the whip informs them they are to take it to the stable, which is generally at about eight o'clock. If there be no other work to do, they may then go home. I say, if there be no other work; for, after toiling all day, many of the slaves are frequently compelled to work half the night," &c. But if any one is disposed to question Mr. Smith's authority, he has only to refer to the Minutes of the Trial of the Insurgents in 1823, published by Mr. Herbert, the fiscal, and Mr. Wray, the judge, in order to find the practice incidentally recognised as of regular occurrence. Now of this practice what says Dr. Collins, a physician and planter of St. Vincent's, the author of the work called "The Professional Planter," a work of high authority, even with West Indians? He says, "The neglect of grass-picking is another frequent cause of punishment. On some estates it draws more stripes on the Negroes than all their other offences put together, as the lash seldom lies idle while the grass-roll is calling over." He strongly advises that the practice should be entirely abolished, "because it encroaches much on the

§ 24 provides for the employment on estates of a medical practitioner, and the erection of a hospital, under the penalty of 600 guilders.

§ 25. If any slave dies suddenly, information shall be given to the Protector or Assistant Protector, or, if this cannot be done, to some respectable inhabitant; who, attended by a medical practitioner, shall inspect the corpse and certify the result.

§ 26. Husband and wife, and children under sixteen years of age, are not to be separated by *judicial* sales.—There is no restraint imposed on any other kind of sale.

§§ 27, 28. No slave shall be deemed incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, or dispose of property, as money, cattle, implements of husbandry, household furniture, or other effects of *such like nature*, honestly and lawfully acquired, save and except arms and ammunition, and such colonial produce as is prohibited to be sold by the existing law (being, in fact, all exportable produce). But it shall not be lawful for any slave to keep any stock or animals on the land of his owner, without the owner's consent; and if he should refuse to remove them when required, the owner may destroy them. Slaves may sue their debtors, through their owners, or through the Protector. Owners, or other free persons, unjustly withholding the property of slaves, shall on conviction be made to restore it, and be further liable to fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court. Savings' Banks shall be established, in which slaves may deposit their property, being at liberty also to bequeath their deposits*.

§ 29. No duty, tax, or fee shall be taken on the manumission of slaves, except a fee of 22 guilders for registering the deed, to be paid out of the colony chest, under a penalty of from 100 to 1000 guilders.

§ 30. Any owner desirous of manumitting a slave shall give notice of his intention to the Protector; and if the Protector thinks the slave likely to become a burthen to the public, he is then to regulate the amount of the security or deposit to be given. He is also to give public notice of the intended manumission, with a view of enabling any one, having a right so to do, to oppose such manumission; and in case of an action, the slave shall be defended in such action by the Protector, and the decree of the court of justice shall be binding.

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time allotted to their own use." See also Watson's Defence of Methodist Missions, for further proofs of the cruel and pernicious effects of this practice, which still subsists, and, in spite of such a clause as this, will still subsist, in Demerara.

* The Trinidad Order empowers the slaves to hold land: the Demerara Draft does not. This is a most material omission. The Court of Policy defend the clause which forbids slaves to possess exportable produce, by the passage in Lord Bathurst's letter to Sir R. Woodford already alluded to. (See note, p. 35.) If this clause be maintained, farewell to all hope of productive industry and accumulation on the part of the slaves, whether in Trinidad or Demerara.

If there be no opposition, then it shall be in the power of the owner to manumit his slave *.

§§ 31, 32. The law of evidence is pretty much the same as in the Trinidad Order in Council, except that in some respects it improves upon that Order. It does not exclude the evidence of slaves in civil suits in which the owner is concerned, nor in cases where a White person may be charged with a capital offence. This blot in the Trinidad Order is avoided in the Demerara Draft.

§§ 33, 34. The salary of the Protector shall be in lieu of all fees; and if he shall take any fee or perquisite, he shall pay a fine equal to twice the amount, and be disqualified for the office of Protector. His salary is to be paid him half-yearly, but not until he shall have made all the required returns; namely, returns of the number and particulars of all actions and suits, or criminal prosecutions, in which he was concerned as Protector, with the accounts of the Savings' Banks, the records of punishments, &c.

§ 35 appropriates the fines and forfeitures.

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* This enactment is as far removed as possible from the spirit and tendency of the corresponding enactment of the Trinidad Order. That order enacts, that if any slave shall be desirous to purchase his own or her own freedom, or that of wife or husband or child or brother or sister, he may do so: and if the owner be unwilling, or be unable, from mortgages, or minority, or lunacy, &c. &c. to grant his manumission; or if the owner demand a greater sum than his fair and just value; then the chief Judge shall summon the parties before him; and if either of the parties shall refuse, or be unable, to effect such manumission, then one appraiser shall be appointed by the owner, and another by the Protector, and an umpire by the chief Judge, who shall value the slave; and, on the payment of this appraised value, the slave shall be manumitted; such value being lodged in the treasury of the island, to abide the claim of the party lawfully entitled to the slave. The Court of Policy enter into a laboured vindication of their refusal to adopt the principle of the Trinidad code in this respect. "The court have felt it to be beyond their power" "to give their sanction to any measure which could, even by construction, imply an acknowledged right on the part of the slave to demand his freedom, *invito domino*.—They feel themselves called upon to avow the principle, that *they have not the right* to invade the property of their fellow-colonists, by admitting that they can in any manner be deprived of it contrary to the law by which it is secured to them, and which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to guarantee by the Articles of Capitulation" (as if articles of capitulation were at all binding subsequently to the cession of a colony in full sovereignty). "The Spanish law allows a slave to enfranchise himself by purchase: the Dutch law gives no such right whatever to a slave. Here the interest of an owner in his slave is that of fee-simple absolute." "Let the Spanish law be what it may, it can never alter the existing law of this colony." "Slaves in this colony are chattels, as much as any other moveable property." "Neither is it the law that proprietors can be forced to dispose of their property, real or personal, when its value is offered to them by others. To give to the slave the right of purchasing himself, against the will and consent of his owner, will annihilate the right of the owner, and confer on the slave a power which no other person possesses." An attempt is then made to point out the injurious effect, even to the slave himself, of thus giving him the power of purchasing his freedom; but it is too absurd to require exposure. It is, in fact, an attempt to satisfy the people of England that slavery is a much better thing than freedom. The time is gone by for such fooleries.

§ 36. If any person shall be twice convicted of inflicting on a slave a cruel and unlawful punishment, he shall incur double the penalty of cruelty before mentioned, and shall be declared incapable of having the management of any slaves within the colony; and if he is the owner, his estate shall be placed under curators, who shall manage the same; the owner, however, being at liberty to sell or dispose of it.

§ 37. Nothing in this order is to be construed as extending to repeal any of the regulations respecting the treatment of slaves enacted the 23d March 1785, except in as far as they may be repugnant to these regulations*.

There is one entire omission in this draft: it is that clause which is numbered 21 in the Trinidad Order in Council, and which ordains that if any owner, &c. is prosecuted for cruelly and unlawfully punishing a slave, and if the slave alleged to be illegally punished is produced in court with the marks upon him of recent flogging or laceration, and such slave shall make a consistent statement of the circumstances, then the owner shall be bound to prove, either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his consent, or that it was a lawful punishment, and was lawfully inflicted; and, in default of such proof, shall be adjudged guilty of the offence imputed to him. The Court of Policy labours hard to prove that it would be radically unjust to adopt this course of proceeding (p. 268); but Lord Bathurst will probably find as solid a reply to their reasoning on the subject, as he has given to the remonstrance of the Trinidad planters against the same regulation.

VIII. DOMINICA.

The legislature of Dominica was for a time very vehement in its denunciations against the efforts of the abolitionists to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and took pains to produce a general confederacy of the West-Indian colonies for the maintenance of the whip in its plenitude of power. Of late it has been remarkably quiescent. The Parliamentary Papers barely notice its existence. In August 1824, the Governor, Nicolay, says he has reason to believe that the legislature will, on its meeting, carry into effect Lord Bathurst's wishes. His only subsequent communication is dated the 28th March 1825, and is as follows:—

"It is matter of much regret to me, that I am still unable to report that the legislature of this colony has passed an act for the melioration of the condition of the slave population, though I have repeatedly and strongly urged the subject, both by public message and other means.

"A bill to that effect was long ago introduced; but, after much discussion, it has not been completed. A new bill is to be brought in immediately; and I trust no farther obstacles will arise, though I

* See above, second note p. 30.

greatly fear it will not comprise all the wished-for amendments in the slave laws; for I plainly perceive, even among the best disposed of the proprietors, an apprehension, that, by going to the full extent that has been recommended, they may relinquish what they consider to be necessary authority over the slaves.

"The only consolation under these delays, is the conviction, that, throughout this island, the slaves in general are contented and happy, and their treatment is certainly very good." (A. pp. 95, 96.) So, doubtless, the planters tell him.

IX. GRENADA.

The history of the progress of reform in this colony will also occupy but a very narrow space. On the 5th of September 1824, the President, Paterson, writes, that an amended slave-code had been brought forward in the legislature, and would be further considered in October. The legislature met in October, but postponed the consideration of the subject till November. On the 2d of December, President Paterson states, that the Slave Act had been impeded by the great difference of opinion existing on some points; but he still hopes to see the work completed. The slaves he states to be perfectly quiet and contented, and the planters are anxious to make them so; he himself, of course, being one of them. On the 5th of March 1825, he writes, that the Bill had at length passed the Assembly, and was before the Council; but nothing further has since been communicated on the subject. (A. pp. 97—100.)

X. HONDURAS.

No report has yet been made to Parliament of the final fate of the Indians unjustly and cruelly enslaved in this colony, and whom Colonel Arthur had endeavoured to restore to the enjoyment of their liberties.

In this colony there are only 2,600 slaves, and 2,100 free persons of all descriptions. The peculiar circumstances of the colony render slavery much less oppressive there than in most other colonies.

Captain Maclean, a Naval officer, makes a report (see Paper G.) respecting this colony, dated 2d March 1824, in which, after praising the treatment of the slaves, he observes, that he has recently read reports which contradict his statement, and which he believes to be wholly erroneous. But this is rather a rash and unwarranted assertion on the part of Captain Maclean; the acts of cruelty, to which he alludes as unfounded, being as satisfactorily proved, by incontestable evidence, as the fact which he affirms of the general good treatment of the Honduras slaves when compared with that of other colonies. We believe both to be true.

XI. JAMAICA.

The progress of reform in this island has not been such as to require much detail. Every one, who is cognisant of the course of public events, must be aware of the determined hostility evinced by the legislature of Jamaica, in particular, to every proposition, emanating from this country, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, with a view to their ultimate emancipation. The violence of opposition manifested by the Assembly has been only exceeded by the still more unmeasured resistance of the parish vestries, and the absolute rage of the journalists. The people of Jamaica appear to have imagined that the loudness of their clamour would have the effect of shaking the concurrent purpose of the Government and Parliament and People of England, with respect to the reform and ultimate abolition of the slave system. They little know either their own weakness and insignificance, or the power of public opinion in this country, if they suppose that by all their ravings they can materially retard that purpose. It is fixed, and must ere long render absolutely nugatory every opposing effort.

On the meeting of the Jamaica legislature, in November 1824, the Governor, the Duke of Manchester, seemed to indulge an expectation that some progress would have been made in the reform of the slave system. A Bill was introduced, admitting the evidence of slaves, under certain regulations; and, though "some little clamour was at first excited" by it, yet his Grace entertained a hope of its passing. But even this slight indication of a better spirit was of short duration; for the Bill in question was lost, on the second reading, by a majority of thirty-four to one; and the Duke of Manchester, when on the 24th of December 1824 he acquaints Lord Bathurst with the termination of the session, feels himself obliged to express an apprehension that his Lordship will be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Assembly. He seems, indeed, to attach some importance to two Acts, passed in the course of the session, "as affording protection and encouragement to the slaves; and still more so as indicating an intention, on the part of the Assembly, of doing more hereafter." (A. p. 11.) They will do more hereafter, we have no doubt; but it will only be when they are compelled to do it. As for the Acts in question, they confer benefits directly on the master; but on the slaves only indirectly and remotely, through him. Slaves had hitherto been exempt from all mesne process on Sundays, not on account of any debts of their own, for they had none, but on account of their master's debts. Sunday, therefore, was the only day on which a needy planter (and nine-tenths of the resident planters are needy men) could permit his slaves to carry their surplus provisions, or on which he himself could send them with his produce, to market, without the imminent risk of their being seized by the

marshall. This exemption, as it respects slaves, is extended, by the Act of last session, to Saturday as well as Sunday. Now this exemption, which the West Indians would represent to be intended as a boon to the slave, is in fact a still greater boon to the master. It is the master's property in the slave, and that alone, which this law protects; and it is against the effect of the master's insolvency, and not against that of the slave, that it guards. The Act is as follows:—"Whereas, in these times of general distress, *many planters are greatly indebted*, and *by reason of such debts are unable* to allow their slaves to go abroad upon any other than the Sabbath-day; and whereas it is expedient to render the Sabbath as much as possible a day of rest, and for religious worship; and whereas it would be right and proper that slaves should be protected in some other day in the week, beside Sunday, from *being* taken or levied upon for debt, under any process issuing out of any of the courts of justice in this island, or by collecting constables for taxes; it is therefore enacted, That, from and after the 1st day of January next, it shall not be lawful to make any levy upon any Negro, or other slave, on Saturday; and that they shall be exempt from all such process, and also from levies by collecting constables, on that day, the same as on Sunday." (A. p. 12.) The planters of Jamaica, therefore, have in fact availed themselves of the clamour for reform to raise additional barriers against their creditors, by an Act which, we admit, to a certain degree protects the slave also, but which, at the same time, does so no farther than the planters shall please. The slave cannot legally pass the bounds of his master's estate without his written permission.

The other Act, for which the legislature of Jamaica desire credit, is one for "removing Impediments to the Manumission of Slaves by *Owners having only a limited Interest*," (A. p. 13)—not for removing impediments in the way of the slave who wishes to obtain his freedom, but in the way of the master who, from interest or favour, may wish to give it. This vaunted Act, therefore, goes no farther than the point at which the planters of Demerara are resolved to stop, if they can prevail on Lord Bathurst to permit them to do so. (see p. 43.)

At the close of the session, a Report was made to the House of Assembly, by a Secret Committee "appointed to inquire into the rise, progress, and means used to suppress the late disturbances; and whether any and what Negroes have behaved themselves faithfully and meritoriously, to their owners and the public, during such disturbances; and whether any of them deserve rewards for the same." (A. p. 15.) This Report contains matter well worthy of notice. It begins with enumerating the different disturbances among the slaves which had taken place—namely, in St. Mary's, St. George's, St. James's, and Hanover. Each of these, it is asserted, had for its object, on the part of the slaves, to obtain their freedom, and to destroy the White inhabitants. These disturbances, it is further affirmed, did not originate in any cruel treatment or privation which

the slaves experienced *; the very insurgents themselves declaring, at the place of execution, that they were contented and happy till they imbibed the notion that the King and Wilberforce had made them free †;—an idea which *is said* to pervade the island, and to have taken full possession of the Negro mind; producing a totally altered behaviour, excluding the former feelings of subjection, and of respect and affection for their masters, whom they now regard as their bitterest enemies. These evils the Committee affirm to have been aggravated by the frequent renewal of discussions in the British Parliament respecting slavery; the effect of all which, they predict, will be, that a flame will be kindled, which, if ever extinguished, will only be quenched in blood. This state of things is represented by the Committee as forcing the master to relinquish all attempts to ameliorate the condition of his slaves, lest they should be regarded as compulsory, and thus excite feelings of triumph in the Negro bosom. They deprecate, therefore, as impolitic, the discussion at this particular season of any question relative to the slave code;—a view of the subject which appears to them to be greatly strengthened, in the case of Jamaica, by the proximity and the circumstances of Hayti. The cost caused by the late disturbances they state to have amounted to 15,270*l.* 12s. 11½d. This expense, occasioned entirely by the agitation of the question of slavery by Mr. Buxton, they think ought to be defrayed by the mother country; and they therefore recommend that an application should be made to the British Government, to reimburse the island for the expense already sustained, as well as amply to indemnify it against future losses. The Committee go on to recommend that freedom should be given to certain slaves, and pecuniary reward to certain free Persons of Colour, who had rendered essential services to the island by the discoveries they had made, and the evidence they had given, respecting the different insurrections. Two, however, of those witnesses, on whose unsupported testimony many of the alleged insurgents had been convicted and hanged, or transported, Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, and to whom freedom and reward had been promised—these two witnesses, notwithstanding their signal and efficient services, the Committee recommend to be sent off the island, "as persons of a most dangerous character to remain at large in this colony." The Report thus concludes: "The Committee cannot draw this Report to a conclusion, without bestowing its meed of praise on the zeal and alacrity shewn by the regulars in Hanover, and by the militia regiments throughout the disturbed districts, both by the Whites and free People of Colour. The con-

* This is contrary to the evidence in the only case of disturbance which really occurred, namely, that of Hanover.

† This statement is wholly unfounded, at least as it respects any of the persons executed; no allusion whatever to any confession of the kind having appeared in the newspapers of the island, or being to be found in the report of the trials.

duct of the latter evinced a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and every way identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal security. And the Committee also think it right to notice the good conduct of the Maroons in Charlestown, St. George's."

Such is the Secret Report of the Assembly *, on which we proceed to make a few brief observations.

I. With respect to the alleged disturbances, our conviction, after a careful perusal of the whole of the evidence, is, that no design of insurrection or rebellion was formed by the Negroes, in any of the cases specified in this Report. This we hope hereafter to prove. In the mean time, it is obvious to remark, that, in the then existing state of the question respecting the reform of the slave system, nothing could have occurred more seasonably, for the purpose of exciting prejudice against the measures of the abolitionists, than the discovery of an insurrection. It was impossible not to perceive that this was the very thing wanted to produce exasperation in the colonies, and a strong disinclination to interference at home. It had been affirmed by the colonists, that insurrection would inevitably follow the agitation of this question: their representations, they naturally felt, would have been discredited, and the efforts of the abolitionists encouraged, had this confident prediction been falsified. Any one, therefore, who might be unprincipled enough to pander to the eager appetite for plots and conspiracies, naturally prevailing among the colonists at such a time, was sure to reap advantage from occupying himself in their fabrication. It is not in Jamaica alone that such a result was to be apprehended: the history of England sufficiently illustrates the dangers of this kind which never fail to attend an extremely agitated state of the public mind. No one will argue that a Titus Oates could find credit only in England; or that the delusion of feigned plots might not, in certain circumstances, be found as strong in Jamaica as it ever was amongst ourselves. Alarm once excited, all calm consideration of the reasonableness of the alarm is at an end. Fear is the natural passion of the tyrant, and cruelty the never-failing effect of its unrestrained operation. Rumours of the most extravagant kind gain instant belief. Suspicions light as air are converted into irrefragable proofs. The danger is assumed to be unquestionable; and he who affects to doubt it, runs the risk of being deemed a traitor to his caste and country. In such a state of things, the man who comes forward with details, however improbable, which are confirmatory of the prevailing apprehension, and which open a prospect of satiating the hatred and lust of vengeance generally felt towards the supposed conspirators, is hailed as a deliverer. No reward is thought too great for his deserts. Let him but reveal a plot, and name the plotters, and he is sure of universal

* The examinations and evidence taken by this Committee were ordered to be deposited with the Clerk of the House. We trust they will be moved for in Parliament.

credit and universal favour. To accuse, in such a case, is to condemn; and to the impatient alarmists, who feel as if the knife was at their own throats, even West-Indian Justice will seem tardy, and appear to limp in her progress to the gibbet—the only consummation which is thought of, for one moment, especially in the case of Black men who have dared to "imagine the death of a White." If these observations are kept in mind, they will sufficiently explain all the phenomena of the trials and executions which have disgraced this part of his Majesty's dominions during the period to which the Jamaica Report refers. To the details of those trials we will come hereafter.

2. Whether the conspiracies, of which the Report speaks, were real or not, it is obvious that they would be equally, and as a matter of course, referred by the planters to one cause; namely, the agitation of the question of slavery in the British Parliament. To bring the past efforts of the abolitionists into disrepute, and to prevent their being renewed, by representing them as productive of blood and devastation, had been the uniform policy of the holders of slaves from the year 1787 to the present hour. It had been long their grand weapon of defence against the inroads of justice and humanity, and had so often proved successful, in thoroughly alarming the timid and the ignorant, and in relaxing the efforts of benevolence itself, that any one might have predicted, with absolute certainty, that it would have been resorted to on the renewed agitation of this great question. In one of the first publications of the Anti-slavery Society (the Appendix to the Debate of the 15th of May 1823, p. 227) allusion was distinctly made to the alarms which would not fail to be sedulously created by means of rumours of apprehended or of actual insurrection—rumours quite familiar to all who lived during the slave-trade controversy. There was then a regular importation of them from time to time; so it was foretold it would be again. The prediction has been verified; and all the new plots which have been got up, have issued, like the old, in the destruction, not of any White life, but of Black lives in great abundance.

3. But, supposing the danger from such discussions to be as great as the planters represent them to be (a supposition which their own conduct altogether contradicts), what is *their* obvious policy, and the obvious policy of this country? Is it not to put a speedy end to a state of things so fearfully pregnant with alarm; which cannot even be approached without the risk of explosion; which cannot be spoken of, even in a whisper, without involving rebellion and massacre? The planters think differently. They make the very existence of such dangers the special ground for determining to perpetuate the abuses and evils which cause them. They will not ameliorate the condition of their slaves: they will not even take those steps which "prudence and humanity might suggest" to that end, lest they should give a triumph to the Negro mind. (A. p. 16.) But why, it may be asked, did they not of themselves take these steps, when, according to their own shewing, they might have been taken with safety? The fact is, the colonists never have taken,

and they never will take, one step in the career of reform, but as they are driven to it by the dread of the interference of the supreme authority of the state; and even then what they do will be wholly inoperative.

4. The Assembly proposes that this country should reimburse to them the cost of suppressing the disturbances that have taken place. It is to be hoped that they will bring this proposition regularly before Parliament. There will then be an opportunity of discussing the whole case on its merits; of ascertaining the grounds on which so many of our fellow-creatures have been put to death or transported; and of exposing to public view those outrages on all law and justice, denominated trials, which, in the name of the King, have been perpetrated in Jamaica.

5. It seems to be assumed by the Assembly of Jamaica as a maxim in jurisprudence, that the witnesses of plots are to be rewarded for their testimony*. All (with the exception of two) who have given evidence against the alleged conspirators, are to be rewarded—the slaves with freedom; the free with money. The practice of thus remunerating witnesses *after* they have given their testimony, is sufficiently objectionable; but if it shall appear that the principle has been acted upon of promising this remuneration beforehand, then it cannot be denied that justice has been corrupted at its very source. This point will be exemplified hereafter. With respect to the two individuals who, instead of being rewarded for the evidence they gave, according to the promise made to them, are to be transported for life as dangerous characters, it will be found that they are thus punished instead of being rewarded, because, by their subsequent prevarications and inconsistencies, they have completely damnified the evidence they had previously given, and on which so many individuals had been unjustly condemned and executed. Possibly, also, it may be discovered hereafter, that it was highly expedient to have these men removed out of the way, lest, in the case of an investigation, by Commission or otherwise, the whole of the alleged plots, a part of which they had been the instruments of fabricating, should be exposed in all their fraud and falsehood to the public reprobation.

6. The merited compliment paid to the People of Colour, is a complete answer to those allegations of conspiracy among them which were brought forward to justify the unjust arrest and deportation of Lecesne and Escoffery.

We come now to the trials which took place in Jamaica of slaves accused of insurrection. The first occurred in St. Mary's, in the month of December 1823 (see E. pp. 37—45). On the evening of the 16th, about eight o'clock, a Mr. Roberts, residing in Port Maria, was told, by a Negro boy of the name of William who waited upon him, that he had learnt from *his father*, James Sterling—a slave on Frontier estate, belonging to Archibald Sterling, Esq.—that "they would have a bad Christmas," as the Negroes were going to rise and

* This maxim, as we have seen, is law in Barbadoes. (supra, p. 17.)

murder the Whites." In consequence of this information, James Sterling and seven other slaves were apprehended and put upon their trial, which took place at the court-house of the parish on the 19th.

"I thought it my duty," observes the Hon. Henry Cox, one of the magistrates, who acted as a judge on the occasion, in a letter to the Governor's Secretary, dated the 20th December—"I thought it my duty to insist on the magistrates trying the Negroes that had been taken, *immediately*, and to send their trial and sentence express; as it will, in my opinion, be highly important for the safety of the parish, and probably of the island, *that they should be executed before the holidays*, as an example to the other Negroes, and to prevent the danger of an escape, or an attempt to release them."

"I have taken up and issued orders for the capture of every Negro against whom there is the *least* suspicion, and shall try *all*, or *any* of them, as soon as I think I have sufficient evidence to convict them. Some Negro houses have been searched; but as *no arms of any kind* have been found in them, it appeared that the Negroes had taken the alarm, and it would be harassing the men to no purpose to continue the search*."

But, to come to the trials—The following is the account given of the trial of James Sterling, the Negro already named, the father of William the informant. He was charged "with being concerned in rebellious conspiracies, and committing other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the White people and others in this island; and for causing, exciting, and promoting others to aid and assist therein;" and with entering into and being concerned "in rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy to commit murder, felony, burglary, robbery, and to set fire to certain houses and out-houses, and to compass and imagine the death of the White people of the parish of St. Mary's."

To these charges the prisoner pleaded not guilty. The following is the evidence, verbatim, as it appears in the papers transmitted from Jamaica.

"Ned, to James Walker, Esq., being admonished to speak the truth"—(not sworn)—"says he knows the prisoner; his former

* Such was the state of feeling, not merely in the White community at large, but in the jury impanelled to try the prisoners, but in a judge, who was bound to see impartial justice done in a case so likely to excite an unduly adverse leaning in the public mind. The charge brought against the prisoners was rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. No counsel was assigned to *them*—no time was allowed them to prepare their defence. They were arrested on the 17th; on the 19th they were tried for their lives and condemned to die; and on the 24th they were executed; it being "highly important," in the opinion of their judge, "that they should be executed before the holidays, as an example to the other Negroes." The news of the plot too, he might have added, would just be in time for the meeting of Parliament.—But, amid all the alarm which prevails for the safety of the parish, and even of the island, not a single stand of arms is to be found. This circumstance, however, instead of raising a suspicion in the mind of the worthy magistrate that there had been in fact no rebellious conspiracy whatever, seems to have led him to the conclusion that the Negroes had taken the alarm and hid them; and this, too, without the very slightest shadow of proof.

name was Joe. Last Saturday week" (6th Dec.), "about eight o'clock in the evening, was going to Frontier" (the estate to which the prisoner belonged) "for water; just between the bridge and the spring saw prisoner and five others: as he came up they were talking: he heard what they said; they were going to rise at Christmas. Witness said they were talking bad words, and asked if they did not hear that guard was to be kept at Christmas. They then said they would change the day to Wednesday or Thursday this week" (the 17th or 18th), "being full moon. They said they would set fire to Frontier trash-house, and kill all White people; and then come in the bay, and rise on the gentlemen and kill them, and take the bay to themselves. They were to set fire to the boiling-house and other houses. Prisoner had a cutlass, which he flourished, saying, that was the way he was going to serve Buckras" (i. e. White men)*.

"William, to A. J. Roberts, Esq., being admonished to speak the truth"—(not sworn)—"says he went to his father the prisoner's house, who told him the Negroes were going to rise; and he, witness, must take care of himself, and keep out of the way, in case he should be hurt, because *they would kill every body*. His master (Mr. Roberts) asked the witness if he thought the Negroes would kill him; he said he did not think so, but advised him to go on board ship. His master asked him if he would not be safe if he went to the fort, or to Mr. Beard's; he (witness) said no, he had better go on board ship, as the Negroes were to walk all about. He *did not see his*

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* The testimony of Ned bears fabrication on its face. He represents these dangerous conspirators as talking on the highway, at an hour when it must have been perfectly dark, so as to be overheard by every casual passenger; and in that position they discuss aloud their whole plan, and even change the day of its execution on the suggestion of a person accidentally joining them. Never, we will venture to say, were conspirators more guiltless of danger, either to the parish or to the island, than those of St. Mary's. But who is this witness? We learn from the Jamaica newspapers of the day, that he was one of the persons pointed out in the first instance by the boy William as implicated in the conspiracy. "Ned," the newspapers relate, "was apprehended, and brought before the magistrates, and the boy kept away. He denied the thing until the boy was brought as evidence to his face. *He then received a promise of pardon and of his freedom to discover the whole*, and then deposed" to the effect stated above.

In the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Assembly, it is recommended to the House to "reimburse to the parish of St. Mary's the sum of 376*l.* paid by them for the manumission of certain slaves who rendered essential service by the discoveries which they made." One of these was Ned, who, it seems, had the promise of his manumission, if we may believe the accounts from the spot at the time, *before* he made any discovery whatever. *After* that promise, and the assurance of his own immunity, he seems to have become willing without hesitation to confirm William's story. A current report is—we by no means vouch for its truth—that Ned was subjected in the first instance to the torture of the thumb-screw, without its succeeding to wring from him any admission of his knowledge of a conspiracy; but that, when the mode of attack was changed, and the offer of pardon and freedom substituted for the thumb-screw, he no longer scrupled to testify to the truth of William's accusation—who also had his freedom held out to him in prospect.

father among the Negroes. When Ned was with him, there were men and women: the men had *a number* of cutlasses flourishing *.

"Mary, to George Merrilees, Esq.; is a native of St. Domingo; sworn—(she was very unwilling to kiss the book, and gave her evidence most reluctantly)—says she knew prisoner; has seen him at her husband's house †. He came there the *other* night; he said he would. Witness saw him have a gun by his side: did not hear that prisoner was to join Charles Watson: saw the gun in her husband's house; is the same as a soldier's gun, with a bayonet. After her husband struck a light and loaded the gun, did not see who he gave it to. The night the prisoner had the gun, was the night the guards were fixed. Same time prisoner brought some bottles, he took away the gun. The gun prisoner had by his side was the same her husband had in his house ‡.

"Andrew J. Roberts sworn: saith that on Monday night last, about eight o'clock, he scolded his Negro boy William for not getting his frocks, and asked him how he would appear to follow him about at Christmas. William said, 'Massa, you will have bad Christmas.' Witness said, For what? are the Negroes going to rise? He said, yes, his father told him so. Witness asked him if he had seen the Negroes meeting. He said, yes, two times; but that his father told him more than he knew at the meeting. Witness asked him if any of his Negroes were among them; said, he believed George was. Witness asked if any more Bay Negroes: he said, yes, Mr. Walker's Ned and Douglas. Witness asked, if he *thought* they were going to kill all the Buckras (Whites): said, his father told him so. Witness then asked him what he must do; should he go to Kingston or Spanish-town? He answered, no, Negroes would walk all about the

* Here we have a son, a mere youth, brought forward to convict his father of a capital crime; which capital crime is to be inferred from some loose conversation stated to have passed between the son and the father, whom, however, the son states he did not see among the Negroes. Ned, however, says he saw him there, with five others, who, it appears from the other trials, were *all men.* William, on the contrary, states, that, while Ned was with him, he saw both men and women, and *a number* of cutlasses flourishing. Ned testifies to his having seen the conspirators only once: so that it must have been, if at all, on the occasion on which William saw him there, that he was present; and yet, on all the trials, he states that when he was there, there were only six *men* present; and only *two cutlasses* flourishing—(see his evidence on the trial of William Montgomery, Richard Cosley, Rodney Wellington, and Morrice Henry, E. p. 42).—What can be more loose and disjointed than such testimony? Much of William's evidence also relates in no way to the prisoner, but is the mere statement of a gossipping conversation between himself and his master, who appears to no great advantage in this strange colloquy with his slave. William, too, is one of those who were manumitted for their discoveries: his freedom was the blood-money paid him for his father's life.

† Her husband, Henry Nibbs, was tried immediately after James Sterling, and was condemned to death, chiefly on this woman's (his wife's) testimony. She was one of those who earned her freedom by her evidence.

‡ Supposing all this testimony to have been perfectly correct, yet what does it prove in the way of rebellious conspiracy? Absolutely nothing: nay, it actually negatives the charge.

country. Witness asked, if he should pack up his books and go to the fort, or Mr. Beard's, would he be safe? He said, no, Negroes would walk all about, and Wentworth Negroes would rise the same as Frontier. Witness asked if they would kill every body? He answered, yes, *every body*; and advised witness and Captain Barton to go on board of ship, and take him with them; would not be safe any where else*."

"The prisoner, in his defence, said he thought his son William was a run-away, and scolded him †. He, prisoner, always attended his work. His master always supplied him with clothes and victuals, as he was an old man."—The jury found him guilty, and the court passed the following sentence: "That you, James Sterling, be hanged by the neck till you are dead."

Now let the whole of this evidence be calmly considered by any lawyer, and to what will it be found to amount? To rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, or murder, or felony, or burglary, or robbery, or setting fire to houses, or out-houses, or compassing or imagining the death of any human being? Certainly to nothing of the kind, even if the whole of the evidence should be received as true. To James Sterling nothing, absolutely nothing, is brought home, of any of the charges preferred against him. No unprejudiced man could read the evidence without instantly pronouncing a verdict of not guilty. Nay, not only are the charges not proved, but they are absolutely disproved; they are divested of every vestige of probability. But when to the impression arising from the evidence, we add the consideration of the temptation held out to the witnesses; the breathless impatience manifested to try, condemn, and execute; and the circumstance that a son is made the instrument of bringing his father to the gallows, we may well stand aghast at the awful aspect which criminal justice wears in Jamaica.

But even James Sterling's trial is not half so discreditable to the judicial administration of St. Mary's, as that of Henry Nibbs, who is hanged chiefly on the evidence of his wife Mary. In this case, indeed, there are three or four other witnesses produced, who, though their testimony does not go to establish a single charge preferred against the prisoner, yet may have appeared to make up in number what they wanted in weight. But on the trial of one of the alleged conspirators, Charles Watson, there is positively no witness but one, and that one the woman whose evidence hangs her husband.

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* Such a line of evidence as this, in proof of a capital charge, we will venture to say is quite unparalleled, even on the trial of the Missionary Smith: it does not approach the prisoner in the slightest degree. Mr. Roberts also seems to have been wonderfully dependent for counsel and direction on his Negro boy William, whom he consults as quite oracular.

† The boy had been chidden by his father, and may have resented it. He had been scolded by his master, and may have been threatened with punishment which the mention of a plot might avert. These circumstances afforded at least grounds of suspicion, and should have led to an anxious cross-examination.

The evidence against Charles Watson is thus given:—"Witness's husband had two guns, one of which he gave to prisoner Friday week. Prisoner told witness, Negroes were going to rise at Christmas, and burn Frontier trash-house, and go down to the bay and set fire to the houses, and kill Buckras. Prisoner told her so in the house, and said some of the Frontier Negroes were good, and some deceitful: he meant by that, that he could not trust them with a secret. Prisoner said Negroes would rise at full of moon. They changed from Christmas to full of moon, because guard was fixed for Christmas. Prisoner said that they would rise on Wednesday night, and, if prevented then, on Thursday night; and after burning the buildings, take the country to themselves; and that Nibbs (her husband) would go to Frontier to lend a hand. Did not hear who was to be head-man. They were to begin by burning the trash-house at Frontier, and come down on the bay softly. He said they would come on the bay, raise a mob, and kill the White people. Nobody present but witness, her husband, and prisoner*. Prisoner asked, what made him say what he did. She answered, he said it because they were all to be free."

On the vague and unsupported evidence of this unhappy woman (rewarded with freedom for her evidence) was Charles Watson found guilty by the jury, and condemned to be hung.

Four more, William Montgomery, Richard Cosley, Rodney Wellington, and Morrice Henry, were, on the same day, condemned to the same death, on similar testimony. William, the discoverer of the whole, gave on this occasion a very remarkable testimony. Of the four, he said he knew only *three;* these he saw with cutlasses, flourishing them: he heard them talking, but *did not hear what they said.* Ned and Douglas, he added, were with him. Plenty of *women* were there. *Thought,* by flourishing their cutlasses, and from what his father told him, they were going to cut off Buckras' heads.

On such evidence as has been detailed were eight human beings condemned to die; and the Governor of Jamaica, after perusing that evidence, confirmed the sentence, and issued the fatal warrant for their immediate execution. They were accordingly executed on the 24th of December, as the Hon. Henry Cox, in a letter dated the 25th, informs the Governor, "with all due solemnity and decorum." He adds, "Only one of the wretches† confessed to the Rev. Mr.

* She was pretty secure, therefore, against contradiction.

† This kind of language, applied to men who had just been suffering the last extremity of colonial justice, indicates the spirit which actuated even their judges. What would have been thought of an official letter, addressed by one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, announcing, in terms like these, the execution of Thistlewood and his associates? We learn, from the Jamaica newspapers, that the individual who is here said to have made a confession to Mr. Girod, was Richard Cosley. Now, on looking into the evidence, there does not appear to have been a single tittle of it brought home to *him* by any one of the witnesses. He is one of the four who were tried together. Not one of the witnesses mentions him, excepting Ned, who merely says he saw him with the others.

Girod that it was their intention to have burnt Frontier works and Port Maria, and killed the Whites; but none would mention any other Negroes concerned with them, or shew any symptoms of religion or repentance. They all declared they would die like men, and met their fate with perfect indifference." (E. p. 44.)

Such are the particulars of the formidable insurrection in St. Mary's, and of the sweeping and summary executions which avenged it. No act of violence whatever had been committed. Not a single weapon of any kind was found in the possession, or in the houses of, the convicts, or in the houses of any other of the slaves. One or two guns, and a little gunpowder, had been seen in the possession of Henry Nibbs by his wife, which he might have had for the purpose of killing game; and this appears to have been the total amount of warlike preparation that had been made for overthrowing the government of Jamaica, taking the fort at Port Maria, and exterminating the Whites of St. Mary's. Some persons must have felt how very inadequate the evidence was to support such a case as this. On the day following the execution, therefore, a Mr. Richard Gordon, overseer of Tremolesworth, is induced to file an affidavit, intended to satisfy any doubt that might arise as to whether there really had been a conspiracy which justified such prodigality of blood. Mr. Gordon gravely swears, "That on Wednesday night, the 17th December, lying awake, about twelve o'clock, he heard the report of a musket; he got up, and, on putting his head out of the window, he heard horns blowing. He got up, dressed, and took a sabre.* On looking at his watch, he found it was half past twelve. Went out to the back door, and heard six different tones, or sounds, of a horn, in the direction of Nonsuch. Walked into the garden; was there about an hour. Two Negroes in clean frocks passed up the road*; they went up a small distance; heard the door of a Negro-house open, and saw the Negroes returning. They appeared to meet other people. They were so near him, whispering in conversation, he heard a voice say, 'It is no use, it is no use.' They then went down the road. The rain set in, and he did not again hear the horns. They continued blowing about two hours in all, from about half-past twelve to half-past two o'clock. Before going to bed, about nine o'clock, heard five reports of guns in the direction of Nonsuch." (E. p. 40.)

In what a state of morbid excitement must the minds of the good

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No one else appears to have seen him, or known him. It would be important, therefore, to have had the notes of this man's confession to the Rev. Mr. Girod produced.—A person, who was present at the execution of these men, has stated that pardon was offered on the scaffold to such of them as would acknowledge their guilt and discover their accomplices; but that they, one and all, persisted in protesting their innocence, and positively refused to save their lives by criminating other persons, of whose guilt they abjured all cognisance. —The value of these eight persons was assessed by the jury, and paid to their owners, at prices varying from 50*l.* to 100*l.* currency, but amounting, in all, to 655*l.* or about 465*l.* sterling.

* He could see, at midnight, that their frocks were clean!

people of Jamaica, high and low, have been, to convert stuff such as this into an official document furnishing evidence of insurrection!*

A very striking proof of the extreme susceptibility of the public mind in Jamaica, for some time previous to the affair of St. Mary's, may be deduced from a letter officially addressed by a magistrate of St. James's, Mr. S. Vaughan, to the Governor's secretary. It is dated 9th October 1823, and evinces the eager appetite which had already been excited for something in the shape of a plot. "It appears," says Mr. Vaughan, "that there is a general expectation among the Negroes of freedom being given shortly by Government at home. *The Negroes are every where behaving well,* and *perform their work as usual;* but still entertain this belief. The grounds on which I have formed this opinion I shall now give.—

"1. Mrs. Fowler saw many strange Negroes, who talked freely with her that they were soon to be free.

"2. Eliza Tucker hired a man on his own day, who talked much of this free, but said he did not like it, for many Negroes would be idle,

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* A person who resided in the parish of St. Mary's at the time these trials took place there, on perusing the above account of them, added the following particulars. We publish them to afford the Jamaica missionaries and others an opportunity of contradicting them if they are false. We believe them to be true.

"The alleged conspirators belonging to Frontier Estate, were all religiously disposed, and were in the habit, after the hours of labour, of meeting in each other's houses, often in the house of James Sterling, for prayer. A man of the name of Roberts, a butcher in Port Maria, was unfriendly to these meetings, which he affected to believe were held for rebellious purposes. He questioned the son of this James Sterling, a slave of his own, of the name of William, who was quite a boy, respecting these meetings, offering him his freedom and money if he should be able to bring their plots to light. Accordingly the boy disclosed a plot to his master, which his master disclosed to the magistrates. The unfortunate Negroes who had been named were taken up as they came down from Frontier Estate with their grass for sale in town. The reward which awaited witnesses of plots being known, two others now came forward; one a woman, Mary, who gave evidence against her husband, Henry Nibbs, and Mr. Walker's Ned. On the *Sunday* after the execution of the eight alleged conspirators, as this Ned was passing through the market, the wife of one of the slaves who had been executed, unable to control her feelings on seeing the false accuser, in fact the murderer, of her husband, used some abusive language towards him. He immediately reported the circumstance to his master, who is a magistrate. This poor woman was *soon* after laid hold of, and in the presence of the concourse of people assembled in the market place, stretched prostrate on the ground by four Negro men, while a fifth inflicted a most unmerciful flogging on the bare posteriors of the wretched sufferer.—Henry Nibbs was an infirm old man, troubled with rheumatism, and incapable of much exertion, as appears from the price at which he was valued, namely 35*l.* sterling. Charles Watson, another of the slaves who were executed, was a most harmless, inoffensive, and honest Negro, particularly noted for his religious dispositions, and the last to be suspected of improper conduct. It is my firm opinion that one object, with some, in these trials and executions, was to put an end to all the efforts of the missionaries in that quarter for the religious improvement of the slaves. As for Mr. Gordon, of Tremolesworth, he was known to be in a state of great nervous excitement."

and quarrel and fight, as in Guinea country; and who was then to give clothes, fish? &c.

"3. The book-keeper on Caledonia estate heard a Negro complain of their having Saturday stopped (always more days are given them than the law requires); when another said, Never mind, they would soon have Friday also; on which a third told him to hold his tongue, for they would soon be free altogether.

"4. Mr. Williams stated, as a report, of some Negroes saying that it was long in coming, and if it did not come soon they would take it, or to this effect.

"5. Mr. Moore mentioned two Negroes had gone to two overseers to ask when this free was to take place. This he had been informed of.

"6. The overseer of Bigland said the Negroes talked in the field, that, if they behaved well, they were soon to be free.

"7. Mr. Walter Murray heard that the Negroes at George's Plain had said, on the arrival of the last packet, they would wait till next packet; and that Mr. Mason, of St. James's, had heard very similar expressions, nearly in the same words—both alluding to the freedom in question,"

Such being the feeling of wakeful jealousy and suspicion in the mind of one of the chief magistrates of St. James's, it might be presumed that a plot would sooner or later develop itself more distinctly. Accordingly, in two or three months these various floating rumours had acquired sufficient consistency to lead to meetings of magistrates and examinations; and two free Persons of Colour, named Bartibo, and a slave named Goldring, at last came forward to state that they had been at a festive meeting of Negroes, where they had heard it said, that, if they did not get Friday and Saturday, or their freedom, they would rise; and where Mr. Wilberforce's health was drunk with hurrahs (E. p. 47). After ten days, however, spent in examinations and in the eager pursuit of every idle rumour, and after having taken up and committed a number of slaves on suspicion, the magistrates, on the 29th December 1823, were of opinion, that "though the evidence before them proves that some mischief had been intended," they did not recommend any trial at present. The slaves supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy were nevertheless kept in close confinement; and the same persons who originally gave information continued to be examined and re-examined, their statements meanwhile improving gradually in fearful importance, by the invention from time to time of additional circumstances, until at length the affair seemed to have acquired the solidity and consistency of a regular plot; and on the 28th January 1824 it was thought expedient, by Mr. Vaughan and some of his brother magistrates, to proceed to the trial of the supposed conspirators. Fourteen individuals, thirteen men and one woman, almost all belonging to Mr. Galloway's estate of Unity Hall, and Mr. Kerr's estate of Spring Garden, were arraigned for conspiring together, and, with other slaves, to enter into a rebellious conspiracy for obtaining, by force

and violence, and by acts of resistance to the lawful authorities, the freedom of themselves and others, against the peace of the king, his crown and dignity; and for having attended a meeting for the unlawful and dangerous purpose of exciting, encouraging, and maintaining each other in this rebellious conspiracy, &c. The prisoners all pleaded not guilty.

The only evidence against them, of the very slightest force, was that of the three men, Peter and Robert Bartibo, and Goldring, who are declared by the Jamaica Assembly (A. p. 18) to be severally entitled to rewards for the information which they gave of the conspiracy. The temptation presented to these individuals to pursue the trade of plot-making, is very forcibly pointed out in one part of the evidence. A very respectable and intelligent female, a confidential slave of Mr. Galloway's, who had been eleven years with him as a servant in England, and evidently much attached to him and his interests, of the name of Jane M'Donald, having been called as a witness for the prosecution, gave the following evidence respecting a conversation she had had with one Bessy Bartibo, a sister of the two informers. Jane M'Donald remarked, with some emotion, what a hard thing it was for a person (alluding to one of the prisoners) for a little merriment to be taken up in that manner, though guilty of nothing: on which Bessy Bartibo said to her, "Don't you hear that if any free people bring out such a thing as this, they will have maintenance for life; and if slaves, they are to be free, and have a house and land for their life-time?" (E. p. 75.)

But the testimony even of the Bartibees and Goldring does not prove any thing beyond that idle conversation which was very likely to take place at a Negro merry-making, and especially where no harm was really intended—saving perhaps the crime of drinking Mr. Wilberforce's health, which appears to have been considered as the most serious part of the rebellion. But even to the commission of this overt act of treason by any of the prisoners, there is only one witness, Robert Bartibo. He alone heard this dangerous and inflammatory toast: neither his brother nor Goldring heard it, and some others who were present positively deny the fact. But, independently of the criminality of this wicked and insurrectionary toast, overheard only by one man, panting for the reward of such a notable disclosure, what is there to inculpate these poor creatures? Nothing but the idlest tattle. Even Robert Bartibo, though evidently disposed to go to all lengths, in order to satisfy the prevailing appetite for plots, can frame no better a conspiracy than is conveyed in the following statement.—There was a dance in the houses of one or two of the Negroes at Unity Hall. Robert Bartibo was there—not an invited guest, but an intruder, and sitting on a bench outside the house. He swore he there overheard the following conversation: "Trelawney* said, he heard they would get free, else Friday and

* This Trelawney we afterwards find was a poor sickly hip-shot boy, who had been chiefly an inmate of the hospital for the preceding two years, and was still too weak to do much work.

Saturday. William Stennett said, he had heard so, but he did not look for no free, nor Friday and Saturday: since he got his cloth and fish he did not care for it: that was all he wanted. Trelawney said they would get free, else Friday and Saturday; and if they did not get it, they would rise at Christmas; and that, when they got free, he would not live in such small houses, but would have his master's great house; and that he and the White people would be on a footing then. William Stennett said, that, if they got free, the White people would hire them to cut canes. This was in Cunningham's house, when Philip Haughton drank Wilberforce's health." Witness did not hear any thing else, either there or at several other dances at which he was present; but "almost every night, when the Negroes came from the field, he always heard Trelawney talking about free, and saying" (shouldering his crutch, we presume) "that it would be a word and a blow with them and the White people at Christmas, if they did not get free. Philip Haughton drank Wilberforce's health at Cunningham's house, and said that *he* would make them get free."

With respect to the whole of the other prisoners, the utmost attempted to be proved against them, assuming all the evidence to be strictly true, was, that conversations of the following kind had passed between them:—James Campbell mentioned that the slaves were to get free. Thomas Darby said to James, he did not care about free; if free came, very well; if don't come, very well. James then said, that Thomas Darby lived well with his master was the reason he didn't care about free.—"Did you hear James say the people were going to rise? No; he said, if free come, he would take it," &c. &c.

The testimony, however, of by far the greatest part of the witnesses even of the Crown, not only denies that any *bad words* were spoken at the dance, or elsewhere, by the prisoners, but is highly favourable to their general character and conduct. The overseer of Unity Hall, Thomas Aikman, who had lived there eleven years, gives them the most unqualified commendation. He says, "There are 232 Negroes on the estate: it has some bad characters as run-aways, one or two. They are a good working set of people, and well-disposed, as far as I know, and do every thing for their master's interest." Speaking of the prisoners, he says, Robert Galloway is head driver, a well-disposed Negro. Archy Buckner is head cattle-keeper, a very good character. Philip Haughton is a very good character; he is second driver, and equal to any other, and one he would trust with any thing. William Stennett is as fine a Negro as he ever knew in Jamaica; he does not believe he ever passed an angry word with him since he lived on the estate. The others are field-Negroes, and work well. Richard Allen generally carries the first row in the gang. John Cunningham has a large family of six children. Trelawney has been an invalid for two years, "a weakly boy," (E. p. 61), doing little work: he is hip-shot. The character of Mary Ann Reid is good.—Such is Aikman's account of eight of the alleged conspirators. He

next gives an account of their accusers, the Bartiboes. "They have been great nuisances to the estate since he lived there. He has taken them up for their misconduct, and put them in the stocks; has frequently given orders to the Negroes to drive them off the estate, when they see them there; and has even punished two or three for harbouring them. He has known them commit depredations on the estate. Their mother is free, but has lived as his wife with a slave belonging to Unity Hall, who is a hard-working man, and supports her, and is a great help to her family." (p. 70.) The same unfavourable account is given of the Bartiboes by almost every witness even for the Crown. Several say they would not believe them on their oaths; all seem to agree that nothing good could be said of them: and yet these are the men whom the Assembly of Jamaica crown with rewards as saviours of their country, and for the cost of whose perjuries they mean to apply to Parliament to indemnify the island.

The overseer of Spring Garden estate gives also a highly favourable character to three of the prisoners belonging to that estate. "He considers William Kerr, James Kerr, and Corydon to be three very good slaves; never knew them guilty of any thing bad. Thinks they are all the very reverse of Negroes of a rebellious disposition, never subject to severity; and when they came into any fault, a very little chastisement puts them to rights. He has every reason to suppose they are attached to their master; never knew them to injure the stock: when any accident happened on the estate, they seem to regret it as much as a White person." (p. 72.)

Besides all this, much evidence was produced which was directly exculpatory, and which both repelled the alleged charges, and threw absolute discredit on the rewarded witnesses.

The result of the trial is thus stated by Mr. Vaughan, who entered upon it, as we have seen, with a disposition to turn windmills into giants. "The court were divided: Mr. Barrett* and Mr. Downer were of opinion there was no conspiracy, and that there was nothing but common amusement; the majority, Messrs. Gray, Boyd, and myself, conceived there was legally conspiracy, and that there was great criminality. As, however, there was no specific plan proved, nor the possession of arms, nor preparation by exercising, nor any overt act of rebellion, or threat of murder of any White, or against the Whites, except by implication, the majority of the court did not think the punishment should be capital, and stated their intention to the jury." (E. p. 60.)

The jury found thirteen of the prisoners guilty. Four of them, Trelawney, William Kerr, Philip Haughton, and James Campbell, were condemned to transportation for life; two, Garret Rainie and

* Mr. Barrett has done himself great honour by the course he pursued on this occasion. His address to the jury forms a remarkable contrast to that of Mr. Vaughan. It is calm and dispassionate, and evinces the most enlarged views and liberal feelings.

Corydon, to hard labour for twelve months, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out; John Cunningham, to hard labour for six months; Mary Ann Reid, to hard labour for four months; Robert Galloway and Richard Allen, to hard labour for three months, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out; and William Stennett, Archy Buckner, and James Kerr, to hard labour for one month, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out.

Such were the punishments awarded by this slave court for a little idle gossipping about the news of the day, and for the alleged crime of drinking Mr. Wilberforce's health.

The Governor, the Duke of Manchester, seems to have been justly shocked at the unwarranted rigour of these proceedings. Mr. Bullock addresses Mr. Vaughan, in the name of his Grace, to the following effect:—"After the most careful perusal of the evidence, his Grace has not been able to discover any concert or combination amongst the Negroes for any criminal purpose. There seems to have been a very active spirit of inquiry, which may be naturally accounted for without attributing to them any criminal intentions; and their minds have been agitated by vague and uncertain rumours of benefits contemplated in their favour, the nature of which they were anxious to discover. This has led them to make use of inconsiderate, and in some instances intemperate, expressions. But the utmost extent to which even these expressions go, is a determination on the part of some to obtain what they have been deceived into a belief that they are entitled to; and there is no threat, no intention manifested to destroy the White inhabitants, or the properties on which they reside." "In regard to Trelawney, although he certainly made use of very unjustifiable language, still, when it is considered how incompetent he must be from his infirmities, and unlikely from his general character, to exercise any sort of influence over the minds of the slaves, or to be the principal agent of any meditated mischief, his Grace is induced to commute his sentence to three months' imprisonment, and to such labour as he is able to undergo; and to commute that of Kerr, Campbell, and Haughton, to confinement to one month's hard labour. With respect to the slaves convicted of minor offences, it is rather to be regretted that so many were brought to trial; and his Grace does not see any useful purpose in detaining them any longer in confinement. His Grace has been pleased, therefore, to remit such parts of their sentence as have not yet been carried into effect*." (p. 82.)

What can be a more decisive condemnation of the whole spirit of these transactions than the above able and manly despatch? It is an acquittal of the alleged conspirators, and a condemnation of their judges. The same letter, however, contains a notice of the trials in St. Mary's and St. George's which admits of more question. There, Mr. Bullock observes, "crimes of a more marked and decided character have placed his Grace under the painful necessity of in-

* We trust the thirty-nine lashes at going in were delayed till the above letter arrived.

flicting the punishment of death on many, and on others that of banishing them the island for life."

We have already had an opportunity of appreciating the justice of the sentence passed on the alleged conspirators of St. Mary's, and of seeing how slight and vague and unsatisfactory was the evidence on which eight men were there so precipitately thrust out of existence. We have still to examine the case of the alleged conspirators of St. George's. (E. pp. 83—111.) It is not, indeed, our intention to enter into it much at large; for, although it would be easy to shew that, on the very face of the proceedings, enough appears to disprove the charge of any traitorous or rebellious conspiracy, it seems now admitted by common consent that the two individuals, on whose testimony alone the charge of conspiracy rested, were utterly unworthy of credit, and have since completely damnified their own evidence by the most palpable inconsistencies and contradictions. It is respecting these two witnesses (the hope, at one time, of all the alarmists in Jamaica, and even now the only prop of the St. George's conspiracy) that the Secret Committee of the Assembly adopted the following recommendation: "The Committee feel it their duty to recommend to the House, that a message should be sent to his Grace the Governor, requesting that he would send off the island Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, as persons of most dangerous character to remain at large in this colony." Without stopping to inquire by what legal authority either the Governor or the House of Assembly, or both, could thus transport two of his Majesty's subjects without even the form of a trial, we have, at least, in this recommendation, a sufficient proof of the infamous character of the witnesses on whose evidence alone eight slaves were condemned to death and eight more to transportation*. The sentences of five of the former

* Mack and Corberand are understood to have received a promise both of pardon and of their freedom for the discoveries they made respecting this conspiracy. Why the promise has not been executed will hereafter appear. They doubtless well earned their reward in the first instance: they left indeed no wish of the alarmists ungratified. Latterly, however, their evidence, more especially that of Corberand, broke down so completely (see the trial of Chance, E. pp. 128—132) as to excite in the minds of the more dispassionate members of the community a conviction that the whole of the plot, to which they alone bore witness, was little better than a vile fabrication. But even this exposure of the falsehood of these witnesses (to say nothing of a more complete exposure, which probably still awaits them and their employers) was not necessary to satisfy any one, who had read with care their preparatory examinations, and the minutes of their evidence on the different trials, that there had been, in fact, no rebellious conspiracy whatever among the condemned slaves. It is curious, among other things, to remark the progressive hardihood of affirmation on the part of these dealers in plots and conspiracies, at each successive examination. We have never met with a more striking parallel to Titus Oates, than has been furnished on his inferior stage by John Baptiste Corberand. While the delusion lasted, who more honoured than Corberand? But it could not stand before his clumsy contradictions; and when it subsided, the man who had been hailed as a deliverer, and was to have been rewarded with freedom and wealth, was condemned to close imprisonment and exile, and became the object of universal disgust and execration.

were commuted by his Grace the Governor into transportation, and two of the latter were unconditionally pardoned. Still three were hanged and eleven transported on the evidence of these two desperadoes.

The case of Lecesne and Escoffery, which has been more than once adverted to in the Society's Reports, naturally connects itself with the St. George's conspiracy; the former of these gentlemen having been charged *by the witness Corberand*, but *by him alone*, with having supplied the conspirators with arms. It is not our intention to enter largely into this case, which has been recently exposed to the public indignation with so much power and effect by Dr. Lushington. It is a case of the most wanton and aggravated oppression; and though no pains have been spared to blacken its victims, and to screen its perpetrators from merited disgrace and punishment, yet the day of vindication and of retribution also must come, and we trust is even now at hand.

Lecesne and Escoffery (see F.) were arrested in Kingston as aliens of a dangerous description, with a view of being immediately deported from the island, on the 7th October 1823. They were kept in gaol till the 25th of that month, when, after a full investigation of evidence, they were pronounced by the Court of King's Bench to be British subjects, and discharged from custody accordingly. On the 29th of November following, however, they were again seized, under a warrant from the Governor, hurried on board a ship of war, and sent off to St. Domingo, from which island they made their way to England.

In no part of the proceedings relating to these men, up to the time of their deportation, is there the slightest allusion to any suspicion which existed against them of their being concerned in any conspiracy of slaves. Something was said, but without the slightest proof, of their criminal correspondence with St. Domingo; which, however, their unfriendly reception by the authorities there must, of itself, had there been no other reply, have shewn to be unfounded. The ground on which their deportation was made to rest was their alleged alienage. But as that might be again disproved, and these persons might be placed hereafter in a capacity of vindicating their rights as British subjects, it became necessary to think of some expedient which should aggravate their case, and serve eventually to palliate, if not to justify, this extraordinary act of rigour towards two unoffending and untried British subjects. The St. George's conspiracy afforded a very convenient occasion of doing this. To have kept these men in the island and put them on their trial would have been hazardous: they might have proved their innocence. But there was no hazard, now that they were deported, in having them incidentally exhibited as fomenters of the St. George's conspiracy. The effect would at least be to increase the prejudice against the exiles, and to exhibit in a favourable point of view the penetration, and foresight, and vigilance of those who had by anticipation detected and deported such dangerous miscreants.

John Baptiste Corberand appears to have been the first person

who afforded any information respecting the St. George's conspiracy. He was a native of St. Domingo, and a slave belonging to Mullet-hall plantation. The trials and executions which had just taken place in St. Mary's, had naturally excited the apprehension of disturbance in all parts of the island. In St. George's, that apprehension appears to have been particularly vivid, as may be seen by the newspapers of that period. At length, on the 26th of December, John Baptiste Corberand comes forward to announce a plot. On that day his first examination on oath is dated; and it is remarkable, how modest and circumscribed his statement on that occasion is, as compared with his subsequent evidence. Not one word escapes him respecting Lecesne. He merely states, that he understood the Negroes of Balcarras had for some time been mustering by night. One night he was present, and found a large concourse of Negroes in a house belonging to one Montagnac, which they called the Court-house. One man among them was called King, another Governor. They had some refreshment there, and talked with one another; *but he did not understand* what they were talking about, and after some time he left them. He went the next night, and found the people mustering as before, when they offered to make his brother Second Governor; but being offended that his younger brother should be put above him, and *not being able to obtain information from them*, he did not return any more—" and further, this deponent saith not."

Different persons, who had been designated by Corberand, as having been present on these two occasions, were also examined; but they said, that the whole affair was a matter of mere amusement. Montagnac said, that the Negroes in the field had made a regulation, that when one Negro cursed another, he should be fined 5*d.* worth of rum. He himself was the first man fined, and the Negroes came in the evening to his house, to drink the rum; and it was proposed, that all future fines should be drank at his house, which should be called the Court-house. Thompson, who was there, said he would be King, and Kerr said he would be Governor, but that was all meant in fun*. The Negroes, so assembled, sometimes made play with their sticks, and some of them had *wooden* swords made by Macfarlane †.

This germinating conspiracy assumes, however, a very different shape in Corberand's next examination, which does not take place till the 8th of January 1824, an interval of fifteen days. On the 26th of December he had sworn to the facts already detailed, which he swore also was all he had to depose. Who had access to him in the interim and were his prompters does not appear, but may possibly

* It is well known, that in Jamaica, every Negro has his gala-day name, by which he is distinguished among his fellows. One is General Campbell, another is Admiral Rowley, a third is Colonel Russell, a fourth Mr. Scarlett, a fifth Governor Conran, and so forth: and by these names they are generally addressed at their festive meetings.

† With respect to the use of sticks and swords in their amusements, see the account which Bryan Edwards gives of their Pyrrhic or warlike dances, in his History of the West Indies, 5th edition, vol. ii. p. 103.

appear hereafter. His evidence on the 8th of January details the formation of a regular plot, with all due circumstances of unlawful oaths and murderous purposes; the whole of which, if true, must have been as well known to him before as after his first examination. He stands, therefore, at once before us as a perjured and blasted witness. His testimony is nevertheless received and devoured by the greedy appetites of the magistrates without hesitation or reserve. Now the plot takes the character, in their official statements to the Governor (p. 83), of "a most extensive and diabolical plot for the overthrow of the government, and the massacre of the White inhabitants." Now first Lecesne's name comes forward. The information respecting him is thus given by Corberand: "James Manhertz, and two run-away Negroes harboured by him, had made several visits to town, each time returning with a load of guns *, which was delivered by Lecesne, (the person lately shipped off): H. Oliver said, this Lecesne was his great support, and had promised him as many guns, powder, &c. as he could require. Since Lecesne's being sent off, H. Oliver had appeared much dejected: he knows of no one who has been appointed to act in Lecesne's room." This fact, observes the magistrate, in making a communication of it, "will be important to Government." (p. 83.)

On the trial of H. Oliver, on the 19th of January, a number of additional circumstances are introduced into Corberand's evidence respecting Lecesne. He (Corberand) went to Kingston—he does not say when—along with James Manhertz. They were both introduced to Lecesne, by one Baptiste, a Negro from St. Domingo, and received from him fourteen guns, which were put in a Spanish bag, and brought by them to Balcarras, where they were hidden. "The guns," he says, "were to fight Buckra (the Whites) with. They were to kill all that would not join their party, without respect to colour. Oliver *sent money to Lecesne for guns.* Oliver was three days in Kingston; he carried money to pay for arms; and yet it is said, "Lecesne did not sell guns." (p. 83.) "Oliver was to walk round the country and tell the Negroes to join the plot, and Lecesne was to send TROOPS from Kingston to help them when they rose." "Oliver sent letters to Mr. Lecesne, Manhertz carried the letters: he did not know who wrote them." "Lecesne told witness he would get them every thing they wanted. The plot was contemplated *before witness knew Lecesne.*" "They got the arms *about two months before Christmas* †."

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* Not one of these guns has ever been found, although the whole power of the Jamaica police has been exerted to discover them.

† From the 7th to the 25th of October, Lecesne was in confinement in Kingston gaol. It was surprizing that this statement did not excite a suspicion of the truth of all Corberand's evidence; and still more if, as the newspapers of the day represented him to have said, the arms were received two weeks before Christmas, when Lecesne had been already deported. But another circumstance rendered the magistrates more inexcusable, in crediting Corberand's testimony. Mr. Paul La Motte testifies, that on the Sunday before the Kingston races, (being the 30th Nov. 1823), he met two slaves coming from King-

The next mention of Lecesne is on the 3d of February, on the trial of a slave named Leon, condemned to die on the *sole* testimony of Corberand. "Leon," he said, "was made a postman by H. Oliver, to fetch people from Kingston to join them the night they were to rise. Afterwards, three weeks before Christmas, Leon came down to Balcarras," &c. "The people were to be brought, *Christmas night*, from Kingston. Leon accepted the situation, saying, he would do any thing to oblige a friend. *They were to come from town with arms; Lecesne was to furnish them.* The people expected were Sambos, Blacks, and Browns." (See supra, pp. 37, 38.)

Again: on the trial of Jack, on the 7th of April, Corberand testifies, "that fourteen guns were supplied by a Brown man, name Lecesne. They were brought over by James Manhertz, and a Brown man named James Grossly, in Spanish bags, on two mules, about *two months* before Christmas. A week after, he (witness) brought over a keg of powder on a mule, also from Lecesne." "He (the witness) was taken to Lecesne by Baptiste the Brigand" (p. 104), who introduced him and Oliver to Lecesne. (p. 106.)

Corberand's next and last exhibition was in Kingston, on the trial of a slave named Chance, on the 1st of June, 1824. He then stated, that *he had known Lecesne since he was a little boy.* Some time ago, as he passed his house, he saw him and Chance whispering a long discourse together, and he saw Lecesne give a jug of powder to Chance. "Baptiste, the brigand, and Oliver, were introduced to Lecesne in town, who said, at any time they wished for guns, to send. Witness took Manhertz to Lecesne, got a Spanish bag, and tied fourteen guns together; and they put them on two mules, and walked all night, and got to Balcarras at cock-crow."

It came out, on this trial, that Corberand had been promised his pardon by the St. George's magistrates if he told all he knew about the conspiracy. Mr. Lamotte, a planter of St. George's, testified that Corberand had varied in his testimony, on the present occasion, from all he had said before. "On five trials in St. George's he had always varied, and given something new." (p. 131.) Mr. Beaumont, the editor of the Public Advertiser, gave similar testimony.

In consequence, we presume, of his manifest prevarication on this occasion, Corberand was immediately committed to close confinement in gaol; and it was afterwards made the subject of a recommendation from the Assembly that he should be deported from the island, without even the form of a trial *.

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ston; the one Manhertz, belonging to Balcarras, and the other Corberand; belonging to Mullett-Hall, with a mule and a bag on its back containing a gun; and Mr. Mendez, the overseer of Mullett-hall testifies, that at that time he had sent to Kingston a Negro with a mule to get a stand of arms for himself, and that the Negro on his return told him he had met Mr. La Motte. This circumstance seems to have furnished Corberand with the hint for the whole of his fabrication about arms. The overseer of Balcarras also testified, that he never missed H. Oliver more than one day from the estate.

* The papers laid before Parliament omit one material circumstance with respect to Corberand, which tended more than any other to ruin his testimony.

But, amid the various transactions in St. George's, none has struck us with more disgust and horror than the trial and condemnation of a poor sickly female slave, named Venus, who, on conviction, is valued at 25*l.* currency, or about 17*l.* sterling, for "a rebellious conspiracy to kill and murder the White inhabitants of Jamaica, and for compassing and imagining the death of the White people of that island." The slave and daughter of her master, a Frenchman of the name of Paul Lamotte Carrière, appears against her, and testifies to her using violent language, the witness alone being present, about killing the White people, and saying the Negroes would be free; adding, "Venus always grumbled against her master." Her master testifies that she was "ill-disposed, mischief-making, and disorderly;" another White man, that she was "bad tempered, saucy, and lazy."

He was detected, while giving his evidence, with a piece of silver coin in his mouth, which, by the Negroes generally, is supposed to be an effectual charm against the evil consequences of perjury. The universal knowledge in Jamaica of the prevalence of this superstitious belief proved more damnatory of Corberand's evidence than all his contradictions, inconsistencies and exaggerations. Indeed he did not scruple to avow afterwards, as may be clearly proved, that all he had testified about Lecesne and the St. George's conspirators was false, and had been said to secure the pardon and the rewards that had been promised him. After this, it seems unnecessary to point out the gross discrepancies of his various statements. On the 19th of January, for example, he said that he and Manhertz were *introduced* to Lecesne by Baptiste; and then that Manhertz had carried letters to Lecesne from Oliver. He even says, that the plot was contemplated *before he knew Lecesne.* On the 7th of April, however, his testimony is, that he and Oliver, not Manhertz, were introduced to Lecesne by Baptiste. On the 1st of June he had a different story. He then said that he had known Lecesne *since he was a little boy;* and Baptiste and Oliver, instead of being the introducers, were introduced themselves to Lecesne. He also took Manhertz to Lecesne. Again, his evidence on the 8th of January goes to prove that Manhertz and two other persons had made several visits to town for guns given by Lecesne, who was Oliver's great support. But on the 19th of January it was he and Manhertz who got the guns. On the 7th of April, it was Manhertz and Grossly; and on the 1st of June, it was he and Manhertz again.

In the first account of these trials in the Jamaica newspapers, the delivery of arms by Lecesne was said to have been two *weeks* before Christmas. This statement must at once have blasted the whole of Corberand's testimony, Lecesne having been deported on the 29th of November. The time, however, which stood two *weeks* in the *newspapers*, stands as two *months* in the parliamentary papers. But though the change brings the fact just within the verge of possibility, the improbability is still of a very formidable description. Mr. Lecesne had been a prisoner in Kingston gaol from the 7th to the 25th of October, and in five weeks more he was deported from the island. Now that, during any part of those five weeks Lecesne, just as he had escaped the most imminent peril of exile from his family and country, with a full knowledge of the rigid surveillance under which he was placed by Mr. Barnes and Mr. Mitchell, the magistrates of Kingston, who were known to be anxiously looking about for inculpatory evidence against him, should have employed himself in the hazardous work of furnishing arms to slave conspirators, is too absurd to be believed. There is no need, however, to resort to reasoning of this description to prove the charge to be false and unfounded. And this appears to have been the opinion of the Jamaica Assembly, who, in their report on the disturbances, do not once allude to Lecesne, but bestow high praise on the loyalty of the People of Colour generally. (Supra, pp. 37, 38.)

Her defence was, that she was sickly, and could not work, and that the words attributed to her had really been used by her master's daughter. She was condemned to transportation.

The following extracts seem to us to throw additional light on these dark transactions.

In an extra Postscript to the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 17th to the 24th of January 1824, there is inserted a detail of the trial of the St. George's conspirators on the 19th January 1824. There Charles Mack is made to testify (p. 30), that the meeting at which he was present, when *two bags* were brought on *two mules*, containing, as he conceives, guns from town, took place *two weeks* before Christmas. On the very same trial John Baptiste Corberand is made to testify (p. 31), that fourteen guns were brought from Lecesne, in Kingston, in *bags* on *mules*, *two months* before Christmas.

In the Postscript to the Royal Gazette, of the 31st January to the 7th February 1824, an account is given of a second trial (Feb. 3) of some St George's conspirators. On this occasion the editor observes (p. 20), "Baptiste Corberand varies considerably from the evidence he gave on the former trial" (on the 19th January). "He says there were *some people* from St. Domingo at the musterings, when before he distinctly stated there was only the brigand Baptiste. He also implicates Sambos and Browns, whereas before he only implicated Lecesne. He now, too, implicates the Negroes on La Fitte's property, when, on the previous trial, he deposed that they would not join, as they were religiously inclined." Various other direct contradictions are specified, but these may suffice. On this testimony, nevertheless, three men were, on this one occasion, condemned to die, and one to be transported. (p. 21.)

In an additional Postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 10th to the 17th April 1824 (pp. 26, 27), is contained the account of the third trial of the St. George's conspirators, which took place on the 7th of April. Here Corberand and Mack change places. Mack is made, on this occasion, to testify, that the guns arrived *eight weeks* before Christmas; while Corberand's testimony is thus given:—"They had fourteen guns to fight the Buckras with. They got their guns from Lecesne, a Brown man in Kingston, for nothing. They had been collecting money to purchase guns; but when they found they could get them for nothing, they stopped collecting." "James Manhertz brought the guns up in *a* Spanish *bag* on *a mule*, with John Crossdaile, a slave belonging to Cambridge, in Portland, *two weeks* before Christmas. *A week after*, this witness brought up a keg of gunpowder on a mule from Lecesne's." Lecesne, be it remembered, was deported from Jamaica on the 29th of November. Corberand is asked, "Do you know Lecesne?" His reply is, "Yes, I know him well; was introduced by Baptiste the brigand to him."

In the Jamaica Courant of the 12th of April 1824, an account is given of the same trial of the 7th of April, which is verbatim the same which we have just quoted from the Jamaica Gazette. Corberand is there also made to state that the guns were brought from Lecesne *two weeks* before Christmas, and a keg of powder only *one week* before Christmas; while Mack is made to testify that they were brought to Balcarras *eight weeks* before Christmas. The whole of the trial, extracted verbatim from the Jamaica Courant, and exhibiting these decisive proofs of perjury, may be seen in the John Bull of the 13th June 1825.

Immediately after the trial of Chance, which took place on the 1st of June, and to which we have adverted above (p. 77), Corberand was placed in close confinement in the gaol of Kingston. He escaped from his confinement, but, after some time, was retaken and placed in one of the condemned cells. The Jamaica Courant, of the 5th June 1824, makes the following observations on the escape of this witness for the crown:—

"Jean Baptiste Corberand has effected his escape from the gaol of the city. The danger and impolicy of this man being abroad must strike every one. He has as pretty a notion of treason as any Jack Cade we ever

One other conspiracy remains to be considered, that of Hanover; and we must do the gentlemen of Hanover the justice to say, that it is the only affair which wears the very slightest semblance of a conspiracy. There, we have at least some overt acts of violence—something which, to a certain extent, might justify alarm, and punishment too.

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heard of, and may, if he is inclined, stir up the present tranquil passions of ignorant Negroes to those acts which, on his evidence on the last slave court, he evinced having well studied and matured. We never witnessed a fellow more undaunted before a tribunal of justice, or more at home, on his being discovered in occasionally tripping in the continuity of his story. It is hoped every exertion will be resorted to in order to recover this incendiary, who has evinced considerable and dangerous talents, and who would be prone to use them (if we judge aright of the fellow) to the prejudice of the present peaceable state of the colony, and to the perdition of his weak or headstrong associates."

In the Public Advertiser of Jamaica, of the 27th July 1824, the following paragraph appears:—

Corberand.—"In reply to the inquiry of a St. George's correspondent, 'whether Charles Mack and Jean Baptiste Corberand, the crown witnesses in the St. George's trials, are treated like convicted felons, whilst the convicted rebels are allowed the privilege of insolvent debtors,' we are requested to state, that Corberand has lately been confined in a cell for two causes; first, in consequence of his having effected his escape on a former occasion; and, secondly, because he has manifested strong symptoms of insanity. The debtors insisted on his removal from the part of the gaol appropriated to them, as he made at night the most hideous yellings, sometimes roaring out that he saw the fire which was going to burn him; at other times that he was sure he would be hanged, an impression which it is impossible to dispel. He also requested the Sheriff's officer to fetch him a parson, that he might tell him that all he (Corberand) had said was nothing but lies. Charles Mack, till the last week, was in the hospital, and for a considerable time previously. As he had also attempted his escape, it has been considered necessary to put him under some restraints."

The same paper, of the 12th July 1824, contains the following remarks on the evidence of Corberand, as it bears on the case of Lecesne and Escoffery.

"For our own part we hope (indeed we are confident), that our Executive have stronger grounds to defend the justice and propriety of their conduct (towards Lecesne and Escoffery), than the evidence of Jean Baptiste Corberand, whose evidence, we maintain, is wholly unworthy of credit. We put it, not to the Rev. Colin Donaldson, but to Mr. Kirkland and Mr. Stamp, two of the ablest magistrates in St. George's, whether they can deny that Corberand was always ready to swear to any thing which could tend, in his opinion, to raise his own consequence. We have heard him with our own ears, in a court of justice, detail before a jury impossibilities, absurdities, and inconsistencies. In his cross-examination by Mr. Clement, in the Court-house of this city, at the trial of a slave named Chance, he so repeatedly contradicted himself, that the jury did not believe his evidence, and acquitted the prisoner of every part of the charge which Corberand was called to substantiate.

"Our readers will perceive, that we do not impeach Corberand's testimony on the opinion of a very inconsistent, and perhaps, we might say, very silly reverend gentleman (Mr. Donaldson), but we appeal to his own cross-examinations, and the verdict of a jury composed of respectable inhabitants of this city.

"Besides, were Corberand's evidence to be believed, it would be no exculpation of the illegal act charged against our executive, inasmuch as the deportation complained of, and the evidence which induced it, were long prior to this second edition of Titus Oates."

By the law of Jamaica, the slaves are allowed twenty-six days in the year out of crop, besides Sundays, for cultivating their provision grounds, which form the sole source of their subsistence. This pittance of time, it may be supposed, is highly prized by the slaves generally, but most by those who are the best and most industrious. The crop of 1824 had been long: the month of May had nearly closed before it was finished on Argyll, the estate of Mr. J. Malcolm, who was himself resident; so that the season for clearing their grounds and planting their provisions was rapidly passing. Mr. M. had made them to turn out to work on Saturday the 29th of May; and after they had been working some time in the field (one witness says half a day), they were sent to their grounds; but the afternoon proved wet, and was of little use to them. This plan of turning out before going to their grounds is stated to have been unusual on Argyll, nay, never to have occurred there before. The Negroes were unwilling to submit to it; and when Saturday the 5th of June came, they all went to their provision grounds without first going to the field. They were not flogged on the Monday morning, as they seem to have expected, for this act of disobedience. An intimation however appears to have been given them, that they would be required to attend in the field on the succeeding Saturday. They determined among themselves, that they would not obey the mandate; but that when Saturday the 12th came, they should proceed as they had done on Saturday the 5th, and repair to their grounds without coming first to the field. They accompanied this determination, it is affirmed, with some strong expressions of defiance, and with intimations of their right to be free; but this was only among themselves. Early on the morning of Friday the 11th, Mr. Malcolm was apprized by one of his slaves, William Roach, of the above determination, and of the intemperate language said to be used by the slaves. He immediately wrote a letter on the subject to the colonel of the militia, who called out his regiment to rendezvous at Argyll. A part of the corps reached the estate the same day during the dinner hour of the Negroes; and such was the alarm created amongst them by the appearance of the soldiery, that, when the shell blew to call them to their afternoon's task, instead of coming to the field, they all ran away into the woods. One witness describes the matter thus:—"They were frightened, having heard that, when they turned out, they were to be surrounded by the troops, and, if any ran away, they were to be shot and handcuffed." Some of them appeared now to consider their case as desperate. They killed seven horses and three mules belonging to Mr. Malcolm; and the trash house of a neighbouring estate was set on fire on Sunday, but by whom does not appear. Three of the principal offenders, among whom was the head driver of Argyll, killed themselves to avoid being taken, and a fourth failed in an attempt at suicide. A few were taken by the military, and the rest came in and delivered themselves up in two or three days.

Eleven slaves belonging to Argyll and seven belonging to Golden Grove were put upon their trial. The charges against them were, entering into a rebellious conspiracy to obtain their freedom by acts

of force and by resistance to the lawful authorities; entering into such conspiracy to resist the lawful authorities and to overturn the constitution of the island; and rising in open rebellion against the lawful authorities of the island. Sixteen were found guilty. Of these, thirteen were condemned to be hanged, and either ten or eleven of them were hanged, and three were condemned to be transported. The value put upon these sixteen persons, and paid to their masters, was 1560*l.*

This, it must be admitted, was a sufficiently terrible example of vindictive justice. We shall be excused for making a few remarks upon it.

1. There does not appear to have existed on the part of the slaves any premeditated design of rebellion. They conceived themselves to have been greatly aggrieved by the wanton abridgment of their Saturday, the only week-day allowed them for cultivating their grounds out of crop, no such day being allowed them during crop; and their measures appear to have been directed solely, in the first instance, to secure to themselves the whole of the day to which they conceived themselves to be entitled by law. Instead, therefore, of obeying the mandate to muster in the field on the Saturday, they determined to go directly to their grounds, which, it is said, had been the usual course of proceeding. Mr. Malcolm, the proprietor, does not deny that he had summoned them to attend the field on Saturday; but says his object was to ascertain that they were all on the estate, and had not wandered about on Friday night, and "he *always sent them* away by seven o'clock." He does not, however, contradict the evidence which says that it had not been *his* previous custom thus to summon them to the field on their own day; neither does he deny the fact, alleged by one of the witnesses, that on the preceding Saturday they had been detained in the field *half* the day. This statement of Mr. Malcolm's, therefore, is not very intelligible; but we presume that he wishes to have it understood that it was his *intention*, in summoning them to the field on their own day, not to detain them beyond seven o'clock. He does not say, however, that he made known this intention to the slaves. Now, let it be kept in mind that the Jamaica law makes the hours of field labour to extend from five in the morning till seven at night. Here, then, two full hours, the best hours of the day too, are to be taken from the day allowed to the slaves for labouring in their own grounds, in order to till their master's fields—although that day is the only allowance made them in lieu of subsistence;—their master thus depriving them (including the time employed in going to and returning from the field) of a sixth, or perhaps a fifth, of that precious time. We cannot but regard such a proceeding as a most wanton infringement of the *legal* rights of the slave; an infringement which it became them to resist, by every *legal* means in their power. And yet, had they in their power any legal means of redress? We doubt it. They could only have complained to a magistrate; and Mr. John Malcolm their master, the very person who inflicted the wrong, was himself a magistrate,

and, from his connexions, one of the most influential magistrates in the parish. We cannot, therefore, *greatly* blame their adopting the only mode which was open to them, however unsafe and imprudent it may have been, of intimating to their master the sense they entertained of the wrong he had done them.

2. We think that the conduct of Mr. Malcolm was not only unjust and illegal, but that it was ill-timed. He must have known that the minds of the Negroes had been much agitated by the rumours and discussions which had been afloat in the island, and by the trials and executions which had been taking place around them. The Duke of Manchester's recent letter to Mr. Vaughan might have reminded him of this circumstance. Surely this was not the time to innovate, in the way of severity, in the treatment of his slaves, and particularly by a regulation which must, in many ways, have been extremely galling to them. If he had intended to excite their bad passions, and to provoke resistance to his authority, he could not have fallen upon a more effectual device than that which he was so ill-advised as to adopt.

3. That the appearance of the military on the estate should have led to the momentary defection of all the slaves, was no more than might have been expected. Their terror at the thought of military execution sufficiently accounts for it. Thus far they might fairly have found in the court and jury which tried them, that lenient construction of their conduct which was so judiciously given by the Duke of Manchester to the alleged conspirators of St. James's. The acts of violence afterwards perpetrated by a few individuals, were, doubtless, acts deserving severe punishment; but they were not acts which could be considered as involving any but the actual perpetrators; and certainly not such as could be considered as involving even the perpetrators, and much less the other slaves, in the crime of rebellion against the government.

4. We observe on these trials, as on all the others which have taken place, a remarkable disregard of all the received rules of evidence; and in this instance also the slaves appear to have had no legal advocate, or even solicitor. On the face of the minutes, however, it is obvious that much would have been gained in favour of the prisoners, as well by a judicious cross-examination, as by the rejection of improper and irrelevant and mere hear-say evidence. On an English reader, for example, it is calculated to make a strong impression to be told that most of the Negroes were *armed* with *macheats*, and that one man was *grinding* his *macheat*. A single question would have brought out the answer, that the macheat is one of the common tools of the field Negroes.

5. In the case of this, as of all the other trials, the informers and material witnesses either are rewarded with their freedom (a freedom which they had doubtless the assurance of before hand); or obtain the pardon of their own crimes, in order to qualify them to give evidence against others. (A. p. 17.)

A Return is made in these papers of the number of Maroons in

Jamaica; by which it appears that they had been greatly increasing. The returns are dated in June, July, and August, 1824, and are as follows—(E. pp. 21—33)

Accompong-town (besides 14 slaves)	328
Scot-Hall (besides 1 slave)	68
Charles-town	365
Moore-town (besides 49 slaves)	438
	1199

The only remaining document in the Jamaica papers is a letter from the Bishop of Jamaica, which, we think, it would have been well to have suppressed. It is dated on the 12th March 1825, when he had only been about three weeks in the island, and when it was impossible he could have formed any just judgment of the actual state of things, except from information, the soundness of which it would have been prudent to have questioned.

"Wherever I go," says the Bishop, "I find the greatest aversion to Sectarianism of every kind and denomination, but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion whom I may be pleased to appoint*.

"I have as yet seen very little of the slave-population, except during a short excursion into the Port-Royal mountains. The great want is, places of worship in situations where the Negroes of many surrounding estates might be easily assembled, and houses for the clergy†. Many proprietors have indeed tendered houses, which might be adapted for the purpose: and, from all I hear from the Clergy, much has been done in this way, particularly since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point‡. From the great uncertainty and capriciousness of the Negro character, it is difficult to make sure of their attendance even where great pains

* The Bishop, of course, speaks *here* of *the Clergy* and *the White colonists*: he cannot mean to refer either to the free People of Colour or to the slaves. It was not necessary to have Episcopal authority for this fact: it was perfectly notorious. Did any doubt whatever exist of the perfect hatred which the planters of Jamaica generally bear to Methodist and Baptist Missionaries?

† According to the Bishop's account, the great want has not been any want of zeal in the resident Clergy, or any want of facilities in their labours on the part of the laity, but the want of churches and houses; and yet all previous accounts, even from the Clergy themselves, have given a different view of the most efficient causes of the non-instruction of the slaves.

‡ The Bishop was informed by the Clergy, that much had been done in the way of assembling the Negroes in the houses of the proprietors. This, also, is in direct contradiction to all the evidence previously obtained on the subject, both from the Clergy themselves and from others. (See Appendix to Debate of 15th May 1823, pp. 149 and 161.) But we are told, that it is more especially since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point, that "much has been done." The resolutions adopted by that Society were first made known in July or August 1823, in London. Its progress must have been rapid, if much has already been done by it. But in what way their resolution to institute schools could have operated in leading the Clergy to do much in the way of assembling the Negroes in the houses of proprietors for public worship, is not very obvious.

have been taken *; but whenever a preacher is popular, they dress out their children and themselves, a sure sign they are in good humour, and throng the place of public worship †. Psalmody and organs, have great attractions for them. They seem particularly fond of form and ceremony, and greater critics than many persons will give them credit for, remarking every particularity of manner and gesture; and have a great predilection for a powerful, sonorous voice ‡." "I am happy to assure your Lordship, that a very general wish to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of the Established Church, seems to pervade the great mass of proprietors; and every facility is afforded me of visiting the several plantations §."

XII. MAURITIUS.

Respecting the state of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius, during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, the substance of what has been communicated officially is contained in a letter from Sir Robert Farquhar, and one from his successor, Sir Lowry Cole, both addressed to Earl Bathurst;—the first dated the 23d January 1823; and the second, 18th November 1824. The fair inference from these communications would seem to be, that in those years the Slave Trade had been reduced to a very low ebb in the Mauritius. It is impossible, however, under all the circumstances of the case, not to entertain very considerable doubts of the accuracy of that information, and a suspicion that the Governors may have been deceived upon the subject. Sir Lowry Cole indeed affirms, that not only has the introduction of slaves ceased at the Mauritius, but that, on the part of the

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* Does Mr. Trew, or Mr. Stainsby, or do the Methodist preachers, complain of a deficiency in attendance?

† It would be worth while to obtain a specification of the parish churches, in the island of Jamaica, which slaves and their children have been in the habit of *thronging*. We believe, that, besides the Methodist and Baptist chapels, they would be confined to one or two.

‡ The power and sonorousness of the Bishop's voice are loudly celebrated in all the newspapers of Jamaica.

§ It is humiliating to peruse this first specimen of the official labours of the head of the Church of England in Jamaica. Where did the Bishop learn the fact of the general wish to ameliorate the condition of the slaves? From the chit-chat of the dinner-table, or from the acts of the legislature? Has he not learnt to distinguish between the mere profession and the actual existence of a sincere desire for reformation? And as for the wish, attributed to the great mass of proprietors, of instructing the slaves in the principles of the Established Church, if it really exists at all, it must be a wish of very recent origin: for, until a late period, even the Jamaica District Society for promoting Christian Knowledge found it necessary to obviate the alarm which their association had excited among those proprietors, by *publicly declaring* that the idea of the religious instruction of the slave population of Jamaica had not entered into their contemplation, their attention being exclusively directed to the free population. (See Appendix to Debate of 15th May 1823. p. 182.)

inhabitants, there is no disposition to renew the Slave Trade, but rather a feeling of indignation at its horrors; and this appears to have been also the opinion of Sir Robert Farquhar. The planters of the Mauritius have, without doubt, *professed* to renounce and to detest the Slave Trade; but it is very difficult to give them credit for the sincerity of this profession. They had long been familiar with this trade; and they had evinced, even to a recent period, an attachment to it so rooted as to lead even some of the higher classes to brave, for the sake of its profits, all the infamy of a felonious conviction. What then could have wrought this extraordinary conversion in so short a time? An external difference of conduct, indeed, might fairly be expected. The increased vigilance of our cruizers increased the risks of transgression, while the extremely low price of colonial produce, during the period in question, diminished the temptation to transgress. But to infer from this temporary cessation of the trade, even if such cessation had actually taken place, that the planters of the Mauritius had become, in principle, adverse to that trade, is not consistent with the character of those planters, or with what we know of human nature itself. Besides, it is notorious, that, during this period, the planters of the Mauritius were making great efforts to obtain the removal of the protecting duty on their sugars; and they must have felt, that a decent external compliance with the Abolition Laws was essential to their success. If a reference be made to the official testimonies already adduced, as disproving this suspicion, it may be said in reply, that the papers laid before Parliament in the late session furnish numerous proofs of similar representations, in favour of the conduct and dispositions of the colonists, on the part of the colonial authorities in the West Indies, at the very moment when the whole course of proceeding pursued by those colonists was furnishing a direct and palpable contradiction to the official eulogy.

One of the strongest presumptions against the alleged purity of the planters of the Mauritius, is drawn from the records of Parliament. Had they been as sincere in their abhorrence of the Slave Trade as they are represented to be—and we may add, had the colonial functionaries been as earnest and vigilant in repressing it as they were bound to be—some proof of this would have been found in the regularity with which the Order in Council for the Registration of Slaves had been complied with by the slave-holders, and in the strictness with which the salutary provisions of that order had been enforced by those charged with its execution. It was felt, by all enlightened abolitionists, and by none more than by his Majesty's Ministers, that the only effectual security against the continuance of the Slave Trade, to any extent which the planters of the Mauritius might desire, was in the establishment of a perfect system of slave-registration. Both in Mauritius and Bourbon, experience had shewn, that, for the due repression of the Slave Trade, no reliance could be placed on the fidelity of courts and juries composed of planters, themselves participating, or desiring to participate, in its criminal gains. And as for our navy, what could one or two cruisers, however vigilant,

effect to prevent small and fast-sailing vessels from throwing slaves on shore during the night, without the cognisance of any persons except the inhabitants, who were also the parties interested in concealing the transaction? The slave market, be it remembered, was distant only a few hours' sail: Slaves could there be bought for only a few dollars. That they were eagerly desired by the planters, no one doubts.—What, under these circumstances, could prevent an active Slave-trade, but a well-regulated registry? But in the Mauritius the registry has not been well regulated. The proof of this is now on the table of the House of Commons. A registry of the slave population, regularly kept, it was admitted, could alone effectually prevent the illicit importation of slaves; but it now turns out that that registry has been suffered to fall into inextricable confusion. It is not only wholly and absolutely inefficient to its purpose, but, there is every reason to fear, may have been converted into a convenient instrument of giving facilities to the illicit importation of slaves. And here it is remarkable, that, although the due establishment and the vigilant superintendance of the Slave Registry was one of the first and most essential duties of the local government, and although it was recognised by the supreme authorities of the state as the most effectual means of preventing the Slave Trade, yet the imperfection, not to say the perfect nullity, of the Mauritius registry, appears to have excited no attention till a recent period. It is obvious, however, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Mauritius, the very course which the best friends of the Slave Trade would be disposed to pursue, in order to secure its undisturbed continuance, would be to declaim against that trade, and to threaten punishment on those who should engage in it, and yet to allow the slave registry to fall into complete disorder.

The Order in Council which established a slave registry in the Mauritius was promulgated there in the year 1815. From that time, had the provisions of the registry act been fulfilled, the introduction of slaves, if not entirely prevented, must have been rendered difficult and hazardous. If any one object, therefore, more than another deserved the vigilant inspection of the colonial government, it was this.

A strong suspicion that this essential instrument of preventing the Slave Trade had become wholly inoperative, was excited by an examination of the returns made to the House of Commons, and printed by order of that House on the 23d March 1823 (No. 89, p. 122), and which were found to be in so unsatisfactory a state as not even to afford any accurate information with respect to the slave population, much less to prove an effective check on the illicit importation of slaves. The suspicion thus excited has since been abundantly confirmed by a return made to the House of Commons, so recent as the 27th June 1825, by Mr. Amyott, the registrar of colonial slaves in Great Britain. It is entitled, "Return of the Amount of the Slave Population in the Mautitius, as received in the Office of the Registrar of Colonial Slaves since its first Establishment," and is as follows:—

"1816. Males, 55,717; females, 29,706; total, 85,423.

"The duplicate slave-returns in the Mauritius, for the year 1819, *are so imperfect as not to afford any mean whatever of ascertaining the amount of the slave population at that period,* and have therefore been sent back to the colony for correction. Those for 1822 *are supposed* to have been lost in the ship George the Fourth, wrecked, on her voyage from the Mauritius, in June last."

And this neglect is the more remarkable, as it is in defiance of the provisions and penalties of an Act of Parliament, passed in the session of 1819, for securing the regularity of such returns. To whom the neglect is to be attributed does not appear. It is, however, so criminal in itself, and so ruinous in its effects, that it is to be hoped that one of the first measures of the next session of Parliament will be the appointment of a Committee to investigate the subject of the Mauritius registry, as well as some other matters connected with Slavery and the Slave Trade in that quarter.

Until the existing state of things, as to the registration of slaves, has undergone a radical change, all general statements as to the non-introduction of slaves into the Mauritius must be regarded as illusory. It is known, too, in this case, that a Governor is surrounded on all sides by functionaries, and judges, and juries, who are almost one and all holders of slaves, and who are therefore deeply interested, not only in keeping open the channels of supply, but also in concealing every act of delinquency; so that, without the infallible means of information which a perfect system of registration alone can afford, it would be impossible for him to pronounce with confidence as to the execution of the Abolition Laws.

And if this reasoning is applicable to the Mauritius, even under the circumstances of depression, arising from low prices and protecting duties, which prevailed there in 1822, 1823, and 1824, how much more strongly does it apply at the present moment, when the removal of the protecting duties, and the general rise in the price of colonial produce, must have given an increased stimulus to cultivation, and rendered the temptation of the adjacent slave-market still more irresistible!

It would be easy to shew, in addition to this, in how open and barefaced a manner *new Negroes* have been introduced from the Seychelles, by means of certain "formalities," which, under all the known imperfections of the system of registration, can be of no use in checking, but may be of great use in facilitating, an illicit slave-trade. It were idle to suppose that the slave-registration system is more perfect in the Seychelles than it is in the Mauritius, and yet the certificate of the officer commanding at the former has been sufficient to secure the admission into the latter of any number of slaves he may accurately describe, and certify as coming from those islands; and yet, for any thing that appears, or can appear, to the contrary, he himself may have first imported these slaves from Mozambique or Zanzebar, and then transferred them to the Mauritius.

The whole of this state of things is an outrage on the honour and

character of the British Nation. Our own Government has been strenuously urging France, and other powers, to adopt our plan of registration, for the effectual prevention of the Slave Trade. How justly may they charge us with hypocrisy and insincerity, when they contemplate the administration of that system in the Mauritius!

But it will be alleged, in reply to all this, that, the Slave Trade being abolished by Radama in Madagascar, and by the Imaum of Muscat, there is now no source from which slaves may be easily drawn to the Mauritius; and, moreover, that slave-trading being now declared to be piracy by statute, none but a few desperate characters will venture to engage in it.

As for the treaty with Radama, supposing it to be religiously observed on his part, (and, in consideration of the very large annual payment made to him by the British Government, which he would otherwise forfeit, this is possible,) it furnishes no security against the Slave Trade in those parts of Madagascar which are not subject to his dominion, and especially in those which are under French jurisdiction. The treaty with Radama cannot, in the slightest degree, interfere to prevent a vessel which may have cleared out at Port Louis in the Mauritius, with a destination to any place whatsoever (or "to sea" generally, which *there* is a very usual destination), from calling at Fort Dauphin, one of the French establishments in Madagascar; taking slaves on board there; landing them in the night at some inlet in the Mauritius; and appearing the next day at Port Louis, and entering at the custom-house there as returned from her voyage in ballast.

With respect also to the treaty with the Imaum of Muscat, it presents no effectual barrier to the introduction of slaves into the Mauritius by British subjects, which, in the present instance, is the crime to be specially provided against.

As for the peril which is incurred by British subjects who engage in the Slave Trade, and which, it may be argued, will of itself be sufficient to prevent any attempts at the illicit introduction of slaves, that risk, it is to be feared, is estimated in the Mauritius at a very low rate. It is perhaps not known in this country, that, notwithstanding the numerous and notorious infractions of the Abolition laws which have taken place in that colony, since it came into the possession of his Majesty, not one offender has hitherto been convicted and punished for slave-trading. A few individuals who were sent over to England for trial, were here convicted and punished; but no individual brought to trial for slave-trading in the colonial courts, it is believed, has hitherto met the reward of his crimes. To suppose, therefore, that the dealers in human flesh at the Mauritius should entertain any very lively fears with respect to the future, would be to accuse them of a strange inaptitude to profit by the lessons of experience. If it were credible that importations had ceased during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, yet credulity itself can hardly suppose that they will not now be renewed. It is not to be hoped, that, in the absence of all effectual check from registration, as well as of

all disposition in the colonial courts to convict slave-traders, either the fear of the gibbet, or the treaty with Radama, or the convention of the Imaum of Muscat, will prevent the revival of the Slave Trade (even supposing it to have ceased for a time), now, more especially, since the abolition of the protecting duties on sugar, and the enhancement of the price of that article, have combined to give a new and powerful stimulus to the extension of sugar planting. It were folly to expect it.

This general, but, as it appears, most conclusive, reasoning on the subject, derives additional force from the amazing disparity in the sexes existing among the slaves of the Mauritius, which does not appear to have been lessened since the capture of the colony, but which would have been greatly lessened in the intervening period, had importations really ceased. The inference fairly deducible from this fact is corroborated by the late progressive increase of the sugar cultivation of the Mauritius—a cultivation not only more destructive to human life than any other, but requiring a greater number of hands to carry it on. Connected with this fact, it is further necessary to bear in mind the known prejudices of the Mauritius planters in favour of the buying, as compared with the breeding, system; the contiguity of the slave markets; the extraordinary cheapness of the slaves; the known partiality of the courts of justice in favour of slave-traders; and the eminently harsh and destructive nature of the bondage which prevails in this island. These things considered, it is impossible to acquiesce in the opinion, so confidently announced, of the cessation of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius.

But, independently of all the strong presumptions adduced above, and which are sufficient to justify the refusal of an implicit assent to the statements that represent the illicit importation of slaves into the Mauritius as having ceased, circumstances have occurred which go far to convert these presumptions into proof, and which at least call for increased vigilance in enforcing the laws, and for increased attention to the due registration of the slaves.

XIII. MONTSERRAT.

From this island there is no information whatever of any kind.

XIV. NEVIS.

The legislature of this island has limited itself to the expression of an opinion, that it is adviseable to pause in a matter so generally affecting the interests of the colony, till they can learn what has been done at the seat of government, St. Christopher's, or some other of the principal colonies where, it is understood, consolidated slave-acts are in progress.

XV. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

The Governor and the Chief Justice of this island appear to have been very solicitous to urge forward the amelioration of the slave code, and the improvement also of the condition of the free classes. From the legislature, however, nothing has as yet proceeded beyond the following statement contained in an address to the Governor.—"We are fully aware of the necessity which exists as to the amendment and consolidation of the several laws relating to slaves, the foundation for which is so surely laid that we augur as speedy a consummation of this measure, as the cautious deliberation which it demands shall permit. We approach this alteration in the actual condition of our labouring classes, with a perfect knowledge of the result at which it aims, to which we cheerfully devote our attention, upon the express stipulation of full and fair indemnity for every interest that shall be injured thereby."

A letter is inserted from the Chief Justice, Pickwood, to the Governor, Maxwell, on the subject of reform, which contains some passages worthy of being noted.

"Although our statute-book," he observes, "is disgraced with perhaps fewer sanctions to atrocious and sanguinary conduct towards the slave population than are to be found among our neighbours, there is still much which proclaims the age when these our fellow-creatures were considered of less importance than the soil which they cultivated, or the cattle which they drove."—"Aware of the impossibility of reconciling the various incongruities of the slave code, with the better feelings which now prevail towards them, and the change in their condition, which that feeling and their improved habits demand, I resolved at once on the repeal of every existing law bearing on this subject."—He then proposes to abolish the odious terms "slave, and slavery," and to substitute "vassal, and vassalage," and thus "strip the condition of these people of an opprobrium which is revolting to all who venerate, or would preserve, the institutions to which the condition of these people is at once an exception and a reproach *."—He proposes to appoint a protector, and to abolish Sunday markets; but he cannot bring himself to abolish wholly the flogging of females, who, he says, are the most turbulent, and the agitators on all occasions. "Until *coercion shall cease to be the incitement to labour*, I do not consider it to be expedient that women should be altogether exempted from this mode of chastisement." He adopts the other regulations of the Order in Council as to marriage, separation of relations by judicial sale, property, manumissions, and savings banks. In regard to evidence, he extends the principle beyond the Order in Council. He has never seen the necessity (nor can we see it) of any

* We conceive, on the contrary, that it is important the name should continue while the abomination exists.

restriction on its admission under the precautions which courts would necessarily adopt. "The prevailing feelings of our juries against the credibility of Negro evidence in general, will be an ample safeguard against the bias it may be supposed to have. I have therefore, in the Bill I have framed, authorized its reception in all civil suits or actions, in which the owner is concerned, or where any White person may be charged with an offence punishable with death; for the reception of such testimony can alone do away with the reproach which now attaches to us, that not only cruelty but murder may be committed openly, and in the presence of hundreds, without the possibility of obtaining evidence for the conviction of the offender*."—Mr. Pickwood further states, that he has adopted the penal clause on cruelty from the Trinidad Order, and has added clauses to secure to the slave a sufficiency of food, allotments of land, clothing, time, attendance on public worship, medical treatment, &c. (points not touched upon by the Order in Council.) We regret to observe the numerous and vexatious disabilities, and distinctions, which Mr. Pickwood has thought it necessary, we suppose in deference to West-Indian prejudices, to sanction and perpetuate in his Bill. Those disabilities and distinctions are stated to consist, in requiring that they should be provided with a pass on going abroad; in the mode of apprehending fugitives, and of the punishment for harbouring or concealing them; in searching their houses for stolen goods; in the sale of liquor or arms to them, or their obtaining goods under false pretences; and in the penalties attached to their being concerned in rebellion, or murder, or using words tending to rebellion, or in preparation of mischief; to their firing squibs or struggling with, or wounding, a White person; to their galloping horses through the streets; their cruelty to cattle; their gambling, or unlicenced dances; their pretending to witchcraft; and their preparing poison, or having poisonous drugs in their possession. "These offences," he adds, "are not less offences in the White man than in the slave; but they are here especially provided against, as requiring, in some cases, a more summary mode of investigation, and a different punishment†."

* It may be worth while pointing out how exactly the remarks contained in the Second Anti-slavery Report (p. 76), on that part of the Trinidad Order which relates to the evidence of slaves, tally with the observations of this intelligent lawyer and judge.

† But does not the principle so well laid down by Lord Bathurst, in the case of the Bahama Act, apply with equal force to the projected law of St. Christopher's? "Since the superiority of rank and education which belong to the White inhabitant is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is an injustice in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment." The plan of the proposed Act is directly the reverse. It is to assign to the minor offence an aggravated punishment.—Mr. Pickwood observes, that these offences are not less offences in the White man than in the slave." But is it really so? Is it any offence in a White man of St. Christopher's to go abroad without a pass; to use words in preparation for mischief; to fire squibs; to struggle with, or even wound, a White man if in self-defence; to gallop a horse through the streets; to shew cruelty to cattle; to gamble; to have poisonous drugs in his possession? And if such acts are offences when com-

XVI. SAINT LUCIA.

The communications from this island, which occupy a large space, commence with letters addressed to Lord Bathurst, from Major-General Mainwaring and Colonel Blackwall, who have successively administered its government. The sentiments expressed in these letters bear strong marks of the influence of West-India prejudice. (A. pp. 231—318.)

The state of the island, in respect to religious instruction, seems most deplorable; it being "without one Protestant minister, or Protestant place of worship," in the whole colony, or even one place of worship at Castries, the chief town, for the Catholics, who form its main population. In two or three respects, the slave code of St. Lucia is more favourable to the slaves than it is in our own colonies. "The evidence of slaves is received, excepting for or against their masters." The law permits, and even ordains, the celebration of the marriages of slaves, with the consent of the owner; but then, adds the Governor, "in this colony, marriage is little common among slaves; but that proceeds from the absence of religious instruction, not from any objection on the part of the owners, who would be anxious to encourage it." (Why then do they not?) "Marriage between slaves of different estates, is not known." The husband and wife, and children under fourteen, cannot be sold separately.

On manumissions, a sum of 99*l.* currency, or 43*l.* sterling, is payable as a tax; and for the continuance of this tax the Governor most ingeniously and earnestly pleads, having discovered that a tax is a great stimulus to industry, and a promoter of good conduct. He is willing, however, in deference to Lord Bathurst, to abate a part of this tax, but proposes to retain about a moiety of it.

Lord Bathurst had proposed to require a bond, in case of the manumission of children under a certain age, to prevent their becoming chargeable to the island. General Mainwaring (not being aware how strongly, with a view to defend taxes, bonds, &c. in cases of manumission, the West Indians generally had dwelt on the dangers of pauperism) answers with great simplicity, "I cannot conceive a case in which such a bond would be necessary for children, under the existing order of things: your Lordship may not be aware, that

mitted by a White man, why should they be punished more leniently in him than in the slave?—It is much to be lamented that the obeah clauses are continued in a Bill framed by so respectable a man as Mr. Pickwood. It is remarkable that in the neighbouring island of Antigua, no such disgraceful and unchristian enactment exists; and we have never heard that the very slightest inconvenience has there resulted from the omission. Are our West-Indian legislators so little acquainted with human nature as not to know that witchcraft, obeah, &c., acquire respect and veneration in the eyes of the ignorant, just in proportion as they appear to be regarded with apprehension by the more intelligent; whereas the true cure for the prevalence of a belief in these things is wholly to disregard them, and to apply our efforts, not to punish the superstition, but to enlighten the ignorance which is its source?

there are no paupers in this colony,"—obviously meaning, no free persons who are paupers. This remark equally applies to every other colony, however the fact may have been concealed or denied by colonial writers or orators, who have falsely alleged the apprehended charges of pauperism as their apology for taxes and other restraints on manumission.

The General entertains serious doubts as to the propriety of discontinuing to flog women. He thinks it may be possible, but speaks very hesitatingly upon the point, by means of tread-mills and solitary cells, to establish *a system of punishment* which might do away with the necessity of the whip; but the whip or martinet he thinks should be reserved *in terrorem*. But for female slaves, *on estates*, he is utterly at a loss to conceive what punishment can be substituted. The *unanimous opinion of all with whom he had conversed was, that the whip or martinet must be reserved as a punishment for the females*, the women being infinitely more difficult to manage than the men. He adds, "I have had a special report, from one quarter of the island, that since the whip has been discontinued for the women, the men make use of their wives to convey to their owners all sorts of insolent and insubordinate requests and observations *. I can perfectly understand the possibility of this being the case, and therefore cannot doubt that it is so †; as I am persuaded that the owner will not unfrequently punish the husband for the wife, if he be deprived altogether of the right of punishing this latter ‡." As to abolishing the use of the whip in the field, "the planters are exceedingly apprehensive that, without this *badge of office*, the commander (driver) will not be able to enforce his orders." If, however, the means of keeping up order and regularity on their properties, that is, enforcing labour, is reserved to them, they will no longer be disinclined to banish the whip.

To grant to the slaves a right of property, the General thinks would be subversive of the existing law, and will besides induce the slave to be dishonest to his owner, or to steal §. To establish savings banks will be extremely difficult, slaves being both mistrustful and incautious. (p. 231, &c.)

The letter of General Mainwaring is accompanied by some observations of the Attorney General. He conceives religious instruction to be scarcely practicable, from the greatness of the expense, the aversion of the slaves, and the hopelessness of procuring ministers.

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* This would imply, that as early as August 1823, the date of this letter, the flogging of females had actually been discontinued in St. Lucia. This however, as appears from subsequent statements, must have been a mistake; the planters having doubtless tried to impose upon him by this unfounded representation.

† And yet what was there to prevent the owner at that time from punishing this insolence in the usual way? The law had not yet been altered.

‡ What a shocking picture of the character of the very men whose humanity the General nevertheless praises, and on whose information he relies?

§ This mode of treating the subject affords a complete proof of the total want of property in the slave at present.

He defends the holding of the markets on Sunday. He objects to the proposed facilities to manumission, and for this strange reason: "There is no greater stimulus to labour for a slave than the desire of obtaining his liberty." And yet he proposes an impost to form a fund for their maintenance, because manumitted slaves are averse to work, give themselves up to excesses of all kinds, and are thus brought to a state of infirmity and misery*. The regulations for restraining, deferring, witnessing, and recording the punishments of slaves, he thinks are superfluous and impracticable. "Such changes would give the death-blow to the subordination of the slaves, and would essentially compromise the safety of the master." In short, he adds, with evident horror, "the total subversion of the colony would be the result of such innovations." (A. pp. 236—247.)

Col. Blackwall's communications are in a similar strain. The proposed measure could not be made law in St. Lucia with safety to the planters or advantage to the slave. The existing law is decidedly adverse to the abolition of flogging females, and to the right of the slave to redeem himself. The existing circumstances too of the colony are such, that his Majesty's Ministers will no doubt see the propriety of deferring any amendment of the slave laws. The general state of society is far from being highly civilized. There is not one school in the island. The slaves have the intelligence of contentment and simplicity, but no instruction whatever. The proposed change, therefore, would be too serious a change to be carried into effect, without imminent danger to the public peace, and would impede, rather than advance, the cause of freedom. The owner, who now gives his slave every opportunity of exerting his industry in his own behalf, and of disposing of the produce of it, will at once deprive him, as far as may be in his power, of these indulgencies, and no law can be framed to prevent this. Manumissions, which go on rapidly at present, will be impeded rather than promoted by legislative enactments. The master, grateful for faithful services, may be ready of his own will to make any sacrifice; but if the law compelled him to do so, his feelings would be changed†. The most sanguine well-wisher to emancipation could hardly hope it should proceed faster than it does at present. Col. Blackwall views it as indispensible to make the slave look up to his owner alone for his freedom, as the reward of faithful service; and he urges Lord Bathurst that the slave should not be entitled to claim his freedom as a right, without paying a sum beyond his value, and producing testimonials of his good conduct. "My object," says this officer, "is solely to preserve to the master the affection of the slave, which he would unquestionably lose, if the slave considered every moment he worked for his master as a robbery upon that time he ought to employ to obtain his own freedom, or that of his wife and children. I enter as warmly as any

* And yet the Governor affirms that there are no paupers in St. Lucia.

† The sooner such masters are deprived of the enormous powers they possess, the better.

man into the views of Government for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves;" but "I conceive it to be impossible to grant, without limitation, this right to the slave without destroying that relation between the master and himself upon which the happiness of both entirely depends." Such are the views of this West-Indian governor.

In a subsequent letter, he states, that he had made a tour of the island. The slaves are well and regularly clothed, fed, and attended to in every respect; a great degree of leniency and humanity was observed towards them; they appeared happy and contented, and their owners seemed to use their endeavours to make them so. And yet, notwithstanding these flattering representations of Col. Blackwall, the slave population, though consisting of many more women than men, appears, to be decreasing at the rate of two and one-tenth per cent. per annum *. He ought to have reconciled this fact with his report.

On the 9th of September, 1821, Colonel Blackwall transmitted to Lord Bathurst, agreeably to his Lordship's instructions, the draft of an Order "embodying the whole spirit" of the Trinidad Order in Council. He contends strenuously, however, for the continuance of Sunday markets, for preventing slaves from holding lands, and against the slave's right to be manumitted on paying his value, unless he shall have previously obtained his owner's consent. He also proposes, that in all criminal prosecutions, against any White person convicted on the evidence of his own slaves, such slaves shall be sold, together with their husbands, wives, and children, and the produce paid to the owner. Two clauses are proposed to be introduced, which are improvements on the Order in Council—first, that no punishment shall be inflicted by any owner or other person upon any slave, in respect of any complaint made by him to the protector; but if any punishment is inflicted, it shall only be after trial and conviction before the proper tribunal; second, that not only slaves, but persons of free condition, shall be at liberty to purchase the freedom of their father, mother, wife, husband, child, brother or sister, who may still be slaves.

It transpires incidentally, that under the existing law all interrogations and examinations are secret, to the exclusion even of the prosecutor; and that of course, unless the law is altered, even the protector of slaves would be excluded from them; but surely this ought not so to be.

XVII. SAINT VINCENT.

An Act had passed the legislature of Saint Vincent in 1820, for consolidating the different laws relative to slaves, the humanity of which was highly vaunted as having anticipated all Lord Bathurst's improvements. It was doubtless an improvement on the old law of

* See Second Anti-slavery Report, p. 152.

Saint Vincent; but, on being examined, it was found to be neither more nor less, with scarcely any variation, than a substantial transcript of the Consolidated Act of Jamaica of December, 1816. On the 26th of July, 1824, Lord Bathurst addressed a letter to the governor, Sir C. Brisbane, commenting on this Act of 1820, and referring him to the Trinidad Order in Council for the general grounds of his objections. Among other classes he objects to two, which enact, that if one slave assist another to go off the island, he shall suffer death; but that if a White or free person assist him, he shall be transported, without saying for what period. Lord Bathurst's remark on these clauses is important, as involving a general principle of extensive application in colonial legislation, and which will be found already propounded in the case of the law of the Bahamas. "The offence for which such disproportionate punishment is provided by the former of these clauses cannot be considered as of a malignant nature; yet it would be aggravated rather than palliated, both as regards the delinquency of the act, and its danger to society, under the circumstance of being committed by a person of free condition, as contemplated by the latter clause, which, nevertheless, provides a minor punishment." (A. p. 112.)

The Governor laid Lord Bathurst's communication before the legislature. The Council, in reply, "cannot refrain from expressing a hope that precipitance may be avoided in introducing untried innovations into this tranquil, happy, and hitherto contented country; and that our rulers will deign to recollect the wise opinion on government, left to his country, by one of its most profound reasoners and writers, 'It were good that men in innovations would follow the example of time itself, which, indeed, innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees.'"—The Assembly resolve that the whole matter do stand over. "I have been unwilling," observes the Governor, in his letter of the 10th of September, 1824, "to press the matter on the immediate consideration of the legislature, for two reasons; first, I am confident it will be much more satisfactory to your Lordship and creditable to themselves, that all these improvements should be voluntary; secondly, that were I instantly to have directed their attention to this subject, I might, perhaps, have acted with some precipitancy, and, by irritating the public mind, rendered them more obstinate opponents than it is your Lordship's desire. They have, until December next, 1824, time sufficient to weigh the nature and principles of the measures proposed." It does not appear, however, that a single step has since been taken towards the desired reformation.

XVIII. TOBAGO.

In 1824 the legislature of this island passed an act containing some improvements on their former slave-code. It admits slave evidence in the only case in which the Trinidad Order in Council has rejected it; viz. in the case of the wilful murder or mayhem of a

slave by a White or free person; provided no White or free person had been present, and provided two slaves, unimpeached as to credibility, concur in their testimony. Clauses are also introduced for securing the personal property of the slave; for abolishing Sunday markets, and substituting Thursday: for allowing to the slaves thirty-five week days in the year for their provision grounds; and for limiting arbitrary punishment to twenty stripes; any number more than twelve requiring the presence of a free person besides the person who inflicts the punishment.

In this act, however, there are many omissions, and many objectionable clauses. To these Lord Bathurst calls the attention of the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, in his letter of 26th July 1824, referring him to the Trinidad Order, to which he wishes the law to be assimilated, and pointing out some specific objections to the act recently passed. He objects to the inflicting of capital punishment for the crimes of "compassing the death of a White or free person," "maiming of cattle," and "enticing other slaves to run off the island." Receivers of stolen goods are punishable with corporal punishment; but it is not specified that a knowledge of the goods having been stolen is of the essence of the offence. The powers of slave courts are too extensive for courts which are not courts of record. Other defects are pointed out, in addition to which there are the very serious omissions of the inadmissibility of slave evidence, except in a particular case: the marriage of slaves; the removal of all obstacles to manumission; and the regulation of the sale of slaves nearly related.

Sir F. P. Robinson, on the 27th October 1824, informs Lord Bathurst, that "there is great reason to fear the Colonial Legislature will not attend to the suggestions submitted to them respecting amendments and additions to the slave act." "To press them farther on the subject this session would answer no good purpose, and therefore it will be better to wait the event of the January sessions." But even this qualified hope lasts only a single day. On the 28th October the Governor writes, that it is his decided opinion, "that *nothing* more will be done towards the melioration of the condition of the slaves in this colony by the legislature." He transmits at the same time a message from the House of Assembly rejecting the Trinidad Order entirely. It could not, they say, be adapted to the island of Tobago, without equal prejudice to the interest of the master, and the good government and happiness of the slave population. The House is fully convinced that in the late act, they have gone as far as prudence and propriety can justify, and that in the present state of the slave population, to adopt all the measures recommended by his Majesty's Government, would be equally destructive of the interests of the master and the happiness of the slave.

XIX. TRINIDAD.

The whole of the papers connected with Trinidad, which are con-

tained in the book A., have a reference to the promulgation of the Order in Council, which took place on the 24th May 1824, and to the subsidiary regulations which were found necessary either for giving effect to its provisions, or for supplying its defects. Into these it will be unnecessary to enter much at large. The substance of the Order itself, as it originally stood, will be found in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 71.

Two proclamations have since been issued: the first, of the 23d June 1824, directs that, instead of being punished by flogging, female slaves shall thenceforward be liable to be punished, by their owners, by solitary confinement, with or without work, not exceeding three days; by field-stocks for the hands, during the hours of labour, not exceeding thirty minutes for each offence; by house-stocks for the hands and feet, with or without seats, during any period of the day, not exceeding six hours; by bed-stocks for the confinement of the feet during the night; handcuffs; distinguishing dresses, with or without stocks; distinguishing marks to be suspended from the neck; confinement, either solitary or otherwise, with or without task-work. These punishments may also be inflicted on male slaves in lieu of flogging: offences requiring a higher punishment are to be referred to the magistrates or tribunals according to their enormity. Regulations are also promulgated for the management of the Savings' Banks.

The second proclamation is dated the 29th October 1824, and directs that nothing in the Order of Council, prohibiting compulsory labour on the Sunday, shall be construed to authorise any slave to hire himself to work, either to his owner or any other person, from sun-set on Saturday to sun-rise on Monday; provided, however, that in case it shall be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the crops or produce on any plantation, or for the prevention of essential injury to the same, slaves may be employed for hire between these hours, provided they voluntarily consent to do so, and provided they are so hired by their owner, or by other persons with the owner's special consent in writing; the lowest rates of wages, which shall be payable to slaves so hiring themselves, shall be fixed and made known by a public notice from the Protector and Guardian of slaves, and it shall not be lawful to pay them less than this fixed rate. It is further directed, that nothing in the Order shall be construed to prevent the employment between sun-set on Saturday and sun-rise on Monday, of watchmen, nurses, domestic servants, &c.; it being understood that no field labour, or labour in any of the ordinary works of the plantation shall take place, on any pretence of irreparable injury from delay, unless the slave shall voluntarily engage in it and be paid for it. It is further declared, that female slaves under the age of ten years may be corrected for faults as children of free condition are usually corrected; that the expenses of appraisement, on the manumission of a slave, are to be equally divided between the owner and the slave; that when a person's interest in all his slaves shall, by reason of his cruelty and unlawfully punishing his slaves, become liable to forfeiture, the sentence shall not take effect until the whole case, with all its particulars, shall have been reported

to his Majesty, and his royal pleasure thereon shall have been signified; and that the rights of third parties shall not be affected by such forfeiture.

In the Order, as thus framed and modified, Lord Bathurst remarks, "there is nothing which can give to the planters any just claim for compensation. I am as ready as any man to acknowledge and maintain that the slave must be considered as the property of his master. But the slave has *his* rights. He has a right to the protection of the master in return for his service, and the law must secure to him that protection. There is nothing in the provisions of this Order which goes beyond the limits which this principle prescribes. In most cases they do little more than what practice has sanctioned *, or the law has already enjoined. The master is not deprived of the service of his slave on any day except Sunday; and it is to be hoped that no Christian master will so far forget himself as to claim indemnity for the loss of that which his religion must have taught him he ought never to require."

The Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society has already stated the grief and dismay which the promulgation of this Order in Council produced among the planters in Trinidad. In reply to the strong remonstrances of the colonists, the Governor refuses to suspend the Order; and he affirms, that "*the points comprised in it were recommended to his Majesty's Government by the whole body of West-India planters and merchants in London, as fit concessions on the part of the slave proprietors.*" It is important to bear this in mind. The remonstrants in Trinidad affect to regard the Order as the work of the abolitionists, while it is in fact the work of the West-India body in London.

In one of the many remonstrances presented to Sir R. Woodford by the inhabitants, and in which they ransack the English vocabulary for words sufficiently strong to express their dissatisfaction and their alarm, we find the following passage: "It is avowedly a measure by which the assumptions of theory are to be subjected to the test of experiment, to be falsified or confirmed; by which the philosophic legislator is to ascertain whether a slave can be raised from the lowest grade to a more elevated rank in society, and yet remain a slave, productive as property and subservient to the will of his master; whether a partial infusion of the best principles, extracted from a society of the highest order and refinement into a system radically vicious and bad, yet hitherto simple in its deformity, will, by the admixture, neutralize and improve the latter, or the whole explode by repulsion." To this remonstrance they subjoin a long series of questions as to the precise meaning of various provisions of the Order in Council; in reply to which Lord Bathurst afterwards furnishes explanations, which, in most respects, are satisfactory.

* Lord Bathurst, we fear, has not been well informed as to the extent of improvement which practice, in the colonies, had previously sanctioned, having probably taken the unfounded statements of some even respectable West-Indians to be true representations—such statements, for example, as that the whip is used not as a stimulus to labour, but as a mere badge of authority.

They ask whether the clause, prohibiting compulsory labour on the Sunday, forbids an exertion of the authority of the master to oblige lazy and indolent Negroes to work their grounds on Sunday, *as has been the practice* hitherto. Lord Bathurst's reply is to this effect: "The Order in Council distinctly prohibits the use of compulsion to induce a slave to work even on his own ground on a Sunday. The master is entitled to the labour of the slave for six days in the week, but he is not entitled to more; and out of the profits of the six days' labour the slave must be supported. The seventh must belong to the slave entirely for his own profit and advantage. I can perceive no difference in principle between the practice of purchasing food for Negroes, who are exclusively employed for six days in the service of their masters, for their support during the whole week, and of appropriating an adequate portion of time, during the six days, for the cultivation of their grounds. It is therefore evident, that in cases where the master adopts the system of provision grounds (which is most frequently the case in Trinidad), he can have no possible claim for the services of his slave on the Sunday, whether those services be for the execution of work exclusively to be performed for himself, or for the cultivation of provision grounds, by the produce of which he is to be relieved from the support of his slaves. Nor can he be considered as entitled to compensation for that day, or part of a day, which he may permit his slaves to appropriate during the six working days, for he makes this arrangement to supersede the necessity of purchasing provisions for his slaves."

It is to be regretted that the Order is perfectly silent on the important point of the quantum of time to be allowed to the slave in lieu of Sunday, over and above the time that had been previously allowed him in addition to it.

The 21st clause enacts, that on the prosecution of an owner for inflicting an illegal punishment on a slave, if the slave (not himself being a competent witness) shall be produced in court with the traces of recent laceration visible, and shall make a probable and consistent statement of all the circumstances, then the owner shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him, or that it was a lawful punishment; and failing to do so shall be adjudged guilty. To this clause the planters object, that a slave might, from malicious motives, procure some fellow-slave to flog him, so as to create laceration, and then exhibit his sores in court as evidence against his master. But Lord Bathurst justly thinks that there is no probability of any such fraud being attempted.

It is objected to the clause which prohibits the flogging of female slaves, that they are thus placed in a superior state to persons of free condition. Lord Bathurst observes, that the objection does not prove the impropriety of the clause, but rather demonstrates the necessity of altering the law which sanctions such a mode of punishing free females. He intimates at the same time, that a law is meditated for improving the condition of the free People of Colour.

It is asked, whether the permission given to the slaves to hold

land does not virtually revoke the existing law of Trinidad, prohibiting slaves from cultivating the staple commodities of the island. Lord Bathurst replies, that in granting to slaves the power of acquiring land, the Order does not of course exempt them from any existing restrictions as to the mode in which the land may be cultivated by persons of their class and condition *.

The Colonial Committee inquire, whether in the case of an old infirm slave having acquired property to purchase either his own freedom, or that of his son who might be in the vigour of life, such a slave might elect to remain in slavery himself, continuing a burden to his owner, and to free his son, who forms a valuable part of the owner's property: Lord Bathurst well replies, "This is a just right which the slave clearly possesses under the Order. The most powerful inducement to a life of labour and self-denial is destroyed, if the slave is not permitted to employ, as may please him best, whatever property he may acquire by his exertions. An old man might purchase his freedom at a cheap rate; but if he prefers labouring longer to purchase that of his son, such an instance of parental regard and self-denial would not make the father less deserving of support. Besides, if the father might not purchase the freedom of his own son, there is nothing which could prevent his making over to the son the means of purchasing it for himself. The prohibition, therefore, would not only be harsh but inoperative. Nor is the master really injured; for if the son be strong and valuable, the owner will receive his proportionable price. If, on the other hand, the father is old and infirm, is it because he has spent his youth and strength in habits of industry, and in his master's service, that he is unworthy of support?" Lord Bathurst adds his opinion, that, where either infants or old persons are redeemed for a valuable consideration paid to the owner, no bond for maintenance ought to be required. It is true that the slave so redeemed may become a public burden. Where a slave, however, is manumitted for a valuable consideration, the security is considerable. "Such manumissions can only take place with the concurrence of the slave himself, with his own money, or with the money of some one who has an interest in his welfare. It is not to be supposed that the consent would be given, or the money paid, if there were a reasonable prospect that the manumission would injure the party manumitted, by reducing him from a state of sufficiency to poverty and distress. A slave who can raise or possesses the means of purchasing his own freedom, will seldom belong to that class of persons who sink into pauperism. On this, and every system of law, frauds may

* What a hard measure is dealt out to the poor slave! His want of industry is assigned as a reason for withholding freedom from him; but, by positive regulations, restraining the application of his industry, all motive to its exertion is as much as possible taken away. He is not allowed to grow, or even to possess, a single article of exportable produce. Lord Bathurst appears to have been struck with the injustice of this arrangement in the case of Demerara. Is it less unjust in the case of Trinidad?

be attempted; but the Protector of slaves will be bound to counteract such fraudulent practices *."

The Order in Council, say the planters, has made slaves competent witnesses on producing a certificate from their religious teacher. It is asked whether the want of such a certificate will render a slave incompetent, who might, according to the pre-existing law, have been received as a witness. Lord Bathurst's reply is important. "The Order," he says, "furnishes a distinct answer to this question, by declaring that nothing therein contained shall extend to take away or diminish any power or authority which any court of criminal jurisdiction now hath to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons being in a state of slavery." At the same time, prior to this satisfactory explanation of his lordship, we should have been apt to form a different conclusion. If the whole community of slaves in Trinidad already enjoyed the privilege, in point of law, of giving evidence in courts of justice, we should have concluded that a clause, specially entitling those who obtain a certificate of competency to this privilege, was intended to operate to the exclusion of all others.

The set of papers B. contains a report of the operations of the Order in Council in Trinidad, during the first half year of its existence —namely, from June to December 1824. "It is alleged," says the Governor, in transmitting this report, "that many planters do not punish their slaves, even when they merit chastisement, from the dislike, and often from the inability, to keep the Record Book. But though this may have occurred, it is, I believe, equally true that the fear of their offence being recorded has also served to restrain the slaves. Cases of insolence and insubordination frequently occur among the female slaves, for which confinement would be a sufficient punishment, if it were persisted in; but the loss of the people's labour prevents all the benefit that might be felt from such a substitution. More serious offences were intended to be met by labour on the tread-wheel under the orders of a magistrate; but the distance of the majority of estates from Port of Spain prevents recourse being had to it."

The report of the Procurador Syndic, Mr. Henry Gloster, is very full. It contains a variety of information.

1. Criminal prosecutions at the instance of the Attorney-General, from 24th June to 24th of December 1824. These are eleven in number. (B. pp. 39—67.)

1. The King against Robert Gaston, the manager of La Puerta estate, for flogging a slave named Sebastian Mati, because he said he was sick, and afterwards beating him with a stick for the same cause, and breaking his arm. This was a case of much doubt, and the accused was therefore properly acquitted.

* His Lordship here furnishes a powerful reply to all those miserable slanders poured forth by the Rev. Mr. Bridges, and others of his class, against manumission, as converting the now happy slave into a miserable and helpless pauper.

2. The King against Francis, a slave, for assaulting and wounding a free Spaniard. The prisoner, being found guilty, was sentenced to hard labour in the tread-mill for four months, then to be punished with forty stripes in presence of the slaves of the neighbouring estates, and then delivered to his master.

3. The King against Plato Anguilla, a slave, for assaulting and wounding Richard Pearce, a slave. Not guilty—discharged.

4. The King against Jaques Grand Guile, a slave, for assault and murder of a free man, Telemaque. Not guilty of the murder, but guilty of the assault. The Court, however, deemed the confinement already sustained sufficient punishment, and discharged him.

5. The King against Jean Paul Ongell, a slave, for an assault on the overseer and driver of the estate to which he belonged. He was found guilty, and sentenced to seventy stripes in the presence of the slaves of the neighbouring estates.

6 The King against Robert Ramsay, a slave, for the murder of another slave. There was a second count for an assault. He was acquitted of the murder, but found guilty of the assault; but which was of such a nature that his previous confinement was deemed a sufficient punishment.

7. The King against two slaves, Hector Munro and L'Amour Roche, belonging to Belle Veu estate, for refusing to obey their master's orders, and resisting him and the overseer, and for seducing the other slaves to the same disobedience; and also for improper and insolent conduct towards the commandant of the district. The slaves on Belle Vue estate had usually had Friday given to them (out of crop, we presume,) for their own provision grounds. As a punishment for some laxity of discipline (not turning out in the morning earlier than half-past six), the owner instructed the overseer to inform them, on Thursday evening, that the next day (Friday) would not be allowed them as usual. Only a few of the Negroes, however, came to work. The owner, Mr. Byam Redhead, sent the driver to inquire the cause and to summon them to work. They refused, saying they were entitled to that day. Mr. Redhead complained to Mr. Armstrong, the commandant. The commandant came upon the estate and called the Negroes together, and, being unable to discover the ring-leader, selected Hector for punishment. Hector said he would not submit to be punished. The commandant then ordered the driver to seize him. Upon this all the Negroes, among whom was L'Amour, began to run, looking over their shoulders and brandishing their cutlasses, (a fact, however, which was contradicted by most of the witnesses,) saying they were men, and would defend themselves. The women also behaved riotously, and ran off in another direction. The prisoners were found guilty, and were sentenced —Hector to eighty and L'Amour to one hundred stripes, under the superintendance of the commandant, and in the presence of a medical man.

8. The King against Jean Griffis, a slave, for the wilful murder of another slave; for assaulting and striking a watchman; and for steal-

ing two bunches of plantains. He was found guilty of the murder, and condemned to be hung. The Protector appealed to the Governor and Council, who confirmed the sentence. The prisoner suffered death accordingly.

9. The King against Anaclato Hospidales, a slave, for an assault on the manager of the estate on which he was a slave; and for assaulting and wounding two other persons of free condition. The manager and the slave had been dining and drinking rum together, and were both drunk. The outrage was clearly owing to this circumstance. The prisoner was found guilty, and condemned to receive fifty lashes, which ought rather to have been inflicted on the manager.

10. The King against William Dallaway, a slave, for being a notorious thief and vagabond, and for stealing a trunk of clothing of the value of fifty dollars. He was found guilty, and sentenced to receive eighty lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails in the public market-place.

11. The King against Zaire Lingere a female slave, for running away for nearly two years from her mistress's service, and embezzling her property, to the amount of 120*l*. Zaire had been employed by her mistress, Madame Victoire Bernard, to sell goods for her, and had always conducted herself well, and made faithful returns of her transactions. She had been entrusted with goods to sell to the value of 500 dollars, and had paid about 400 dollars of the amount; but had absented herself since December 1822, with the remainder. It was proved on the part of the prisoner, that a free person, named Cæsar Mandingo, had taken from her, on credit, goods to the amount of 100 dollars, which he had not paid. She told him she would not quit his house till he had paid her. When, after some time, she returned to her own house, she found she had been robbed of the goods she had left there, and, being afraid to return to her mistress, had gone back to the house of Cæsar Mandingo, where she had been detained ever since. She was found not guilty, and discharged.

We have been more particular in recording the above eleven cases, making the whole of the criminal prosecutions, in which slaves were in any way concerned, occurring in six months, among a population consisting of upwards of 40,000 persons of all classes, 22,000 of which are slaves; because it has been asserted by the Trinidadians not only that the Order in Council would demoralize the slaves, and be productive of a multiplication of crime, but that, during the time it had been in operation, their anticipations had been more than verified. How little foundation there is for such an assertion, the preceding authentic details will testify. In the only two cases which can be referred to the head of insubordination to authority on the part of the slaves, the persons in authority were themselves evidently and chiefly in fault. In one case a man deprives his slaves of the day that had been usually appropriated to their own provision grounds, expecting them nevertheless to feed themselves. In the other, the manager sits down in the house of the slave, and gets drunk with rum belonging to the slave, and then prosecutes the slave

for having, when in a state of intoxication, induced by his own encouragement and example, committed an assault upon him. Nobody will deny that under these circumstances the criminals were punished with sufficient severity The manager's pot-companion is visited with fifty lashes of the cart-whip; and the two assertors of their rights are condemned, one to 80 and the other to 100 lashes.

II. The number of slaves manumitted by private contract from the 24th June to the 24th December 1824, amounted to sixty-five, besides twenty-four manumitted before the Chief Justice, and eleven more whose cases were undecided, making in the whole one hundred. Of the eighty-nine actually liberated, twenty received their freedom without any valuable consideration, and sixty-nine purchased their freedom; the whole sum paid by them amounting to 10,206*l.* 18s. being on an average 147*l.* 18s. currency for each slave, or about 65*l.* sterling.

Ten cases occur of slaves applying for their liberty, but who, on being appraised, found the appraisement to exceed their previous expectations, and the funds they had accumulated therefore to be inadequate to their redemption.

III. Four actions had been brought by the Protector, for debts owing to slaves by free persons, and judgment was given in all of them for the plantiff. The amount of these four claims was about 410*l.* currency.

IV. The returns of punishments for three months only, from 24th June to 24th September, are curious and most important. No fewer than 446 proprietors make a return of no punishment exceeding three lashes having been inflicted on their slaves during these three months. These 446 proprietors are possessors of slaves varying in number from 1 to 121, and, in the whole, of 5915 slaves, being upwards of a fourth of the whole slave population of the colony.

Returns of the punishments on 189 estates are given. They amount to about 1230 in three months, and include all inflictions above three lashes to the men, as well as those to which the women were subjected. One, two, or three lashes however, frequently repeated in the course of the day, might of course add largely to the sum of punishments, and there is nothing in the law to prevent the frequent repetition of these minor inflictions.—The number of women who are punished with confinement in the stocks for different periods of time appears to exceed the number of men who receive punishment by confinement and flogging. The largest classes of offences consist of noise, and neglect of work; insolence and disobedience; not finishing tasks; and being from half an hour to an hour too late in the morning; likewise the getting drunk; false pretence of sickness; quarrelling, &c. Not cultivating their gardens, is also a frequent source of punishment. Another is the failing to bring the required

portion of grass for the cattle; a work, be it remembered, which is quite an extra work, after the prescribed term of labour in the field is over; and which, though a severe aggravation of the slave's toil, is never mentioned, except incidentally, by the West-Indians. Absence from prayers is also punished on some estates with the whip or the stocks. We proceed to make a few extracts from this record, merely as a specimen of its general tenor.

1. Jean Philip of Le Vivier—"for being absent from his garden on the Saturday afternoon, and not appearing at *grass* with the rest of the people, nor at prayers on the Sunday evening: also for refusing to turn out on Monday morning to his work, alleging he was sick; the doctor having visited him did not think proper to give him any medicine, but ordered him for duty the following morning*"—punished by the manager with confinement for thirteen hours of the night in the bed-stocks, and eighteen lashes.

2. Grenville of Bon Air, "for striking and ill-using his wife," punished by the manager with twenty stripes.

3. May of Bon Air, "for being three mornings behind the others in going to work," punished by the manager with ten stripes.

4. Margaret Jones of Dinsley, "*for bringing a small bundle of grass*, and impudence when reprimanded," confined in the bed-stocks one night.

5. Paterson of Garden Estate, "for telling a lie on the overseer," put in the stocks; but on the next day he was taken out, the lie not being proved; but afterwards put in again, being found guilty of the charge, and punished with twenty lashes.

6. Jack of Golden Grove, "for bringing false charges against the manager," punished by the commandant with twenty-four lashes.

7. Jack Abole of Orange Grove, "for making a false complaint to the commandant," punished by the commandant at his own works with twenty-two lashes.

8. Gatto Campbell of Carapichaima Hall—"for doing bad work in the field, and answering the owner when found fault with, that it was well done: he returned only after being ordered twice, and with great reluctance and murmuring, to mend his work"—twelve lashes.

9. Martilla of Mount Pleasant, "for turning out late," in the stocks one night.

10. Frankey of ditto, "for going off the estate without a pass," confined two nights.

11. Paul Collins of Vineyard, "for disobedience of orders, and not bringing grass," punished with twelve stripes.

12. Peter Delezée of ditto, "for dancing to the drum after the hour appointed by Government," twenty-five stripes.

13. Mary Anne Babrick of ditto, "lost twenty-five minutes' work,"

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* If the doctor gave him a day's respite from labour, it was a proof that his indisposition was not altogether feigned.

and was imprisoned in the feet-stocks one of the hours of noon of the same day.

14. Angolo of St. Francis and Frederick, "for saying with contempt to her master, that her clothing was not good, when it was proved that it was of *her* size," eleven hours in the bed stocks (being in fact the whole night).

15. Cannette, of ditto, "did not throw grass;" ten hours in the bed-stocks.

16. Rose Desirée, of ditto, "for coming after three o'clock P. M. into the field," nine hours in the bed-stocks.

17. Zabeth Robertson of Ross Park, "for not working her row with the rest of the gang as she ought to do," in the stocks during her noon time.

18. The same, "for not working her provision ground on the day given by me," in the dungeon for one night.

19. Catherine Bevarley of Union, "for being insolent and using insinuating language while throwing grass in the yard," confined her two nights and a day in the stocks.

20. Nelly Grievous, of Union, "for going out of the hospital at night, she being there as an invalid," confined for one night in the stocks.

21. Sally Nightingale, of Beausejour, for "neglecting grass twice," two days' confinement.

22. Fanny, of Montrose, for "idleness and false complaint of having a pain in her belly*," confined in the stocks two days and two nights, and then begged to be permitted to go to work.

23. Valere Gine, of Chaguaramas, "faisant le malade," fifteen lashes.

24. Petit Jaques, of ditto, "ne voulant pas prendre les remedes du docteur," fifteen lashes†.

25. Sandy Couchi, of ditto, "porte une fausse plainte chez le commandant," par le commandant, twenty-five lashes.

26. Francoise Masson, of ditto, "ne voulant pas travailler depuis 3 jours a comte de sa grossesse, n'etant grosse que de 6 mois, et lui ayant donné des petits travaux," en prison 24 heures‡.

27. Francoise Negui, of ditto, "manquant a la priere," en prison et au tae 6 heures.

28. Polly Bonaparte, of Perseverance, for "disobedience and insolence," eleven hours in bed-stocks.

29. Gilbert, for "omitting to bring grass twice," fifteen stripes with the cart-whip.

30. On Plantation River, belonging to James Cadett, Esq. (a

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* Who could tell that the complaint was false?

† This, it must be admitted, is rather a sharp punishment for not taking his physic.

‡ Not choosing to work at all for three days on account of her pregnancy, being gone only six months, and having had light work given her; imprisoned twenty-four hours.

gentleman whose name appears conspicuously among the remonstrants against the Order in Council, having been Chairman of the Committee of Planters,) there are recorded 135 punishments of females "for neglecting provision-grounds, and refusing to work," &c.

31. Joseph Congo, of La Reumur, for "omitting to attend prayers," four hours in stocks *.

32. Caroline, of Westmoreland, "came into the hospital sick, and refused to take medicine," two hours in the stocks.

33. Rose Rosette, of Constance, for "neglect of duty as washerwoman, and taking one day more than usual to wash the linen of the family," in the bed stocks twelve hours of the night.

34. Elizabeth Betsey, of ditto, "for abusing the driver for calling her up one hour before day to go to the mill;" the same punishment.

35. Marie Polly, of ditto, for "getting beastly drunk," the same punishment.

36. Andrew, of Las Cuevas, for "neglecting his garden," twenty-five stripes.

37. Timbo Congo, of Union, for "forgetfulness of duty," ten stripes.

38. Boco Louise, of ditto, "having born a child five weeks ago; the child died on the third day. On being ordered to go to work refused, and preferred going to the stocks." In the stocks twenty-three hours.

39. Jim James, of Bel Air, for "beating his wife," twenty-three lashes.

40. Providence Wilberforce, of ditto, for "getting drunk on Sunday," twenty-three lashes.

41. Azzo, of Otaheite, for "impertinence," twenty-two stripes.

42. Zemire Congo, for "being pregnant, supposed by her reputed husband, having two spare husbands; creating a battle among them, and an uproar on the plantation;" two hours in the stocks.

43. Mial of Cedar Hill, "guilty of many faults; a barrel of beef robbed while in his charge, his ground neglected, off the estate without leave when he ought to have been at work, wishing to have a wife on the Endeavour Estate, though he has now, and has had for several years, a good wife on the estate where he resided;" eighteen lashes.

44. Frederick Shipley and Davy, of Endeavour, "neglect of order, and absence from throwing grass two nights;" twelve lashes each.

45. Margarette, of Plein Palais, "pour avoir manqué à la priere," a night in the stocks.

46. Hamilton, of Margaret's Hill, "for neglecting his watch,"

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* Can any thing be conceived more absurd than this mode of instilling religion by the stocks and the cart-whip?

twenty-five lashes, and had his posteriors well washed with pickle, to prevent bad effects.

47. Huit esclaves femelles apartenant à l'habitation Columbia, "pour les avoir trouvé, toutes les huit, à ne rien faire," solitary confinement an hour at noon.

48. Philip Pirame, of Matilda, "frequent instances of disobedience, absence from prayers, frequent intoxication, riotous conduct;" twenty-one stripes.

49. A number of slaves on the plantation called Clydesdale Cottage, are punished for "not getting grass *," the men with about twelve stripes, the women with confinement in the stocks all night.

50. Grace Sulky, of Diamond, for "insolence and refusing to work," nineteen hours in the feet-stocks.

51. John Toussaint Michell, of Retrench, for "preventing the other Negroes from taking their task, saying it was too much, and putting into their heads bad ideas," twenty-five lashes.

52. Felix Mer, of St. Charles, "n'ayant pas fait sa tache, j'avais ordonné qu'il couche au *bed-stocks:* mais aussitot qu'il y fut mis etant parté d'un eclat de rire en signe du mepris qu'il fesait de ce châtement,"—fifteen lashes.

53. Three women of Union Hall, for "broiling in the Negro houses," (what the nature of this crime is does not clearly appear,) twelve hours' confinement in the stocks at night; and another, the same punishment, for absence from grass roll.

54. Thomas Hodge, of Woodlands, "for not turning out to work till half-past six o'clock, and being very insolent to the manager and driver," twenty-four stripes.

55. Philip Sydney, of ditto, "for having gone with a groundless complaint against the manager to the commandant," confined, by order of the manager, in the stocks for seven days, and fed on bread and water.

56. Richard Long, of ditto, "for leaving the estate on Sunday, and not throwing grass with the other Negroes," put in the stocks all Sunday night.

57. Amy Distiller, of Sevilla, "for refusing to work and telling a falsehood on the overseer," locked up in the sick-house for eight days.

58. On the Plantation Curep, seven or eight women are punished with being put all night in the stocks, for coming to work an hour after sun-rise.

59. Thomas Wilberforce, of Eldorado, "broke open a Negro house and stole a blanket;" twenty lashes.

60. Patrick Wilberforce, of ditto, "eating earth," fifteen lashes.

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* It will be seen from these details what a sad aggravation of the toil of the slaves, as well as what a source of additional punishment is this cruel exaction of grass-gathering after the labour of the field is over. It is not enough that a slave should labour in the field from day-dawn to night-fall. He must then collect and carry a large bundle of grass for his master's horses or cattle. The hardships of this practice may be seen above, p. 30.

Some of the proprietors in their returns enter into details evidently for the purpose of exhibiting the injurious effects of the innovations introduced by the Order in Council. The following is a specimen.

" Extrait du Registre de l'Habitation dite Le Fromager.

" Ce jour Jeudy, vingt-neuf du mois de Juillet, de l'année mil huit cent vingt-quatre, a deux heures de l'aprés midi, le Negre nommé *Sulpice Florice*, mon esclave, agé de dix-huit ans, étant sorti de sa case une demieheure après que les autres ont été rendus au jardin, habitude souvent recidivée qu'il avoit contracté depuis la proclamation des ordonnances du 10 Mars, 1824, qui interdit le fouet du commandeur, ne voulant aller au travail que long temps aprés les autres, malgré toutes les reprimandes que je pouvois lui faire et les menaces de punition s'il persistoit à manquer à ce devoir, il me repondit insolemment, passant devant la porte de ma maison, en langage Negre, *ma sorti quand mon voulé.* Je lui dis que j'etois fatigué de ses insolences journalieres et que je le ferai chatier ; il repliqua fortement *oui*—vous dites oüi encore ? Alors haussant la voix, marchant à grands pas, il cria fortement a plusieurs reprises, *oui, oui, oui ! ! !* et fut au jardin rejoindre l'atelier avec des ris outrés. Le lendemain Vendredy, trente du mois, a six heures et demi du soir, trente heures apres son offence, je fis apeller le nommé Manuel Gaytan homme de couleur libre, Espagnol majeur, qui était dans une de mes cases à Negres, et en sa presence, je lui fis donner par mon commandeur, devant la porte de ma maison, quinze coups de fouet, étant debout et habillé de ses vêtemens, et aussi en presence de l'atelier qui était rangé pour faire la priere du soir ; puis voulant aprés cela lui faire des remonstrances sur son insubordination journaliere, pour mettre le comble à ses insolences, à chaque parole que je proferai, il s'efforcoit de tousser avec violence, et si fortement qu'il etouffoit ma voix et me contraint de me taire. Les dernieres ordonnances ne permettant pas deux chatimens successifs, je fus obligé de me retirer avec la risée de mon esclave et d'avaler cette humiliation ! ! !

" (ont signés) Le Chr. de GANNES.
MANUEL GAYTAN.

" Ce jour Dimanche du mois de Septembre, de l'année mil huit cent vingt-quatre, à cinq heures de l'aprés midi, arrivant de la ville ou j'avois été pour entendre la messe, je demandai mon diner, qui ne me fut servi aussitot. Trouvant que rien n'etoit cuit, et qu'il y manquait le beurre que j'avais donné moi-même avant mon départ ; (en l'absence de mon epouse) je fis apeller mon cuisinier nommé Raphael Faxa, jeune Negre, agé de vingt-deux à vingt-cinq ans. Il étoit deja parti et ne se trouva plus dans ma cuisine, je l'attendis jusqu'à sept heures du soir que je le fis encore appeller. Il repondit des cases à Negres oú il se trouva et revint à sa cuisine ; je lui demandai d'ou il sortoit, pourquoi il s'etoit absenté avant que j'eus diné, parceque rien n'etoit cuit, sans apprét, sans beurre et autres ingrediens qui entrent dans l'accomodement des mets ? Il me repondit avec

brutalité et forçant sa voix à outrance, que quand le diner étoit servi qu'il pouvoit s'en aller, qu'il etoit aux cases à Negres et que c'etoit de la qu'il avait repondu. Je lui ordonnai de baisser sa voix. La bouche est pour parler me dit-il, et personne ne peut m'en empecher. Je vais vous mettre au ceps lui dis-je, pour votre voix, vos cris et vos reponses insolentes et peu respectueuses. *Pou je n'irai point au ceps, parceque je n'ai rien fait ; on ne met au ceps que les volens, et je n'ai point volé !* Etant jeune et fort ingambe à chaque pas que je faisois, il s'eloignoit, se tenant toujours à une grande distance de moi. N'ayant personne aupres de moi que deux servantes incapable de pouvoir l'arreter, je fus forcé de me retirer. Le lendemain Lundi, à sept heures du soir les Negres rassemblés pour faire la priere, je fis apeller le nommé Manuel Gaytan homme de couleur libre, majeur, qui était dans une de mes cases á Negres, et en sa presence, je lui fis donner par mon commandeur devant la porte de ma maison douze coups de fouet, etant debout et habillè de ses vètemens. Il ne profera aucune parole pendant les coups qu'il recevoit, mais, le fouet cessant, il resta un gros moment debout dans la même posture, apres quoi pour brâver son maitre, il dit, *est ce tout ?* resta la quelque minutes et s'en fut ! ! !

"(Signés) Le Chr. de GANNES, Commandant.
MANUEL GAYTAN."

Only one marriage of slaves appears to have taken place in the six months, from 24th June to 24th December 1824.

The deposits in the Savings' Banks of Port of Spain, during these six months were 351*l.* 8*s.* currency.

XX. VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Nothing has transpired respecting the progress of reform in these islands.

A return has been made to a requisition of the House of Commons for "information concerning a Portuguese ship, called the Donna Paula, wrecked in the neighbourhood of Tortola ; and the Negroes on board of which were afterwards removed to Bahia or Porto Rico, with an explanation of the circumstances attending the transaction, and the purposes for which they were removed." The return (see paper M.) is most unsatisfactory.

The facts of this case appear to be, that, in September 1819, the Donna Paula, of Para in the Brazils, was proceeding from the coast of Africa to Porto Rico, with 253 slaves on board, when she struck on the island of Anegada. Of the slaves 240 were saved ; and 180 being put on board the British schooner Lord Wellington, of 53 tons, and 60 on board the sloop Elizabeth and Hannah, of 13 tons, these vessels were cleared out for Bahia, but in fact sailed for Porto Rico, and landed the slaves there. A salvage was awarded to the salvors of 8050 dollars ; but it does not appear by whom the salvage was

awarded, or by whom the slaves were ordered to be given up to the owners, and forwarded to Porto Rico. It was alleged that the person who was collector at the time had been induced to abstain from seizing these Negroes, as it was his duty to do, by a bribe of 1000*l.* The clearance by him for Bahia was obviously an intentional fraud. Indeed, how could a vessel of 53 tons, with 180 Negroes on board, and a vessel of 13 tons, with 60, have made Bahia? The whole affair was a collusive and fraudulent transaction.—A similar case of a wreck had occurred at the Cape of Good Hope. On that occasion the King's Advocate, Sir C. Robinson, and the Attorney-General, Sir R. Gifford, now Lord Gifford, gave it as their clear opinion, "That Africans cast on the shore of a British colony, in consequence of the wreck of the vessel in which they were conveyed as slaves, are not to be considered as slaves illegally imported, but as free persons; and in such case the law officers of the crown think that the Governor of the colony has no power to deliver up those Africans, without their consent, to the persons claiming ownership over them, either for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves in the colony, or of being conveyed to a foreign country, for the purpose of being so dealt with. In this case, as in the case of abandoned slaves, they are to be dealt with by the Governor as persons in such a situation, not being Africans, would be, and no claim for indemnity could be supported by owners, on account of such interference by the Governor."

On this opinion of these eminent lawyers there is a comment annexed; the author of which, however, is not named; but which appears to be nothing else than an insidious attempt to palliate the criminality of the transaction. "Such being the law of the case," as declared by the law officers of the crown, observes this commentator, "the 240 Negroes from the Donna Paula ought to have been received and protected as so many inhabitants or subjects of any civilized nation would have been received." "Subjects of a civilized nation, on being wrecked, would be enabled to support themselves by their productive industry of some kind or other; and being aware of the rights of property, as understood among civilized nations, would be more likely to respect it than poor ignorant Africans, imperfectly acquainted, as they must needs be, with the institutions of civilized life, and unaccustomed to that degree of personal labour and prudence which enables the poor in other countries, more advanced in civilization, to gain their subsistence by steady and continued industry; saving, when possible, the present reward in labour to support them in future times of sickness or want of employment. To leave such persons, without any other controul than that necessary for civilized people, would, in all probability, in such a poor colony as Anegada or Tortola, insure their destruction by famine or violence, unless the Governor be authorized to provide for them at the expense of the treasury of Great Britain." Undoubtedly it was very proper to recommend that some means should be taken to provide for such cases; but who, that had not had some favourite theory to

establish, would have thought of such an occasion of speculating on the comparative incapacity of Black and White, of Africans and Europeans, to sustain themselves? And yet might not this writer on the law of nature and nations be asked whether 240 Dutch or Russian seamen, or 240 French convicts proceeding in irons to Cayenne, wholly ignorant of the English language, wrecked on the island of Anegada or Tortola, could have done more to support themselves than 240 Africans? These could at least till the soil, which the Dutch or Russian seamen, or the French convicts, might not be able to do, without falling victims to the climate. And would not the police be, at least, equally effectual for restraining 240 Africans, delivered from a slave ship, as 240 Dutch or Russian seamen, or 240 French convicts, freed from all the restraints of discipline, if means were not taken to provide them promptly with necessaries? "Natives of a civilized country, on being wrecked, would be enabled to support themselves by their productive industry of some kind or other." And did not the Africans support themselves in their own country, and do not Africans now support themselves in the West Indies? Does he mean to say, that 240 European men, women, and children, passengers in a stranded vessel, could have supported themselves better in Tortola, by their productive industry, than 240 Africans? If he does, he can know nothing of Tortola, or he writes for those who know nothing of it. But he wishes to insinuate that emancipated Africans cannot support themselves by the produce of their labour as the lower classes do in other countries. And yet in which of the West-India islands are emancipated Africans, a burden on the public, as too many of the poor in other countries are? We cannot but regret to see an official document defaced by such statements.

The whole of the transaction which has caused this discussion still remains to be cleared up. It is discreditable to the national character, and most criminal in the immediate agents, and we trust it will be followed up to their exposure and punishment.

Information had also been called for "of any judicial proceedings which had taken place in the island of Tortola, in consequence of some alleged acts of rebellion or insubordination of certain slaves belonging to Mr. Pickering, in the year 1823." That information has also been given (see paper L.) though enveloped by the president of the island in some confusion. The facts seem to be these:—

Mr. Pickering, who possessed a large body of slaves in Tortola, had determined on removing them all to Trinidad. It was alleged that he had in the first instance obtained their consent to this removal, but of the correctness of this fact there is some reason to doubt. One thing is certain, that as the time approached for their embarkation, they manifested the very strongest reluctance to the measure: nor was this at all to be wondered at. They were almost all Creoles, natives of the island, who had near connexions on all the neighbouring estates, and who had, according to Dr. Stobo, one of the Judges who afterwards tried them, amassed some property, but

nearly the whole of which they would now be obliged to sacrifice: while they were to be transported, they knew not whither; to some other colony where they might have to open new lands, and might be subjected to a variety of privations, and in circumstances new and untried, and, for aught they knew, far more severe than any they at present experienced. Such at least was evidently their impression of the fate that awaited them. In order to avoid it, a number of them, about the end of October 1823, abandoned the plantation on which they lived, and seized a boat belonging to it, probably in the hope of escaping from the island. They did not succeed in this project; and a body of hunters having been sent in pursuit of them, they were forced to return to the estate. On the 17th of November, five of them were brought to trial for their rebellious conduct, and found guilty. The sentence pronounced upon them was, that three of them should receive on the next day sixty-three lashes on the bare back, and that two of them should receive thirty-nine lashes; and that they should then be remanded to gaol, there to be kept in close confinement in irons, until they could be transported from the colony; that they should be all banished from these islands for ever, as soon as possible, to such place as Mr. Pickering should think proper; and that if they, or either of them, should be ever found voluntarily at large within any part of these islands, they, or either of them, should suffer death.

Without some such proceeding, Mr. Pickering would probably have found it a very difficult task to expatriate his slaves. The whole judicial machinery of the island was therefore called into action to aid his intercolonial slave-trade, and it proved successful. Not only the persons tried, but all the other slaves belonging to Mr. Pickering, now submitted to the hard necessity of their fate: they also embarked for Trinidad, the same place of exile to which Mr. Pickering had doomed the five convicts, who had been left by the court to his disposal.

The president of the island, Mr. Porter, who sat as a magistrate on the trial of these men, writes to Governor Maxwell, that at one time he was told he should "be called to assist in forcing these people on board." After this trial, however, he found that "happily there was no occasion to perplex myself, for *the Negroes went voluntarily;*" (voluntarily indeed!)—"at least I heard nothing to the contrary."

President Porter, however, seems to have felt that this judicial proceeding required some justification. He therefore enters into a long detail of facts, to shew that for thirty-four years Mr. Pickering's Negroes had always been insubordinate and rebellious. Supposing this were true, what had it to do with this particular transaction, except to relieve the actors in it from some of the odium it must have tended to excite? But that there had been occasionally sufficient ground for their insubordination in the excitement of that most painful of sensations, especially to men called to work under the lash, we mean hunger, comes out incidentally on the deposition of a

man that had been their manager; for in testifying to one instance of great insubordination, which had happened while he was in charge of them, he proves that they must actually have been in a state of starvation. The weekly allowance to each Negro, he says, had been only two quarts of corn meal, and two mackarel; *but provisions becoming scarce,* the deponent had reduced the allowance to three pints per week; the regular allowance, be it remembered, in the Bahamas, as well as the prison allowance of Jamaica, being twenty-one pints per week. It appears, indeed, that under these circumstances of a starving allowance, Saturday was given them; but Saturday could not supply the present cravings of appetite. Months must necessarily elapse before any effect could be produced by the Saturday, in raising provisions; and in the mean time how were they to find strength on three, or even four pints of corn meal a week, to till either their master's fields or their own? Giving them Saturday, under such circumstances, was absolute mockery, if intended as a present alleviation of their starving state.

Governor Maxwell is very properly anxious, in his communication on the subject to Lord Bathurst, to shew that this affair was wholly unconnected with the discussions which had taken place on slavery, either at home or in the colony, but arose entirely from the unwillingness of the people to be transported to Trinidad.

We have reason to know from private information that Mr. Pickering himself was averse to the measures of judicial severity which were pursued with respect to his slaves, being desirous of rather employing means of conciliating them to his purpose; but to this lenient course, Mr. President Porter appears to have been strongly indisposed. So eager was he indeed to frustrate Mr. Pickering's intentions, that on the 7th of November he wrote a private letter to the sitting magistrate of Tortola, in which he thus expressed himself;—

"I agree with you, after having applied to the executive in the first instance, and represented the Negroes referred to as in a state of rebellion, it is certainly the duty of Mr. Pickering to state to me, or some other magistrate, that he has taken them, and to require that they may be dealt with according to law; but as he has *not* done so, and as I have no reason to expect he *will* do so, I took the liberty to address you on the subject. I wish, as it is inconvenient to you to do the needful, *you* would mention it to your successor. Something tells me, that unless the matter be speedily investigated, it will not be done at all."

Mr. President Porter's laudable solicitude, lest these poor creatures, thus goaded to insubordination by circumstances peculiarly entitling them to consideration, should, through the lenity of their master, escape punishment, proved effectual. They were tried and punished.

HAVING now brought the proposed analysis to a conclusion, we beg to offer a few observations upon it.

The first impression, which its perusal is calculated to produce, is a feeling of surprise and horror at the extraordinary state of society, which it develops, as existing in a considerable portion of his Majesty's dominions. The laws now presented to the public are not obsolete statutes, the relics of some barbarous age, dragged from their obscurity by a painful research; they are laws framed in the year 1824, by men calling themselves Britons, and who, instead of being sensible that such laws outrage every principle of justice and every feeling of humanity, actually hold them forth as models of enlightened and beneficent legislation. But if the laws themselves be, as they are, a CRIME, what must be their administration in the hands of the men who framed them, and who do not blush to boast of them?

In the present analysis, as in Mr. Stephen's Delineation of Colonial Slavery *, the colonists are made to describe their own system; the proofs of its iniquity being drawn from the colonial laws, from other colonial records of unquestionable authority, or from the evidence of colonial proprietors. We have heard much, it is true, of the improvement which has taken place in West-Indian legislation, and those who deny it have been charged with misrepresentation. But the public have now an opportunity of judging for themselves. In the ameliorated slave-codes now brought before them, they will find the proof, the irrefragable proof, of the determined pertinacity with which the colonists cleave to the worst errors, and most revolting deformities of their system †.—That such would be the result of a

* Though no attempt has been made to reply to Mr. Stephen's admirable work, it has been the fashion, with the partizans of the colonial cause, to decry it as containing nothing which is applicable to the questions now at issue. "It refers," they say, "to times that are past. A new system both of law and practice has grown up in the West Indies. Mr. Stephen's work may be very correct as applying to a former period; but, to read it now would be only a waste of time." Nothing can be more untrue than this statement, and the insidious propagators of it know it to be untrue; but they trust to the effect of its frequent and confident repetition, and of that indolence which leads men to avail themselves of any plausible excuse for not reading a volume of four or five hundred pages. We, on the contrary, have no hesitation in affirming, that whoever desires to obtain an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the true genius, the governing principles, the whole frame and structure, the nature and effects, of our colonial slave-laws, must seek for that knowledge in the pages of Mr. Stephen's Delineation. Nay, if any of our readers will only take the trouble to compare the legislation of our colonies, during the past year, with the principles laid down in that work, they will at once perceive how singularly those principles serve to explain and elucidate the recent enactments, and how aptly those enactments illustrate and confirm its principles. Mr. Stephen's masterly production will be found to form at this moment the best commentary on the new laws which we have been analyzing.

† And here we beg our readers not to assume that they have fathomed all the depths of this system, merely because they have read the above brief abstract of a few of the slave codes. The acts themselves must be examined

reference of this great question to the decision of the colonial assemblies, we never doubted for a moment. We had been instructed by the wisdom and philosophy of many great authorities, as to the hopelessness of any benefit from such a course; and we had the still more impressive lessons of experience to convince us that we could expect nothing from it but disaster, disappointment, and delay. Our opinions on the subject have never been more admirably or accurately expressed, than they were by Mr. Canning, in a speech on the Slave Trade made by him in 1799. "Trust not," says that enlightened statesman, making the sentiment of a previous speaker his own, "*trust not the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so.*"—"LET THEN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES. LET THEM NOT DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY. *Let the evil be remedied by an Assembly of freemen, by the Government of a free people, and not by the masters of slaves.* THEIR LAWS CAN NEVER REACH, COULD NEVER CURE THE EVIL." "*There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in* ALL *cases, and under* ALL *circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.*"

The eternal truth of these maxims, applied at the time to the Slave Trade, loses none of its force when applied to slavery; and it has been abundantly confirmed by the fatal experience of nearly thirty years, which have since elapsed, of protracted misery and oppression to the slave, and of unceasing resistance on the part of the colonists, to every effort to alleviate that misery or to terminate that oppression. What indeed now remains to us, but to act on the wise and salutary counsel given to us in 1799, and our past neglect of which has entailed so many evils on the wretched African race? LET THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES, and let them not continue any longer to DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY.

And this is a course which not only the Parliament generally, but those members of it, in particular, who are connected with the West Indies seem bound to adopt. It appears from the papers we have now had under review, that the Order in Council for Trinidad was framed (with the exception of one point, that of the evidence of slaves,) on the suggestion of the West-India body in England. The plan, therefore, was theirs; it was adopted on their recom-

with close attention, in order to appreciate the whole extent of their injustice, oppressiveness, and cruelty. To convey an adequate idea of these, the analysis must have been extended to a most inconvenient length, and its object in part frustrated. Lawyers and Members of Parliament, we trust, will refer to the laws themselves, to which our work may at least serve as an index.

mendation, and was supported in Parliament by their concurrence. It has been contumaciously rejected, however, by the colonists; and now neither Parliament nor the West-India body can, with propriety, decline the only means of carrying their own propositions into effective operation. The measures already adopted constitute a formal recognition of the existence of certain evils, which the authors of those measures have pledged themselves to remove. To this extent therefore, at the least, we trust that the West-Indians will support Mr. Brougham when he shall fulfil his promise of moving the House of Commons on the subject. On them indeed, more than on others, it seems incumbent to second the motion for parliamentary legislation. Such a proceeding is necessary not only to vindicate the sincerity of their own professions in the counsel they have given to his Majesty's Ministers, but to rescue themselves from any share in that headstrong and ruinous line of policy which their brethren in the colonies seem determined at all hazards to pursue. If no one else were to take the matter up, we should consider the West-Indian proprietors in both Houses of Parliament as bound by a regard to consistency, and by a sense of justice to their wretched bondsmen, to call for the interference of Parliament. Not a few of them are the strenuous advocates of popular rights, and the sworn enemies of oppression, at least in Europe. Let them shew that the operation of their principles is not bounded by geographical limits, or by the colour of the victims of oppression, or by the degree in which their own personal interests may be affected by a denial of justice. They will then be able, when they re-appear on the hustings of those places which they represent, to vindicate more fearlessly and effectually their claim to the popular suffrage*.

* One circumstance has occurred which weakens our reliance on the support which the West-India body at home are bound, in consistency, to give to those measures which are indispensible to the adoption of the reforms proposed by themselves. On the 6th of July 1825, soon after Mr. Brougham had given notice of his intention to move Parliament on this subject, a General Meeting of West-India Planters was held at the West-India library, 60 St. James's street, Charles Rose Ellis, Esq. in the chair, at which "it was unanimously resolved, That the West-India merchants, and other consignees of West-India produce resident in London, do charge in their accounts of sales, or accounts current, 6d. (instead of 3d. as at present) upon each cask of sugar, puncheon of rum, bag of coffee, and 1000 lb. weight of coffee, and in proportion on all other articles of West-India produce imported from the 25th day of March last to the 25th day of March 1826, into the port of London; and that the same be collected in such manner as shall be directed by the Standing Committee of the West-Indian planters and merchants, and be paid into the hands of George Hibbert, Esq. the Treasurer."

Similar imposts, we understand, have been laid in the other ports of the United Kingdom, into which West-Indian produce is imported. Nothing is said of the appropriation of this secret-service money thus levied by the mandate of the West-India club. But whether it shall go to assist in defraying the charges of contested elections; or in rewarding the services of certain periodical writers; or in paying for the circulation of such pamphlets as those of Mr. Grossett, Mr. Macdonnel, or Vindex; or in bearing harmless the too rash and fearless advocates of slavery; we trust it will only serve to stimulate, to more unwearied efforts, all who really feel for the interests of humanity and justice.

We have hitherto confined our remarks to the single point of legislation; and we think it has been shewn that it is the very height of fatuity to continue to look to the colonial assemblies for any adequate improvement of the state of the slave laws. They are themselves the authors of every legislative wrong which is to be rectified, and of every oppression which is to be redressed. They consist, almost to a man, of slave-masters, or at least of the representatives of slave-masters, hardened by familiarity to the sight of those atrocities which have so shocked and astounded the people of Great Britain. And they are surrounded and controlled by a population of needy, ignorant, and profligate constituents, who derive their distinction from the utter degradation of the Negro race, and a wretched subsistence from the wages they receive as the drivers and coercers of slaves.

But the papers which we have analysed exhibit a view not only of West-Indian legislation, but of the administration of West-India law. Here a new field of horrors opens upon us. And here again we derive our proofs of the radical iniquity of the system, exclusively, from the recorded testimony of the colonists themselves. They are our witnesses. We do not confine this remark to those domestic punishments of which we have so curious an exhibition in the returns from Trinidad, and of which neither law nor justice, but merely individual caprice, is the arbiter. We allude rather to their criminal slave-courts;—to the nature and imperfections of the judicial returns from the Fiscal of Demerara; to the trials of the insurgents in that colony in 1823 (which, however, are not comprehended in the returns that form the subject of the preceding analysis);—to the impunity of the White insurgents of Barbadoes;—and, above all, to the reports of the trials of the alleged Black conspirators in Jamaica, in which every species of judicial irregularity appears to find a place;—and to the barefaced oppressions exercised in that island towards some of the People of Colour*. Let these things be fully weighed, and neither the Government nor the Parliament can hesitate as to the imperative necessity of radically

* In the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of January 31 to February 7, 1824, we find the following paragraph:—"A foreign Negro, of the name of Louis Milord, who was apprehended the preceding day, underwent a long private examination yesterday before his honour the Mayor, and Hector Mitchell, Esq."

In the Jamaica Journal of March 13, 1824, we are told, that "two aliens were conducted to Port Royal on Thursday evening (March 11), and placed on board a vessel which sailed yesterday. The names of these individuals are Milord and Thompson, who were thus sent off, it is said, for adhering to certain dangerous political tenets, inimical to the welfare of the island. This, however, must be mere conjecture, for the examinations are kept quite private. Several other foreigners have been taken up within these few days."

Now both these men, we are credibly informed, had been slaves in Jamaica, but had, by the fruit of their own industry, effected their manumission, and were living in the enjoyment of the freedom thus honourably acquired, when they were arrested and transported as aliens. We trust that the grounds of these and of all the other illegal violences, of the same kind, which have taken place during the last three years in Jamaica, will be fully investigated by the House of Commons in the ensuing session.

reforming a system which produces such abominations as have been detailed;—such perversions of the very forms of law to purposes of cruelty and oppression, as can only find their parallel in the execrated proceedings of Judge Jefferies, or in the practical jurisprudence of Constantinople, Morocco, or Algiers.

These things must come to an end, and that speedily.—They must come to an end, because neither the government, nor the parliament, nor the people of England can tolerate them much longer; and even if the government and the parliament and the people of England should be so lost to a sense of their obligations, as to suffer them to continue, they must find their close in one of those convulsions which will involve White and Black, master and slave, the oppressor and the oppressed, in one common and undistinguishing and overwhelming calamity. Such must, sooner or later, be the effect of going on to delegate, to the colonial assemblies, the solemn duty, which Parliament alone can discharge, of giving, to the Black and Coloured Population of our colonies, the protection of law, and a pure administration of justice.

We are, at the same time, well aware of the preponderating influence which the West-Indian proprietors possess in both houses of parliament. This alone could have prevented, for twenty long years, the abolition of the slave trade. This alone could, for fifteen years more, have paralyzed every effort which was made to rouze the attention of the government and the parliament to the enormities of the slave system, and to the utter worthlessness and inefficiency of all the pretended improvements adopted by the colonial assemblies. To this cause must we also ascribe it, that almost every public functionary in the slave colonies, is either a proprietor of slaves, or the known partizan of the slave system;—that not only many governors, and judges, and attorney-generals, and fiscals, and registrars are taken from the class of slave-holders and their friends, but that, even under the new order of things this class has been made to supply protectors and sub-protectors of slaves, the very officers on whose zeal, fidelity, and disinterestedness its whole efficiency depends;—that we should be burdened with imposts, and our commerce fettered by impolitic and injurious restrictions, in order to enable the colonists to perpetuate their demoralizing and murderous system;—that the interests of one hundred millions of British subjects in India, in addition to those of Great Britain herself, should be sacrificed to about two thousand planters and merchants;—and that all the benefits which would have flowed to us from establishing international relations with Hayti should have been contemned, her overtures rejected, and her offered favours scorned, until she has at length been driven to throw herself again into the arms of France*.

* No part of our policy is more inexplicable, on any rational principles, than that which we have pursued with respect to Hayti. It can only be accounted for by the predominance of West-Indian prejudices and West-Indian influence. During our war with Bonaparte we might have secured to ourselves the friendship, the commerce, and the assistance of Hayti: we were deaf to the most

We trust that the eyes of his Majesty's Government, of Parliament, and of the public will at length be opened to the real state of things;

urgent representations on the subject. By the exercise of the commonest courtesy, such as we scruple not to pay to the Dey of Algiers, or to the King of the Sandwich Islands, we might have conciliated the attachment, and made ourselves, in some degree, the masters of the destinies, of the Queen of the Antilles. We might have even succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to adopt our language and habits; as, at one time, their chiefs would have zealously concurred in promoting every measure which would have served to detach them from France.—We repelled their offers of friendship.—They went the length of even lowering their duties to the extent of one half in favour of England, in hopes of conciliating our goodwill. We treated even this liberality with disdain, and replied to it by an Act of Parliament, which prohibited all intercourse between Hayti and Jamaica.—They still persevered in their advances: they still continued to treat our commerce with peculiar favour. At length our recognition of the independence of the Spanish provinces in South America, without the most remote allusion to Hayti, whose claims for recognition were infinitely stronger than theirs; and the renewal of the insulting Act, prohibiting their commerce with Jamaica, left them no hope of obtaining that standing among nations, which they deemed essential to their independence and security, but by throwing themselves into the arms of France, and by sacrificing to her rivalry the interests of British commerce. It may not be known to our readers—it certainly was not known to ourselves, nor, as far as we have been able to discover, to any member of the House of Commons, unconnected with the West-Indians, or with the public offices of Government—that, in the very last session of Parliament, an act was passed which contains the following clause:—

"And be it further enacted, that no British merchant ship or vessel shall sail from any place in the island of Jamaica to any place in the island of St. Domingo, nor from any place in the island of St. Domingo to any place in the island of Jamaica, under the penalty of the forfeiture of such ship or vessel, together with her cargo; and that no foreign ship or vessel which shall have come from, or shall in the course of her voyage have touched at, any such place in the island of St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in the island of Jamaica; and if any such ship or vessel, having come into any such port or harbour, shall continue there for forty-eight hours after notice shall have been given by the officer of the Customs to depart therefrom, such ship or vessel shall be forfeited; and if any person shall be landed in the island of Jamaica from on board any ship or vessel which shall have come from or touched at the island of St. Domingo except in case of urgent necessity, or unless licence shall have been given by the Governor of Jamaica to land such person, such ship shall be forfeited, together with her cargo."

When the date of this enactment is compared with that of the treaty which has been concluded with France, we cannot doubt that Boyer was influenced by it to agree to the severe terms which were exacted from him, seeing how completely he was excluded, by that galling measure, as well as by our declining all official intercourse with him, from every hope of the favour or friendship of this country.

And now let it be calmly considered what will be our situation in the West Indies, in the event of another war with France. Our possessions there would not be worth a week's purchase. The whole navy of England, and a fresh debt of one hundred millions, could not save Jamaica from becoming the revolutionized dependent of Hayti. Nothing, in such an event, could avert our loss of that and our other slave colonies, but a previous radical change of our whole colonial system. We must raise the free People of Colour to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges as British subjects; and we must proceed, with as little delay as possible, to give liberty to the slave. If we refuse to do this, the catastrophe we anticipate may

and that, no longer deluded by misrepresentation, or intimidated by menace, they will not suffer evils of such magnitude, and of such malignant influence, to be prolonged for a day, in deference to the sixty or seventy West-Indians who hold seats in parliament. Justice, humanity, a regard to our own honour and consistency, and above all the sacred voice of religion, loudly call upon us, without a moment's delay, to redeem our solemn pledges, and to take care that, "with a fair and equitable consideration, indeed, of the interests of all parties," "effectual and decisive measures" are now adopted "for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies;" and for admitting them to "a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects."

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be delayed for a few years, but it cannot, in the constitution of things, be far distant.

Those who desire to understand the nature of this new danger, and the means of averting it, ought to read two publications of Mr. Stephen, written upwards of twenty years ago, on the subject of Hayti, entitled The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies, and The Opportunity; works which will now be found to wear almost a prophetic air, such was the accuracy of the author's knowledge of the circumstances of the case, and his sagacity in appreciating their effects.

POSTSCRIPT.

WE have already mentioned at p. 20, a further Parliamentary Paper of considerable importance, of which we should give some account at the close of this pamphlet. It is entitled, "Copies of the Record of the Proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara and Berbice, in their Capacity of Guardians and Protectors of Slaves, with their Decisions in all Cases of Complaint of Masters and Slaves respectively against each other, and the Punishment inflicted, or Redress given, in consequence of such Complaints, from the 1st of January 1814 to this Time, as far as the Same relates to Berbice." It was ordered to be printed the 23d June 1825, and is numbered 476.

The Fiscal, Mr. Bennett, in transmitting these returns, observes, that until the year 1819, he had kept no minutes of the complaints of slaves; but that from that time he had taken minutes of his examinations, but not, except in a few cases, of his decisions. Since the present application was made for copies of the complaints, he has been more particular in receiving them, and he has added the decisions. The Return embraces a period from February 1819 to November 1823.

Under all these disadvantages, the materials before us are, nevertheless, very valuable. They admit us into the interior, the very penetralia of the slave system, which they exhibit in all its height and length and breadth and depth of deformity. It is out of our power, however to do more than select a few examples from the mass.

The first complaint on the list, we are sorry to say, is against a lady, Mrs. Sanders. *Nine Negro men, on the 1st of February 1819, complain of a great want both of food and clothing. One man produces* a bolt and shackles, with which *the Negro women were often confined*, the ancles and wrists crossways, by which they are bent double; and says he was twice confined in that way himself. He and three others went on one occasion to complain of hunger. Mrs. Sanders ordered them to be tied down and flogged with two drivers. It was on a Sunday: supposes he had sixty. They are made to reap cassava, and get firewood, every Sunday, till the greatest part of the day is spent. The women and children have no allowance; and the men are obliged to share their allowance, which is also a very scanty one, with them. These charges are denied by the lady. They are in part admitted, but in part denied, by her overseer. The Fiscal's judgment is not given. (pp. 5—8.)

On the 18th of August, 1820, the same lady again appears before

the Fiscal. The following is a transcript of his minute of the complaints preferred by her slaves:—

"Negro *Sam* says, that his mistress is very bad; that the work is daily increased, so that they are unable to perform their task given them: That the last holidays when they got three days to dance at home, their mistress obliged them to work so hard afterwards as to complete the work lost in the dancing days: That his wife, named Adjuba, was locked up lately in his mistress's house for six days, her allowance being only one plantain daily, (complainant exhibiting some of their plantains); and that the very pot in which she got water to drink, was to serve her, by her mistress's order, as a *necessaire*: That his young master is very good, but his mistress is of too cruel a nature; that their allowance is very little, and that they get no clothing at all scarcely: Finally, begs that he may be sold elsewhere, as he is not able to bear it any longer there.

"Negro *Louis* says, Mr. Hyneman bought him when very young, and sold him to Mr. Sanders; that from both of these masters he never was ill-treated; but since the death of Mr. Sanders his mistress treats them with cruel barbarity sometimes; that every Negro is obliged to bring home twelve bunches of shingles, although other Negroes bring but six weekly: That their mistress keeps them the whole Sunday employed with all sorts of trifling works: that they get only three cassava cakes a week, with a little bit of salt fish: Finally, that they get hardly any clothes;—wishes therefore rather to be sold than remain with such a cruel mistress; as certainly all of the Negroes one day or other, after so much suffering, will run away in the bush.

"Negro *David* says, that he is cow-minder to his mistress; that lately one of the cows got sick, for which his mistress ordered the driver to tie him up as fast as he could, which caused dislocation at the time, and under which he is still suffering, (complainant looking rather sickly and having the marks of his flogging still visible on his posteriors); that he there received 150 lashes from Andrews by his mistress's order, who afterwards locked him up in the stocks in such a way that both feet and hands were fastened; that his mistress says, because he is cow-minder she gives him no Sundays, neither any allowance whatever. Requests to be sold."

Mrs. Sanders appears before the Fiscal on two other occasions, to answer to similar complaints. On the last, 8th September 1823, the following is the Fiscal's minute of the case:—

"Complaint of the Negro *David*, belonging to Mrs. Sanders:—That he is too much punished with the whip and tamarind rods; that he is employed to work in the kitchen, garden, and also as cook; that he is swollen; the soles of his feet flogged with tamarind rods; that his mistress says he is lazy, which is the cause of his being flogged; he was flogged with the whip lately; he has a beating at his heart, the cause of his illness; his posteriors shew that he has been lately punished, not to any excess, but the punishment much neglected: soles of his feet, examined, shew no marks of punishment;

the Negro appears to be in a dropsy, and as such is treated by the doctor who has charge of the barracks."

The son of this lady undertakes to defend his mother. He says, "that the Negro is a very bad character;"—that "little or no work is done by him, for on the least harsh word he runs away; he is a constant run-away. My mother will not allow him to be flogged, because *he bears the marks of former punishment so very evidently;* he did receive a slight punishment for running away; this punishment was inflicted by two small boys with tamarind rods, and it was to endeavour to shame him. My brother brought him to town five days ago to cook, and why he has run away I do not know; *he was flogged by said boys under his feet with tamarind rods on account of* HIS BACK BEING CUT UP."

"11th March, 1819.

"Plantation GELDERLAND:—*Nettelje, Julia, Lea,* and *Mietje,* each with an infant in arms, complain that no time is allowed them to nurse their children; that during the crop an equal quantity of coffee is expected and required of them as from other women having no children, or of the men; that a similar task is given them in weeding grass with the rest of the gang, which they are not able to perform, in consequence of carrying their children on their backs; if they fail, they are beaten in the manager's presence with the handle of the whip by the driver Esperance. Nettelje and also Mietje were flogged the day before yesterday by the carpenter La Fleur; they, with others, were weeding the dam; they had made a fire to drive away the sand-flies; they were seen by Mr. Toel, the manager, suckling their infants; he inquired if they had no work to do: they replied they had just taken their children up, who were crying; they were laid down and flogged; their coats were stained with blood. Mr. Toel took the fire up, and threw it in the trench. Julia was locked up in the stocks because she did not keep with the rest of the gang, and threatened to be flogged next morning; she is a young girl, with her first child. Lea complains that she is not allowed to suckle her child during her work; she was threatened to be flogged next day by Mr. Toel, at same time with Julia." (p. 13.)

"*Jane,* belonging to *Mr. Bourmester,* says *her master gave* her to his housekeeper Grace, *who is constantly abusing and ill-treating her;* she is often *in the habit of kicking her,* and beating her with any thing that comes to hand, sometimes with a fire-stick, sometimes with a piece of wood. Monday morning she was sent by Grace to look for wood; when she returned she took a piece of crab-wood she had brought, and beat her with it, and kicked her. Her master was not at home: she got breakfast for her mistress and a gentleman, Mr Harvey. After breakfast, sent me for wood; I had just recovered from a fit of sickness, having had a blister on my belly, which was not yet healed; I felt faint, and was under the necessity of sitting down to recover myself. When I came home with the wood, it was about 11 o'clock; as soon as I returned she began to beat and kick me, saying she hated to see me; a boy belonging to Mr. De George,

named Alexander, saw when she beat me, and a girl named Sophia, belonging to Sue Austerhem." (p. 14.)

"Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones:—Says, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home he sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman, I do not know his name, but he lives in town; they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner; he said no, he would put me down and cut my ——, and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip; I got a severe flogging; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman, and Mr. Kerschner, the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie of Demerara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.

"Exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaister, by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree that the court judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it." (p. 14.)

Mr. Jones said he *had* flogged her, and broke her mouth for her insolence. He had thirty-nine laid on her, and *they were well inflicted.* When he sent for her, he had no intention of flogging her; but after sending her to three persons for sale, and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging; he then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was done.

"August 23, 1822.

"Felix, belonging to Plantation Scotland, states, That he has had a Black woman upon the estate for his wife now two years; and the reason of his coming to complain is, that the manager of the estate takes her from him, although he has a wife of his own. He is always taking the Negroes' wives, particularly his wife (Felix's); for she has had a child for him; and since the child has been born, the manager is always punishing him and his wife without a cause. Some time ago ten of the gang came to complain to their master (Dr. Broer), to report to him that the manager had connection with their wives: their master promised to them that he would remove the manager from the estate, and place another one there. Upon this promise the Negroes returned to the estate; but since that they have never heard of another manager. Felix and his wife are daily punished, which has compelled him to come to your Honour for redress. He calls upon the whole gang of the estate to prove his assertions to be correct.

"On hearing this complaint, the Acting Fiscal proceeded to the estate, accompanied by Dr. Broer, the owner; and on questioning the manager and Negroes, in presence of each other, on the subject-matter of the complaint, it appeared that Felix had neglected his work, and was told he would be punished if he did not finish his task the next day, which he did not do; and therefore, supposing the manager would punish him, he went to the Fiscal to complain. This

being proved, *Felix was punished for his misconduct, and the manager severely reprimanded for taking improper liberties with the women on the estate, which it was evident he had done*; and Dr. Broer was therefore strongly recommended to discharge him from his employ." (p. 75.)

That *Felix* should be the person punished for misconduct, will appear very extraordinary to all who have not imbibed their notions of justice in slave colonies; and it is the more surprising that the fiscal should pursue this course in the present instance, as some time before he had addressed a letter to Governor Beard, then president of the court of justice (p. 15), in which he charges these very persons, Broer and his manager, specifically; first, with greatly overworking the Negroes; secondly, with severe flogging repeated on successive evenings, and with illegal instruments of punishment; thirdly, with making them work on Sunday; and fourthly, with considerably under-feeding them. The case was so gross that, notwithstanding an attempt on the part of the owner and manager to deny the charges, the fiscal ordered them to diminish the tasks of the Negroes, and to increase their food; forbad their being worked on Sunday; *threatened* the owner with prosecution; and told the Negroes if their wrongs were not redressed, they should complain again. They complain again; and this is the result.

June 26, 1819.

Brutus a watchman, belonging to plantation Providence, complained that "the manager wanted my daughter Peggy. I said, 'No.' He followed her. I said, 'No.' He asked me three times: I said, 'No.' Manager asked me again Friday night. I refused. Saturday morning he flogged me. This thing hurt me, and I came to complain."

"Peggy being sick, *Aqueshaba* her sister attended:—Says, that manager sent aunty Grace to call Peggy, and to say if she would not come I must. We said, daddy said must not go; I was too young. Grace left us and went to daddy; shortly afterwards she returned and tried to coax me to go, but I would not, as my daddy had forbid it. Grace went and told manager; manager sent to call Fanny; Fanny went. The manager was up in his room; and all of us, the Creoles, got orders to be watchmen at manager's door. I was watchman, Peggy, Frankey, and many more." (p. 30.)

The manager of this estate on another occasion (p. 80.) laid a Negro on the ground with two drivers over him, who gave him 100 lashes. His innocence being afterwards proved, he went to the manager for redress. The manager told him, "if you do not hold your tongue, I will put you in the stocks." He then went to his owner, Mr. Henery, who answered, "I cannot help it, it is not my fault, the punishment you had was the manager's fault." As he could get no redress from master or manager, he came to the fiscal. The manager endeavoured to justify himself, admitting that he had given him thirty nine lashes, (the number allowed by law for any or for no offence,) and confined him in the stocks every night for a week. The

fiscal *reprimanded* the manager for punishing a Negro on such slight grounds.

A number of Negroes belonging to Mr. Elwes complain (p. 17.) of the harsh treatment they receive from him, and the slave Fanny his concubine. They are half starved, forced to work till four o'clock on Sundays, and also on holidays. The children get no allowance of food or clothing, (even girls of eleven and twelve going naked,) and are marked with the bush rope with which Fanny flogs them. One boy, eight or ten years of age, complains that she beats him, pulls him by the nose in a cruel manner, and pinches his ears most inhumanly. He gets no regular allowance, but lives on what he can get. His master makes him mind the horse, clean his shoes, burn the coffee, &c. &c.; never gives him any clothes, and when sick, after taking salts, makes him still perform his task. "This complainant proves, by many old marks on his back and posteriors, that his statement is not at all incorrect, and that he has often been severely dealt with." (p. 17.)

A Sambo girl, Betsey, belonging to Mr. I. F. Obermuller, says, she was washing a frock given her by her mother, when her mistress took it from her. She told her mistress it was hard to take her frock from her, as she never gave her any clothes herself. Her mistress complained to her master that she was insolent. Her master flew in a passion, and kicked her on the belly, so that she could scarcely draw her breath. The next day her mistress tore her jacket off. She again alluded to the hardship it was to have her clothes taken from her, but none given her. Mistress again complained of insolence, and master flogged her with a rope, and made her brother Jacob flog her. For the least trifle, she and her sister are locked up in the stocks, sometimes for three weeks, and fed only with two plantains a day. Her sister was locked up for a fortnight by her mistress, saying she had made the bed improperly, thereby causing the child to fall. Her sister denied it. (p. 18.)

Four Negroes belonging to Cotton-tree Plantation, the property of the Hon. W. Katz, complain of not being allowed time for breakfast; that they have to go to the field before cock-crow, and work in it till gun-fire, and then have to cut grass. They are confined in the stocks, and not allowed to go out even for the calls of nature. They complained to Mr. Katz, and he flogged them. The charges are denied by the manager and overseer, the persons, in fact, who are accused; and on their denial, the fiscal finds the complaint unfounded, and orders three of the complainants to be punished with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty, in his own presence, in the market-place!!! (p. 19.)

There are complaints also against Mr. Katz, from his estate of Philadelphia. *Amsterdam* (p. 46) says, the overseer "Davies is extremely hard against him, beating him on every trifling occasion Gave him last Monday 25 rods of a dam, and as he was not able to complete this, Davies flogged him very much; after flogging he

told him that he would go to complain, which brought Davies into such a passion that he sent all the Negroes after him to catch him, but he escaped and came to town to complain. Says they get enough to eat, but no time, on account of Davies's heavy tasks, to prepare the same. Complainant, on shewing his posteriors, proves to have had of late a severe flogging." (p. 46.)

Murphy came to the fiscal to complain, instead of going to Mr. Katz; because three Negroes had gone to complain to Mr. Katz, and, without sending for the manager, they were flogged, and sent back, and the next day one of them was flogged again by the manager. (p. 58.)

May 27, 1819.

Seven Negroes, belonging to plantation Rose Hall, state as follows:—

"That they all were engaged by the manager to gin cotton for himself on their Sundays, for which he promised each 3 guilders a day; when, after working three Sundays, and receiving no payment, they declined to continue with this work. On demanding the payment, the manager called the driver to give them a d——d good payment:

"That they are obliged to bring every evening, after their work, an uncommonly large sized bundle of grass, (the measure whereof the deponent deposits herewith), and that when the measure is not full they are obliged to search for more grass in the dark:

"That in telling his master the hardness of the service, he flew into such a passion that he broke one of his (complainant's) teeth:

"That in coming in the Negro houses at night after their work, and inquiring after their things, the manager, when hearing this, takes them up directly and lodges them in the stocks; adding further, that in case they are not satisfied with him, they may go and complain where they please." (p. 20.)

Mr. Grade, the manager of plantation l'Esperance, is charged by the slaves with various delinquencies. A pregnant woman, named Rosa, was employed picking coffee with some other women. Thinking they did not pick enough or well, Mr. Grade ordered the driver Zondag to flog them. The driver did so. Rosa had previously objected to working, as being too big, and being unable to stoop; but the manager over-ruled the objection, and she went to pick coffee on her knees. When Zondag came to her, he said to the manager, This woman is big with child. The manager replied, "Give it to her till the blood flies out." She was flogged with the whip doubled. This was on a Friday. She was sent to the field on Saturday, but, being seized with pains in her loins, was sent to the hospital. The doctor examined her, and ordered her to the field again. On Sunday she was delivered of a dead child, after a severe labour. The child's arm was broken, and one eye was bruised and sunk in the head. This woman had had seven children before by one husband. The driver, Zondag, and several others, confirmed the above statement. The

driver, being particularly asked, whether, on his representing that Rosa was pregnant, the manager had used the expression, "Never mind, flog her till the blood comes," replied, "Yes." (pp. 25—27.)

A Negro woman named Laura, belonging to plantation Reliance, with a very young child at the breast, complains that she is not allowed to take her child to the field to give it the breast now and then, but is obliged to leave it with an old woman at home. When she steals from her work to the child and is discovered, the manager flogs her. She brought this child into the world with great pain; it is of a weakly constitution, and requires a mother's care, which she is not allowed to bestow. The manager does not deny any of the above facts, only says, that *the women with young children are not required to come out till half-past six in the morning, and they quit the field at half-past ten, return to the field at half-past one, and leave it at half-past five.*

The complaints are more frequent from Sandvoort, formerly one of the crown estates, than from any other plantation. "*Carolus* says he is sick and swelling, and that he cannot work, though willing. When he complains of sickness, the manager licks him, instead of helping him. Yesterday he was twice licked." (p. 33.)—"*Amsterdam* says he is afflicted with pains in his bones; he does his best, but cannot work as others who are healthy. Mr. Cameron licks him with a horse-whip, curses him, and when he goes to the hospital drives him away." (p. 34.)—*Mietje* (and her child Mars). "She says she is willing to work when healthy. She went yesterday sick to the hospital. Instead of getting physic, she received a flogging. She is still sick, and has come to complain." (p. 35.)—*Lambert* had a bad disease, and the manager would give him nothing. He ran away. His master, Mr. Cameron, states him to be a bad subject. He is admitted to labour under disease, but is directed by the fiscal to be punished!!! (p. 55. See also pp. 57, 59, 65, 75, 76, 77.)

The complaints are also frequent from plantation Beerensteen, where some of the Crown Negroes are placed, against the driver Zealand, but chiefly against the manager, Mr. Deussen. (pp. 24, 25, 34, 36, 40, 43.)

Samuel complains against his master Spangenburg, that the Negroes danced during the Christmas holidays from Sunday evening till Wednesday night. He proceeds thus:

"On Wednesday they went to work, but as some of the people were still inebriated, so the large task given them was not finished; the next day their task was renewed, with the addition of the remainder of the preceding day; that he, acting as driver, told his master it was impossible to finish the same; he (Samuel) himself being accustomed to the field work, could not accomplish it, much less the women; but his master, who knows very little of Negro work and treatment, insisted on the performance of the task given; consequently the task was not finished, and principally the women were short in this; the next day they (himself as a driver included) were all flogged; the number of people working in the field consists of four

men and three women, and they are so overwrought by their cruel master that they are scarcely able to keep it out, which is the cause of their coming to complain, his master saying that he has no fear of fiscal or any one else, but that he will flog them when he finds it proper. The Negroes at present in town with their master, if called, would attest this. They get nothing but a small piece of pork, a little fish, two pipes and some tobacco; nothing else; no clothes or any thing more; they get also a week only a small bunch of plaintains, and are generally very indifferently treated by their master. Wishes as his master is a person who is always flogging them, and who knows nothing of the work, that he, with his wife and brother, might be sold, being assured that they would be able to please a reasonable master, who understands the working and treatment of slaves." (p. 37.)

Quamino complains of his master, F. Brittlebank's general ill treatment.—

"Says, that some time ago many of them came to the ferry with the intention of going to town to complain, but were prevented by the ferrymen from crossing the Canje Creek; that the fiscal then came to the ferry and ordered three of them to be flogged, amongst which the complainant was one; that after flogging, the fiscal desired his master to dress his wounds well; but that, on the contrary his master did nothing to them when he came home, but rubbed his back, with brine and salt; that in consequence he has suffered very much by this neglect." (p. 37.)

Scipio complains against the same master, Brittlebank, of being overwrought and severely treated.—

"Came some time ago to complain, but was taken up at Jeffery's estate and confined there in the stocks for fourteen days: when he went home he got severely flogged; he was taken to the waterside and there flogged for fear of the whip being heard; his private parts, which he exhibits, are so severely wounded by the whip he can scarcely sit or stand. The Negro appears much emaciated." (p. 57.)

Martin complains against Mr. Davies, manager of Sandvoort—

"That on Saturday he was almost unable, through pain in his neck, to finish his work, but nevertheless completed it; that last Monday he went in the morning early to complain to Mr. Davies to give him physic; that Mr. D., instead of assisting him, ordered Billy of Sandvoort, the driver, with four other Negroes, to lay him down; that although he told Mr. D. he was never unwilling to work when well, he was, notwithstanding, flogged." (p. 39.)

Philip and *Leander* complain of Mr. Luyken, the manager of Bertingdigheid, killing all their hogs. Leander had ten killed at one time. For complaining they were put in the stocks. (p. 45.)

Jenny complains of her mistress, Elizabeth Atkinson, that *she beats her unmercifully, kicked and trampled on her belly, locked her in the stocks, and beat her on the back. In half an hour she miscarried.* Her child Philip is extremely ill-treated, and is never allowed to come near her. *The child is exhibited: marks of severe flogging over the whole body.* "Says she receives a good allowance." (pp. 45, 46.)

Three Negroes come to complain of Mr. Calmer of plantation Niew Stoop. One of them says, "That it is now the third time he has come to complain; that twice he has been flogged by the fiscal at the market; that he told the fiscal the last time he went, that in case his master troubled him again he would then come to complain also; that Mr. Calmer, the last time he brought him home, flogged and kept him in the stocks during three weeks; after which, on applying to his master for relief, instead of gaining it, was severely flogged the next morning, and locked up in the stocks again; after having been there a long time he was severely attacked by the scurvy, and although he begged hard to be allowed to go out and wash himself, was refused; he grew so ill, that his master was afraid of losing him, and therefore released him; he recovered, although very visible marks remain on his back: whilst in the stocks, his master gave him nothing to eat; whatever he got was by favour of the Negroes; he was not allowed to go out and ease himself, but lived in such a manner that it was impossible for any person to come near him; his master bought a chain and block at plantation Zudwyk merely for him." (pp. 46, 47.)

General Murray, the late Governor of Demerara, well known by the share he had in the prosecution of Smith, the Missionary, and who, in his public dispatches, has always highly lauded the treatment of the slaves, has two estates in Berbice, Resolution and Buses Lust. On the 23d October 1821, the manager of the former estate, Hopkins, was reproved by the fiscal for having given three successive floggings to a Negro named *Mark*, who states, "He has been flogged severely by the manager, on account of complaining he was sick three different times; once 12, another time 39, and again 25 lashes have been inflicted; shews marks of severe flogging, and much neglected." (p. 49.)

On the 29th of November there is another complaint from the same estate. Michael says he is a Negro, and knows well he must work; but that they work from morning till late in the evening picking coffee, "and when he comes home, between six and seven in the evening, instead of going home to get some victuals, he is ordered to work till twelve at night, bringing mud from one place to another. Also on Sundays they are ordered to work, and if they should refuse they would be flogged."—*Philip* makes a similar complaint. *Thomas* "says he is an old man, and the work that the manager gives him to do is impossible for him to complete, from the weakness of his body and state; for which he is always punished and kept continually in the stocks." (p. 50.)

The result of the complaints made to the fiscal is seldom given. In this instance it is given in very laconic terms, and will doubtless surprize our readers: "*Two* (viz. of the complainants) *directed to receive* SEVENTY-FIVE *lashes!!!*"

Again, on the 17th November 1823, at the very time when Smith's trial was proceeding, we have a complaint from ten *women* belonging to the same plantation.

"The governor, our master, when he purchased us, gave us a task, one hundred trees to be weeded and cleansed; with this we were satisfied: the manager, however, says this is no work, we shall not have task-work; he gives each Negro a row of three trees; if we do not finish the work given us, we are made to do it on Sunday: Ziemine, Maria, and others wrought in the field on Sunday; the manager had the driver locked up in the stocks." (p. 66.) "We are content and happy when our master comes, who talks and laughs with us; but as soon as he goes off the estate we are unhappy. We have no time to eat, none to cook; we have no eleven o'clock; we are not wrought by task. Our master gave us spoons; the manager is dissatisfied with *this*; he says *the governor* is too good, he minds us as if we were children; he says *he cannot* flog us, because that can be seen, but he will punish us with work. If any of the women be pregnant, no attention is paid to them; they are wrought as hard as the others; for that reason there are no children; manager says *he does not come to mind children*. The rows given us have each sixty trees; the bell is rung, but we cannot leave the field, because if the work given us be not finished, we are punished; the punishment is, we are to finish our work on Sunday. We all have wrought on Sunday; not one Sunday, but every one that any field work is left undone." (p. 66.)

On the 4th September 1823, a number of women belonging to plantation Prospect came to complain of bad treatment. The manager, Paterson, overworks them and gives them no time to eat. "We are now planting and supplying canes. The ground is so dry we are obliged to throw water on the beds before we can chop the earth." The work they had done the day before was reported to the manager at noon by the driver. The manager was unable to go himself from indisposition; but he ordered the driver, when they returned to the field at one o'clock, to go out and flog each of the strong women. The women expostulated with him, shewing him the extreme hardness of the ground, which they had to moisten before they could dig it; observing, that, if the cane plant were not well [illegible], the manager would again order them to be punished for that. The overseer, coming up at the time, repeated the manager's order, and six of them were laid down and punished with twelve lashes each. They proceed, "We are too much punished; we have no time to get our victuals; we have every night got work, whether the mill is going or not. Sunday night even is not excepted, when we must bring fire-wood from the canal mouth. Tuesday night we had to carry corn from the great house to the horse stable-loft. We were employed at this work till near morning. We carry home wood on Sunday night as well as any other; and the boatmen are employed in bringing wood on Sunday as on any other day. If any of us go out on Sunday we must be back in time to bring home grass and firewood for the kitchen. After that we must still go to the canal for firewood for the engine.

"Mr. Ross sends two bunches of plantains for each Negro every week: one week the men get two bunches, and the women one; next week we get two, and the men one; the rest are kept for sheep and hogs. Mr. Ross sends tobacco; we get none of that; we get no molasses, although it is given to the horses, sheep, and hogs. If you are sick, or have a sore, and put in the sick-house, only one bunch of plantains is allowed, and the allowance of fish is stopped. Mr. Ross sends every thing to the estate very well, but we do not get it. The overseer's treatment is worse than the manager's; since Caajee is come home, she is confined both legs in the stocks every night. Only four of us are allowed to take the magass from the engine; in M'Cermot's time there were five of us to do this work. Our rum has been stopped for the week. Last night we received orders from the driver that we were not to come home to-day unless we finished our work; we must boil plantains then for to-day; the ground is so hard we knew we could not do it, and therefore came to complain." (p. 60.)

It appeared, on farther inquiry, that they were well supplied with either plantains, or rice, or corn; but no other part of the charges meets with a denial. The conclusion of the whole is thus given, and it will illustrate the nature of the protection which Negroes receive under harsh usage. Mr. Ross, the attorney, who was present, "expressed to the manager his entire dissatisfaction of the women having been flogged prematurely, and at the Negroes being employed on Sunday night; and promised the Negroes they should have redress in as far as their complaints were grounded, but expressed his disapprobation of their not having sought redress from him as the attorney of the estate, instead of seeking it from the fiscal; and this conduct having been also pointed out by the fiscal, as a want of proper respect to their master, who from their own account plentifully supplied their wants, they seemed to regret the measure they had adopted." (p. 61.)

Whether this be the same Mr. Ross, who is proprietor of Culcaim plantation, we know not; but the Negroes of that plantation also make bitter complaints against their manager.

"When the sun is down, if our row is not finished we get flogged. I received thirty lashes, so did Joe. We are taken to the stocks at night, and flogged next morning. We told the manager the work was too much, that we had no time to get our victuals, and begged him to lessen the task: this was the reason we were flogged. There are plenty of plantains on the estate; the manager, however, only gives us one bunch, and that is on the Sunday morning. We are very well supplied with fish. We are obliged to boil our plantains at night, and put them in a calabash to take to the field next morning; we are obliged to eat them by stealth, we are driven so hard; and before we can eat them they turn sour. When we come from the field, after this heavy day's work, we must work in the yard; the punt brings wood to the canal, and we must carry it up to the engine; other times we must haul up bullet-tree to the saw-pit. When we are grinding we know very well we must sit up late; and of this we do not complain, knowing it must be done. We have complained to our

master, and he says that the manager, he supposes, troubles us because we don't mind our work; we had no redress from him." (p. 57.)

These heavy complaints are referred by the fiscal, on account of the distance of the plantation, to Capt. Grant, a burgher officer. His letter of instructions on the occasion will throw no small light on the principles on which justice is administered to complaining slaves. After stating the heads of complaint, the fiscal observes—

"It must be needless for me to request the most impartial investigation; and *although I am perfectly satisfied that Mr. Ross would not permit his slaves to be oppressed by the manager, yet some of the charges of complaints may require redress;* and in such case I certainly shall recommend Mr. Ross to afford instant relief. *I am also well aware and fully confident that such recommendation would be needless* if the complainants had not lost sight of a duty incumbent on them, to have sought redress in the first instance from Mr. Ross, their proprietor, which they had ample opportunities of doing by his frequent visits to the estate *.

"If, however, you find that the complaints are groundless, I request you will, by every means, endeavour to convince them of the same, to point out *how very unsatisfactory, unpleasant, and expensive such complaints must be to a proprietor of respectability and a good owner of slaves;* and that although the complaints of slaves shall always command my ready and serious attention, and that whenever they are aggrieved I will exert myself to afford them relief, yet that the duty is no less imperious on me to punish such slaves, whose only motives in quitting their estates to prefer complaints proceed from idle and wanton dispositions, whose statements prove to be groundless and vexatious.

"*I would then recommend you to direct the said Negroes to be exemplarily punished in presence of the gang; and one of them having asserted that was the one who induced them to come to town to complain, he ought to receive fifty lashes, and the others thirty-nine each, well applied, and cautioned to refrain from further wanton behaviour, on pain of more severe punishment.*

"I also recommend you to request *Mr. Austin* †, *the manager of* 49, to accompany you, and afford you his aid and opinion in ascertaining the work done on the estate, and complained of." (p. 58.)

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* The Negroes distinctly say they had complained to Mr. Ross, and were refused redress.

† Of this Mr. Austin who is thus made Captain Grant's assessor, and in whom the fiscal reposes so much confidence, we have several notices in these papers. —*Bob* says, "That almost three weeks ago, the manager Austin met him in the morning whilst going to the field, and without giving him the least provocation called the driver King to lick him, which had been of such a nature, that he had been obliged to lie down some days, and on recovery thought proper to report this proceeding to his honour the fiscal. Complainant's back has yet the visible marks of this treatment." (p. 31.)

Trim says, "That he knows very well that a Negro is to work; he does his duty but cannot please the manager, Mr. Austin; that the driver is continually finding fault with and licking him too much; that when complaining about this

The plantation Profit, in Dr. Pinckard's time, was a model of humanity towards the slaves. Times are now changed. The former possessor no longer lives, and the slaves are in the hands of sequestrators. The following is a specimen of their grievances:—

"Hutchinson, the manager, is too cross; that he will not give task-work, but works them by the day to that degree that they have no time to get their breakfast; he comes after 11 o'clock in the field, and says we do not work enough; the driver must give us twenty five lashes every day. If we are flogged, we go to the burgher officer to complain; he gives us a letter to the manager; but he says I want no letter, and the complainant is laid down and flogged; two of the Negroes have letters they received from the burgher officer, which were given them by the manager after being flogged. We have no attorney, or at least we hear of none, and we have not seen one for five months; there is no fish nor salt on the estate; we have not had clothes, this makes the third year, nor have we pipes or tobacco; we make plenty of rum, but never get a glass of it; if we feel our skin hurt us, and complain of sickness, we are flogged; he then mixes salts, jalap, and calomel together, which is given to drink. Rose went to say she was sick; she was flogged with the whip, and is yet cut. The manager says we are making bargain; we do not know what he means; he makes us think upon what we don't want. Sandy shews some stripes upon his posteriors; he received them in the field from the driver by order of the overseer; he says it is for work, as we make a bargain not to work. Having made our complaint to the burgher officer, who never came to the estate, but gave us letters

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to the manager, he gets for answer, 'It is your master's work;' says, that when Negroes are sick and go to the manager, instead of giving them physic, he drives them away with a horse-whip." (p. 41.)

Rose says, "She lost her husband and child lately; that the manager treats her very ill; that the child whereof she was delivered died on the third day; that the manager made her go to work too soon after her delivery; that he locked her up at night in the stocks, and made her work in the day; that she told Mr. Kewley, her master, repeatedly, of the several ill-treatments which she received from Mr. Austin; but as Mr. Kewley gives her no assistance, she is obliged to come and complain." (p. 41.)

Again, Aug. 20, 1823, "Complaint of the Negro *Harry*, belonging to J. P. Chapman, of Demerara, hired to Mr. Kewley, proprietor of 49, Corantyn Coast;—states, that he is perfectly able to do his work, but not when he is sick; that he went to the manager to say he was sick; he made the watchman take me to the field, where I was flogged by the driver. I had the fever two days; I went to complain; I was put in the dog-house, where I neither ate nor drank; there is no sick-house on 49; I could not eat nor drink from sickness. If a Negro says he is sick, two Negroes drive him to the field at five o'clock; at night we are locked up; all the Negroes treated so. Some of the Negroes, from the bad treatment of the manager, have run away. One of Mr. Chapman's Negroes was flogged so often, and had so bad a foot, that he was obliged to run away in the bush; if he is dead or alive we do not know; he was one of the firemen, and walked on his hands and feet; he told the manager he could not stand to do work; he was laid down and flogged. Manager's name Austin."—*Harry is ordered twelve lashes by the fiscal*, on the statement of the proprietor, Mr. Kewley; which, however, only goes to rebut a part, and an inferior part, of the charges.

which were not attended to, and not knowing that we have any attorney or proprietor, we come to the fiscal to complain. We do not wish to run away in the bush, but we look for help. The manager came in the field the other day after dinner; as soon as he came into the field, he laid the driver down and flogged him; next Sandy and then me; I asked what I had done; but four Negroes were made to hold me, and I was flogged. I went to Mr. Munro to complain; he told me the manager could not have flogged me for nothing; I suppose you gave him sauce. He went next morning to the manager, who said I had been saucy. I was locked up in the stocks day and night; I think I was confined *two weeks*; manager said I should stop there till Christmas, *because I went to complain to Munro*: I asked leave to go out to ease myself, and made my escape; the stocks are now full of people. Hannah has a severe cold, and complains of pain in the stomach; she says she is locked up in the stocks; the manager says if she dies he does not lose *his* money; the Negroes went to complain to the fiscal, and he came on the estate, and what did he do? Rose said she had a pain in her side, and begged for a blister; manager said he would give her a blister on her backside; she was laid down and flogged, the marks still visible." (p. 64.)

The Negroes of plantation Foulis complain of Dr. Munro, their owner, that they are made to work in the boiling house from eleven or twelve o'clock at night till eight or nine the next evening. They complain also of want of food. The fiscal proceeded to the estate, where he says he ascertained that the complaints were *in a great measure* groundless, but that *some* irregularities were chargeable on the overseers, who were admonished, and threatened with dismissal if they were not more attentive in future.

"Two of the complainants, who, it was proved, were guilty of insolence and disobedience of orders, were punished in presence of the whole gang, who were informed that any real grievance they had to complain of would always be attended to, but that they would be severely punished whenever their conduct was proved to be refractory and disorderly. A copy of the ordinance respecting the clothing and feeding of Negroes was then handed to Mr. Munro, *who was informed that penalties would be rigidly enforced if the enactments were not strictly complied with.*" *(pp. 6, 7.)*

Sixteen Negroes of plantation Herstelling all unite in complaining that the manager "turns the gang out in the morning a long time before the gun fires at the fort, and at day-light all the gang are at their work. At breakfast time, when the bell rings, before the Negroes are able to put their victuals on the fire, the bell rings again to turn out; so that most of the Negroes go in the field again without breakfast. He states, that the manager gives them more work than they are able to do; and if the work is not done in time the whole gang are flogged. That their allowance only consists of one bunch of plantains and a little fish every week, and no more. He states, that when all the gang are at work, and two or three of them have not finished their task, for the sake of these two or

three people the whole gang are flogged, this happens almost every day in the week."

The head driver, being examined, states,—

"That on Thursday last he had a gang of sixteen men with him, weeding young canes in a field about 500 rods from the buildings: That the whole gang were at their work, and had got three beds weeded before the sun rose. An overseer, Michael Harrold, came to the field at seven o'clock, reckoned the gang, and directed the driver to see the work was properly done. About an hour after, the manager came to the field, and ordered the driver to flog the whole gang, with the exception of one man, Alexander, as the work was not going on properly.

"On inquiring into the truth of this statement, in presence of the attorneys of the estate, it appeared that although the manager's conduct was, *in some measure*, reprehensible, yet the complainants had greatly exaggerated their grievances. They were therefore ordered to return home, on the attorneys promising to go to the estate the next day to see that every real cause of complaint was remedied; and to warn the manager, that if the Negroes had cause to complain again, he would be immediately discharged." (p. 72.)

On the 3d of March 1823, nine Negroes, all women, belonging to plantation Port Morauntt, appeared to complain of the manager, that they are "constantly in the field from morning before gun fire until late in the evening; that the work the manager gives is too much; they are unable to complete it, although they work during breakfast time." "Sometimes they are obliged to work on Sunday to finish the task given during the week; and often have no time to eat, from morning till night; if the row is not finished they are put in the stocks, and kept in until morning, when they are released and sent to work; sometimes the whole of the women are flogged for the sake of two or three not finishing their task. Last Friday the driver was flogged on account of his having allowed the women to come to the house to get breakfast, and they were sent all back to their work; the manager saying to them, that they had time to eat at night, and not in the day. On Saturday last the manager went to the field, and found that they had not finished their row, and immediately ordered four women to be flogged." (pp. 78, 79.)

"On investigation of this complaint," observes the fiscal, who, be it remembered, is himself a planter, "it appeared, that although the tasks given to the Negroes of the estate were not actually more than they could do in a day, yet that the manager was very severe upon them, and too frequently inflicted punishment without sufficient cause: he was therefore informed that his conduct would be vigilantly looked after in future; and if he continued the same system, the attorney of the estate would be recommended to discharge him from the management." (p. 79.)

The following complaint, from the same estate, was heard on the 27th March 1823, and the result will further illustrate the course of judicial proceedings in the slave colonies.—

"*Ness* states, That he is the driver over the women, and the manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work, and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's order. The manager then offered to flog him; but he made his escape, and came to your Honour for redress.

"*The complainant in this instance was punished by the acting fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause,* and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty: and the manager was *warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the Negroes on Sunday.*" (p. 79.)

The manager is not punished for so flagrant a breach of the law, but warned of its impropriety! The poor Negro who came to complain of that acknowledged breach of the law, is punished for coming to town to complain *without any cause.*

Not one instance occurs, in the midst of all these atrocities, in which the penalties of the law are enforced on the owners or managers!!!

But we have done, not because our materials are exhausted, but because we have already swelled the work by our citations to an inconvenient size*. Last year Mr. Baring facetiously observed, that "what might be called our stock stories" were worn threadbare. He was tired to hear of nothing but Huggins and Carty, and Kitty and Thisbe: they were repeated in every speech and pamphlet, till they were fairly worn out, proving also the absence of any new facts of the same kind. The fresh importation, of which we have given a specimen, will prevent, in the next session of Parliament, the offence to good taste of which Mr. Baring so sensitively complains. His commerce connects him with Berbice, the scene of these atrocities; and yet Mr. Baring, with all his assumed knowledge of the subject, was as ignorant of these transactions as the child unborn; and would have been perfectly incredulous of them had they come, not from the fiscal of Berbice, himself a planter, but from some of those persons whom he unfairly and ungenerously represents as fabricating such stories in order to curry favour with their employers. He complains too of the assiduity with which petitions are got up on this subject. And does he suppose that such transactions as these, when they come to be known, will not rouse the public to petition? The people of Great Britain cannot remain unaffected by such enormities perpetrated on their helpless fellow-subjects; nor can they continue to tolerate those fiscal regulations by which they are made to pay, in bounties and protecting duties, for the cost of this bloody and murderous system.

One word more before we conclude our painful task. A work

* We have given only a tithe of the atrocities brought before the fiscal of the small colony of Berbice, containing about 20,000 slaves! What a mass of horrors should we have had before us, could we have had a similar return from all our colonies, containing altogether upwards of forty times that number! Only one other colony, Demerara, has a fiscal to record, in any manner, however imperfect, such transactions; and he has kept no record!!!

has just made its appearance, of considerable labour, and considerable pretence to authority, containing 270 closely printed octavo pages, entitled "Considerations submitted in Defence of the Orders in Council for the Melioration of Slavery in Trinidad, and upon the probable Effect of sudden Emancipation on Agricultural Industry and British Capital in the West Indies, in a Series of Letters which appeared in the Star Newspaper under the Signature of Vindex. To which is annexed, the thirteenth Article in the sixteenth Number of the Quarterly Review; and the Observations thereon, in a Series of Letters which appeared in the New Times Newspaper under the Signature of Anglus." It is printed for Murray, and is addressed "to those Members of both Houses of Parliament who, whatever may be their private interests, or preconceived opinions, feel anxious for the elucidation of truth in the question of West-India Slavery." It is an elaborate, ingenious, and humane attempt to quiet the consciences of those gentlemen and their friends who, having private interests involved in the question, are desirous of having a salvo against the agony of self-accusation, and a plausible excuse to the world for prolonging the existence of that foul and disgraceful system. But all will not do. The national conscience can no longer be lulled to sleep. Its powerful voice will be heard, and will sweep away all those refuges of lies which seek to reconcile the toleration of such practices, either to the character of our country or to the paramount obligations of Christian duty.

The grand object of this bulky pamphlet is to prove to the British Parliament, that slavery in the West Indies is a better and more gainful condition of society than freedom. If this position were as true as it is false, the people of England would revolt from the idea of pocketing the gains arising from such a hideous combination of injustice, cruelty and crime. But it is as false as it is impious and inhuman.

The pamphlet to which we allude appears to have proceeded from the same arsenal which supplied the materials for Lord Bathurst's speech in March 1824; for the various articles on the West Indies in the Quarterly Review; and for the comments on the case of the Donna Paula (see above, p. 92). One of the grand arguments, indeed the *argumentum palmarium* of this school, has been drawn from a comparison of the island of Hayti with our own colonies. On this prop of their system, much of the present production has been made to rest. But, unfortunately for the author, it had vanished from under him before his pamphlet saw the light. The fact that the population of Hayti had grown, in about twenty years, from half a million to nearly a million, had already laid the axe to the root of his goodly argument; and the recognition of Haytian independence, and the price which Hayti has engaged to pay for it, has swept away the very last vestige even of the rubbish that had been falling around him.

ERRATA.

Page 16, line 5 from bottom, *for* p. 11, *read* pp. 8, 9.
—— 31, —— 3 from bottom, *for* p. 35, *read* pp. 26, 27
—— 33, —— last line, *for* p. 30, *read* p. 29.

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